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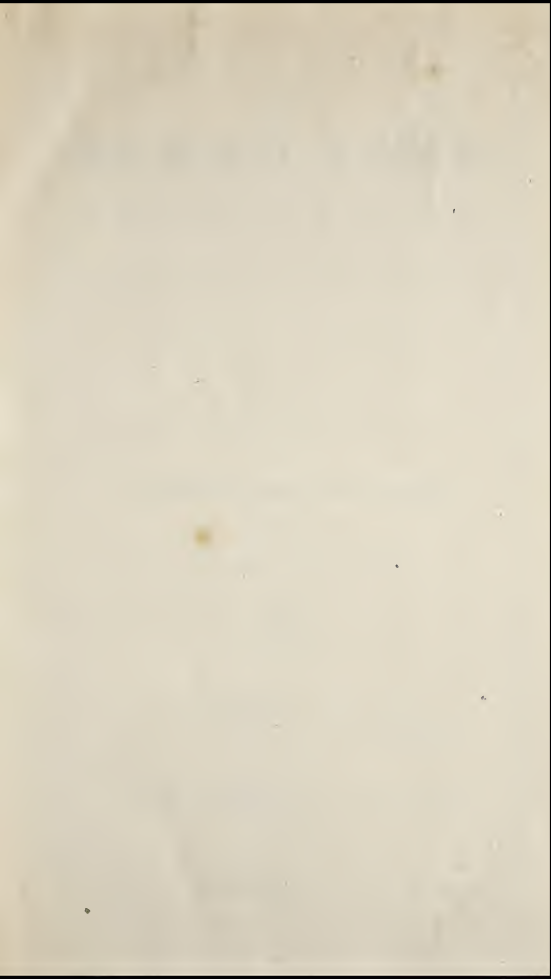
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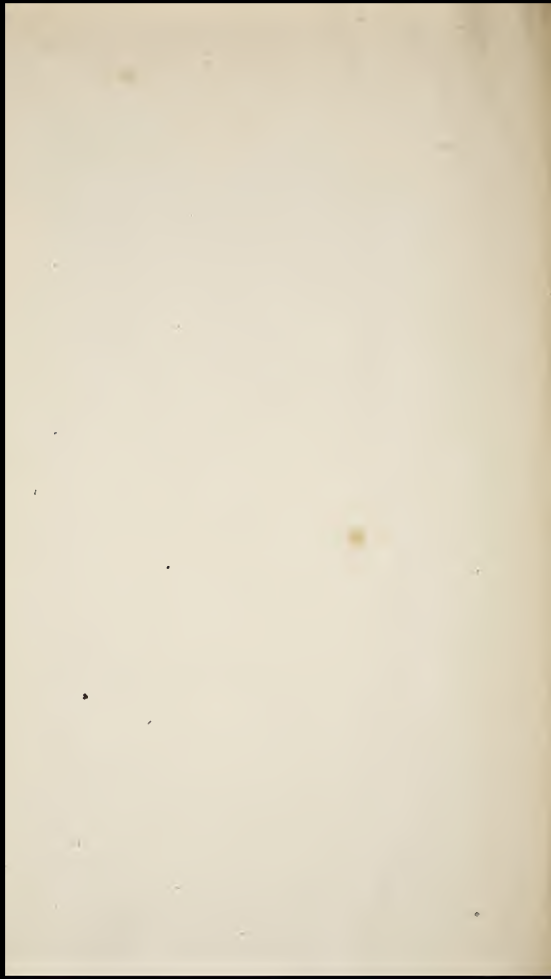
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THE
OLDEN TIME,
A MONTHLY PUBLICATION

DEVOTED TO THE
PRESERVATION OF DOCUMENTS,
AND OTHER
AUTHENTIC INFORMATION,
IN RELATION TO
THE EARLY EXPLORATIONS,
AND THE
Settlement and Improvement of the Country
AROUND THE
HEAD OF THE OHIO.

~~~~~  
VOL. II.  
~~~~~

CEL. Well, the beginning, *that* is dead and buried.

CEL. I could match this beginning with an old tale.

SHAKESPEARE.

~~~~~  
EDITED BY NEVILLE B. CRAIG, ESQ.  
~~~~~

PITTSBURGH:
PRINTED BY WRIGHT & CHARLTON, N. E. CORNER OF THE DIAMOND.
1848.

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THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

JANUARY, 1857.

NO. 1.

JOHN ORMSBY'S NARRATIVE.

Among the earliest settlers in this place was John Ormsby, the father of the late Oliver Ormsby, and of Mrs. Sidney Gregg. He was an Irishman by birth, had served some time in the British army, though in what station we know not, was subsequently a teacher, and had travelled into several of the States before coming here.

He was in Philadelphia at the time of Braddock's arrival in Virginia, and intended to accompany him on his unfortunate expedition, but was prevented by sickness. Subsequently, however, he came here with General Forbes, was present, and rendered service at the building of Fort Pitt. He was an industrious, enterprising man, and kept the first ferry over the Monongahela, from his house, one door south of Ferry street, and adjoining Sample's tavern, where the Virginia House now stands. He always bore the character of an honest, worthy citizen, and in his latter days, at least, was a pious man. Of his earlier life, we know nothing on this subject.

Among the books which he left at his decease was one called "A Prospect of Futurity, in four dissertations on the nature and circumstances of the life to come: with a preliminary discourse on the natural and moral evidences of a future state, and an appendix. By Thomas Broughton, Prebendary of Sarum, and Vicar of St. Mary, Redcliffe, and St. Thomas, in Bristol. Printed in London, in 1768."

Into this book Mr. Ormsby had introduced some sixty odd pages of his own notes, moral, religious, and historical, and also a short sketch of his own life; a portion of this has been torn out. From what remains, we extract what follows, premising, however, that we incline to differ with him in the opinion he expresses of Bouquet.

EXTRACT.

"About this time (February, 1755,) General Braddock and his formidable army were daily expected to land in Virginia, and as I was known to have served in the British army (as above mentioned*), I was offered a Captain's Commission in the new levies, and to act as Adjutant. To this I cheerfully assented, as a military life best suited my inclinations; but alas! man appoints, and God does as he thinks fit. Just as I was preparing my uniform, &c, I was seized with a nervous fever and ague, with which I was afflicted till the year 1758, being near three years; so that all my golden hopes vanished.

"At the last mentioned era, the savages were massacring the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, &c., so that an expedition was preparing against them, to be under the command of General Forbes. Now I thought to have an opportunity of gratifying my fondness for military life, but my shattered constitution and ill state of health, still, like my evil genius, prevented me. However, I put on a resolution of going to the frontiers in some capacity; and if I gathered strength, to accept of a commission which was offered me by different States. Accordingly I set out for the Ohio, to act as a Commissary of Provisions, which was a wretched employment, provisions being so scarce that I could hardly supply the General's table. When the army arrived as far as Turtle Creek, a council of war was held, the result of which was, that it was impracticable to proceed, all the provisions and forage being exhausted. On the General's being informed of this, he swore a furious oath that he would sleep in the Fort or in hell the next night. It was a matter of indifference to the old, emaciated General where he died, as he was carried on a litter the whole distance from Philadelphia, and back. You may judge the situation of near 3000 men, in the wilderness, 250 miles from the inhabited country.

"About midnight a tremendous explosion was heard from the westward; upon which old Forbes swore that the French magazine was blown up, either by accident or design, which revived our drooping spirits a little.

"The above conjecture of the Head of Iron was verified by a deserter from Du Quesne, who said that the Indians who watched the march of the English army declared to the French that there were as many white people coming as there were trees in the woods. This report so terrified the French that they set fire to their magazines, barracks, &c., and pushed off in their boats, some up and some down the Ohio, so that next morning we got peaceable possession of the remains of the Fort.

The place had a most desolate appearance, as all the improvements made by the French had been burnt to the ground. You may judge our situation when I assure you that we had neither flour, meat nor liquor in store. The

* The portion of the Narrative relating to his services has been torn out.—ED. OLDEN TIME.

only relief offered was plenty of venison and bear meat, which our hunters brought in, and which our people devoured without bread or salt. There were several parcels of pack horses, loaded with provisions, coming up from the inhabited country, but the savages seized the most of them, and murdered the drivers.

Our emaciated General Forbes was carried on his litter bed to Philadelphia, where he died a short time after his arrival. He was a brave soldier, but afflicted with a complication of disorders. A few hours before his death he swore a great oath that he died contented, as he had got possession of Fort Du Quesne, and made the damned French rascals run away.

"Very few incidents occurred during the early part of the year 1759. Towards the close of it, however, fresh troubles commenced. The French in Canada began to raise an army at Niagara, to attack our small garrison (now called Fort Pitt), which was in an ill state for defence, when our commandant, Col. Mercer, was informed by express that there were 1500 regulars and a strong body of Indians at Venango, making ready for an expedition against our post, which would attack us within three days.

"This information, you may be sure, struck a panic into our people, being 300 miles from any aid, and surrounded by the merciless savages, from whom no expectation of mercy was in view, but immediate destruction by the tomahawk, or lingering starvation.

"I must own I made my sincere application to the Almighty, to pardon my sins and extricate us from this deplorable situation. Our prayers were heard, and we extricated from the dreaded massacre: for the day before the expected attack, an Indian fellow arrived from Niagara, informing Col. Mercer that General Johnson laid siege to Niagara, with a formidable English army, so that the attack upon Fort Pitt was countermanded, and the French and Indians ordered to return towards Niagara with the utmost haste. This was done, and when they arrived within a day's march of Niagara, the brave Irish General Johnson ordered an ambuscade to a difficult pass, through which the above troops were to march, and thus they were all killed or taken, to the great joy of poor Ormsby and his associates.

"In the year 1760, General Stanwix appeared on the Ohio, at the head of an army, with engineers, artificers, &c., with full power to build a large fort, redoubts, &c., near where Du Quesne stood. I now had plenty of business on hand, as I had charge of the provision branch, and engineer branch, as pay-master to the works, which I continued to transact until I unfortunately entered into the Indian trade, by the advice of the Indian Agent, Col. Croghan.

"At this time I had what I had been accumulating since I arrived in these western parts, a handsome sum of money, which, to my sorrow, I laid out for large quantities of Indian goods and pack horses, in which trade I had good success until 1763, when the savages murdered my clerks and people,

and robbed me of all my goods, to a considerable value, and what was more grievous, left me in debt above fifteen hundred pounds to Philadelphia merchants.

"About the time the Indians murdered my clerks, they also laid siege to the Fort, and as I had a house at Pittsburgh, and a few goods, in remnants, &c., I chose to stay and help to defend it against the savages. The Indians continued to block up the garrison for near three months, when Colonel Bouquet was ordered to proceed to Pittsburgh with about 1500 men, part regulars. The Indians having early intelligence of his march, watched his movements very closely, till the army encamped on a dry ridge, within about thirty miles of Pittsburgh. Here the enemy had collected all their forces, and attacked Bouquet's army in a furious manner, confident that they would use him as they used Braddock eight years before. The English troops were in a wretched situation, as the Indians had very artfully secured all the springs of water in the neighborhood. Thus they (the English) fought all day without water, except what they sucked out of the tracks of beasts, as happily a small rain fell. As Bouquet in the beginning ordered an encampment to be made of the bags, saddles, &c., the Indians still advanced that way, where the sick and wounded lay in a deplorable condition. In this desperate situation of the English army, a certain Captain Barret, who commanded a small detachment of Maryland volunteers, informed Bouquet that he and his army would be cut off, if they followed that mode of fighting. Bouquet then agreed to his proposal, which was, that a quick march should be ordered towards the breastwork, which would take up the attention of the savages, while two small squads should run around them, and upon beating a flam, they should rush up and give them a general volley in the rear, which had the desired effect, for the Indians were sure that a reinforcement attacked them. Being thus alarmed, they broke, and yelled, and ran up the hills, being pursued by the English as far as prudence would permit. The army then commenced its march, and arrived safe at Pittsburgh next day, without being molested by the copper gentry. If Captain Barret had not suggested the above mentioned movement, the savages intended to storm the camp, and would very probably have massacred the chief part of the army.

"At the time of the arrival of Bouquet at Fort Pitt there was not a pound of good flour or meat there, so that if he had failed we would have starved or been tomahawked. Notwithstanding it was understood that our preservation was owing to Captain Barret, yet when Bouquet and his officers were regaling themselves in luxurious living not one of them offered the brave New Englander a cup of cold water; nay, would not own that the victory was any way due to him.

"I happily received a little relief by the escort, which I gladly shared with Barret, as I was formerly acquainted with him at Bedford. Bouquet,

like an artful, cowardly Swiss, as he was, accumulated the whole honor of his success to his superior knowledge of tactics ; by which means he was promoted from a Lieutenant Colonel to a Brigadier. But he did not enjoy it long ; for in a few months after, he was ordered to a command to the southward, and died at St. Augustine, very little regretted."

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR OF THE OLDEN TIME.

We publish the above extracts because they contain some few items of intelligence, by an eye witness, of the early transactions in this quarter. His statements in the main compare with those made by historians, but he gives us an insight into the character of Gen. Forbes, which we never before possessed. It is stated by Mr. Ormsby that Forbes was carried on a litter from Philadelphia and back. It seems hardly probable that a man so feeble would be entrusted with the command, and we rather incline to adopt the statement of our correspondent (see page 265), that the complaint of which he died grew upon him during the march.*

We felt much reluctance in publishing Mr. Ormsby's remarks about Col. Bouquet, but could not see very clearly the propriety of suppressing them, especially as others had seen and read them, and might have charged us with partiality for Bouquet, had we acted otherwise than we have done.

We do not mean to impeach the motives, or to doubt the veracity of Mr. Ormsby, in the attack which he makes upon the memory of Col. Bouquet. Of Captain Barret we know nothing. He must have been his own trumpeter, for it seems from Mr. Ormsby's statement, that none of the officers gave him credit for the suggestion of the mode of defeating the Indians.†

* He seems to have been a most energetic man, of indomitable spirit, and the epithet, "Head of Iron," applied to him by Mr. Ormsby, was probably in common use among his troops.

† Bouquet was a foreigner, not even a British subject by birth, and no doubt, if he had misbehaved, we would have heard more about it.

Even if Barret had suggested the movement by which victory was secured, Bouquet deserved credit for adopting a good suggestion and executing it well and promptly. It was Braddock's great misfortune not to have sufficient judgment to select and adopt the best advice.

TRADE AND PROSPECT OF TRADE ON THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI SEVENTY-SIX YEARS AGO.

THE following article upon this subject, addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, then Secretary of State of the North American Department, in the year 1770, will probably interest some of our readers. No doubt they will be amused to contrast the speculations of 1770 with the realities of 1847. Steam has already accomplished wonders in our valley, yet her work is only half done. Even the most extravagant speculations of this year would probably fall short of the true state of the country in 1870.

"No part of North America will require less encouragement for the production of naval stores, and raw materials for manufactories in Europe, and for supplying the West India Islands with *lumber, provisions, &c.*, than the country of the Ohio; and for the following reasons:

"*First*, The lands are excellent, the climate temperate; the native grapes, silk worms, and mulberry trees, abound everywhere; hemp, hops, and rye, grow spontaneously in the vallies and low lands; lead and iron are plenty in the hills; salt springs are innumerable; and no soil is better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

"*Second*, The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other; by which, and a short land carriage, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now (in the year 1772), be sent cheaper to the sea-port town of Alexandria, on the Potomac river, in Virginia (where the troops of General Braddock landed), than any kind of merchandize is sent from Northampton to London.

"*Third*, The river Ohio is, at all seasons of the year, navigable with large boats, like the west country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and from the month of February to April large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent to sea, laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, tobacco, cotton, potash, &c.

"*Fourth*, Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other useful articles, can be sent down the stream of the Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the West India islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia to those islands.

"*Fifth*, Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles, may also be sent down the stream of the Ohio to the sea, at least 50 per cent. cheaper than

these articles were ever carried by land carriage, of only sixty miles, in Pennsylvania, where wagonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

“*Sixth*, The expense of transporting European manufactories from the sea to the Ohio, will not be so much as is now paid, and must ever be paid, to a great part of the countries of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Whenever the farmers or merchants of the Ohio shall properly understand the business of transportation, they will build schooners, sloops, &c., on the Ohio, suitable for the West India or European markets; or, by having black walnut, cherry-tree, oak, &c., properly sawed for foreign markets, and formed into rafts in the manner that is now done by the settlers near the upper parts of the Delaware, in Pennsylvania, and thereon stow their hemp, iron, tobacco, &c., and proceed with them to New Orleans.

“It may not, perhaps, be amiss to observe, that large quantities of flour are made in the distant (western) counties of Pennsylvania, and sent by an expensive land carriage to the city of Philadelphia, and from thence shipped to South Carolina, and to East and West Florida, there being little or no wheat raised in those provinces.

“The river Ohio seems kindly designed by nature as the channel through which the two Floridas may be supplied with flour; not only for their common consumption, but also for carrying on an extensive commerce with Jamaica, and the Spanish settlements in the bay of Mexico. Millstones in abundance are to be obtained in the hills near the Ohio; and the country is everywhere well watered, with large and constant springs and streams for grist and other mills.

“The passage from Philadelphia to Pensacola is seldom made in less than a month, and fifty shillings per ton, freight, (consisting of sixteen barrels) is usually paid for flour, &c., thither. Boats carrying 800 or 1000 barrels of flour may go in about the same time from Pittsburgh as from Philadelphia to Pensacola, and for half the above freight. The Ohio merchants would be able to deliver flour, &c., there, in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the sea, and charge of insurance, &c., as from thence to Pensacola.

“This is not mere speculation, for it is a fact, that about the year 1746 there was a great scarcity of provisions at New Orleans; and the French settlements at the Illinois, small as they then were, sent thither in one winter upwards of eight hundred thousand weight of flour.”

LORD DUNMORE'S WAR.

This was the last war in which Americans were engaged as the subjects of the King of Great Britain, and, although one of the wings of the army proceeded from this place, yet Pennsylvanians had no part in it. There was at that time existing not only a bitter feeling arising out of the boundary question, but also heart-burnings excited by the greater enterprise and activity of Pennsylvanians engaged in the Indian trade.

In 1770, at the meeting of the Indians with Washington, at Colonel Croghan's, as stated at page 419 of this publication, the greater interest of Pennsylvania in the Indian trade is admitted. No doubt the controversy about the boundary was embittered by this rivalry in the struggle for that trade, and this conflict of rival interests is only an example of what collisions might be expected continually to occur had we not a National Government to conduct our relations with foreign nations and the Indian tribes, and a National Judiciary to adjudicate controversies between the citizens of the different States.

Looking, therefore, as we do upon the exact condition of affairs here about the time of Dunmore's war, as a matter of deep interest to every patriot and as a valuable lesson to every American statesman, we have concluded to give liberal extracts from contemporaneous letters and other publications before giving a brief history of the war itself.

In selecting these articles we will carefully avoid anything like party or State bias, and let Virginians as well as Pennsylvanians speak for themselves.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM ALEX. MCKEE, ESQ., AGENT FOR INDIAN AFFAIRS AT FORT PITT, DATED JUNE 10, 1774.

"You must, ere this, be acquainted with the critical situation of this country; the unhappy disturbances which have lately arose between the Virginians and the natives, the event of which still continues doubtful whether matters will be brought to a general rupture or accommodation. Hostilities, however, have been committed on both sides, but at present there seems to be a cessation. Some wise interposition of Government is truly necessary, and would undoubtedly restore peace; without it it is impossible, and thousands of the inhabitants must be involved in misery and distress. But to do the Indians justice, they have given great proofs

of their pacific disposition, and have acted with more moderation than those who ought to have been more rational, a few Mingoes and Shawanese excepted, who have been long refractory. There are more effectual means of chastising them for their insolence and perfidy than by involving the defenceless country in a war, which there is too much reason to fear, at this time, will become general, and which must inevitably be the destruction of this country."

DEVEREUX SMITH TO DR. SMITH.

"Pittsburgh, June 10, 1774.

"SIR: I returned to this place the 11th of May, and found my family in the greatest confusion, owing to the appearance of an Indian war, and the tyrannical treatment they received from Dr. Conolly in my absence. Before I was illegally taken from my family the 10th of April, I understood from some of the Shawanese Chiefs, at a Council with Mr. McKee, the Indian Agent under Sir William Johnson, that they were much dissatisfied at the rapid progress the Virginians had made down the Ohio in settling the lands below the purchase, viz: below Sciota river, which they looked upon as a great encroachment on their liberties and properties; they also expressed their surprise to see a number of armed men assembled at this place, with their colors, at different times, making a warlike appearance, and said, that after the first muster of the 25th of January, some of the militia fired on them at their camps near the mouth of the Sawmill Run.

"These Shawanese Chiefs were sent for by Mr. Croghan last summer, and came here about the 25th of December, and remained here till the 1st of April, during which time they often complained to the inhabitants of this place that Mr. Croghan had sent for them to do business, and kept them in great distress for want of provisions and clothing; upon which the inhabitants were at some expense supplying them during their stay, and when they were going home made a collection of goods for them, in order to send them off satisfied.

"On the 15th of April, Mr. William Butler sent off a canoe loaded with goods for the Shawanese Towns, and on the 16th it was attacked about forty miles from here by three Cherokee Indians, who had waylaid them on the river bank. They killed one white man and wounded another, and a third made his escape. They plundered the canoe of the most valuable part of the cargo and made off; but as they were Cherokees, we were sure they did this for the sake of plunder alone, therefore thought no more of it than the loss. As Mr. Butler was under the necessity of sending people to assist in bringing his peltry from the Shawanese Towns, he sent off another canoe on the 24th of April, in care of two Indians, who were well known to be good men, and two white men. On the 27th, about ninety miles from here, they were fired upon from shore, and both the Indians were

killed, by Michael Cresap and a party he had with him ; they also scalped the Indians. Mr. Cresap then immediately followed the above mentioned Shawanese Chiefs some small distance lower down, where they were encamped, and fired upon them, killed one and wounded two more. The Indians fled to the Delaware Towns, which were the nearest, and are greatly exasperated at this treatment, as they did not expect any such thing from the English. About that same time, a party headed by one Greathouse barbarously murdered and scalped nine Indians at the house of one Baker, near Yellow Creek, about fifty-five miles down the river. Owing to these cruelties committed by Cresap and Greathouse, the inhabitants of Rackoon and Wheeling fled from that settlement, and are chiefly gone to Virginia. After Cresap had been guilty of these cruelties, he returned to Maryland, but has since come back with a party of men. Cresap wrote to Conolly and Mr. McKee, threatening that if they did not give them security that the Indians would not do any mischief for six months that he, Cresap, would immediately proceed to commit further hostilities against the Indians. On the 21st of April, Conolly wrote a letter to the inhabitants of Wheeling, telling them that he had been informed by good authority that the Shawanese were ill disposed towards white men, and that he therefore required and commanded them to hold themselves in readiness to repel any insults that might be offered by them. This letter fell into the hands of Cresap, and he says that it was in consequence of this letter and the murder committed by the Cherokees on Mr. Butler's people, that he committed the hostilities above mentioned.

"I am informed, that on the 6th day of May, Mr. Croghan sent Captain White Eyes, (one of the Indian Chiefs,) in company with some of our traders, to acquaint the Shawanese and Delawares that the outrages which had been committed by some of our ill disposed white people, were without the least countenance from Government. This Indian promised to use his best endeavors to accommodate matters, and returned the 24th of May, and brought with him ten white men, who had been protected by the Delawares eight days, in their towns, and guarded safe to this place. He also brought a speech from the Delawares, from which we have great reason to believe they are not inclined for war. We also believe that they will endeavor to preserve the lives of the traders that are now amongst the Shawanese. He also brought from the Shawanese Chief called the Hardman an answer to a speech sent to them by Mr. Croghan upon this occasion, in which he signifies that the Shawanese are all warriors, and will not listen to us until they have satisfaction of us for what injuries they have received from the Virginians, &c.

"White Eyes informs us that a Mingo man called Logan, (whose family had been murdered in the number,) had raised a party to cut down the Shawanese Town traders at the Canoe Bottom, on Hockhocking Creek,

where they were pressing their peltry; but we have heard since that the Shawanese have taken them under their care, until matters are further settled, but God knows what fate they have met with. We hope they are still alive, and if it be so they have a chance to come in, if the outrageous behaviour of the Virginians do not prevent them. The sixth of this month we had an account from Muddy Creek (empties into the river Monongahela near Cheat river), that the Indians had killed and scalped one white man, his wife, and three children, and that three more of the same man's children were missing, and this has since been confirmed. We suppose this to be Logan's party, and that they will do more mischief before they return. About the 20th of May, one Campbell, lately from Lancaster, was killed and scalped near Newcomer's Town, and one Proctor, at Wheeling, by a party of Shawanese and Mingoes.

"The Virginians in this part of the country seem determined to make war with the Indians at any rate. The one half of this country is ruined to all intents and purposes, which, a few months ago, was in a flourishing way. Conolly has embodied upwards of one hundred men, and will have this fort in good order in a short time. He is gathering in all the provisions he can possibly get from the country, which, he says, will be paid for by the government of Virginia. The militia here, by Conolly's orders, shoot down the cattle, sheep and hogs belonging to the inhabitants, as they please. They also press horses, and take by force any part of our property they think proper, and tell us that they have authority so to do; therefore you may judge of our situation at present. Before I returned from Virginia, about the 5th day of May, Mr. Conolly sent an armed guard of men to my house, who attempted to take away a quantity of blankets and bags by force. Mr. William Butler, who lived at my house at that time, had a great dispute in defence of my property, and put them out with great difficulty, on which they complained to Conolly, who immediately despatched a party of twelve men to the house, in order to put their villainous scheme in execution, on which my wife locked her doors. Conolly came at the same time, and began to abuse Mr. Butler and my wife. He also threatened to send Mr. Butler to Virginia in irons, and to take every farthing's worth of his property from him; damned my wife, telling her the same, and that he would let her know that he commanded there, &c., &c.

"*June 12.* Mr. Conolly purposes to march from this place to-morrow with two hundred men, to build a stockade fort at Wheeling Creek, and another near Hockhocking Creek; and says he will send parties, at the same time, against the Shawanese Town; and I am of opinion that they will make no distinction betwixt Shawanese and Delawares, as they are determined to have a general war. Mr. Croghan has set off this morning to Williamsburg, as he says, to represent the state of this country to Lord Dunmore and Council, as also to acquaint them of Mr. Conolly's rash con-

duct at this place, which he seems to disapprove of. We are this day informed that the three children before mentioned, that were missing near Muddy Creek, were found dead, and scalped, and two other men, in sight of a fort that is lately built on Dunkard Creek, up the Monongahela, all supposed to be done by Logan's party. The inhabitants of the town are busily employed in stockading it round about, yet have no reason to expect anything better than ruin and destruction."

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

"Ligonier, June 22, 1774.

"SIR: In my last I informed you of Mr. Croghan setting out for Williamsburg, since which I had a letter from him from his own house. He therein informed me that he found the country so much alarmed at his going down, that he chose to return, and trust his business to letters, and desired to see me as soon as possible. Accordingly I set out for Pittsburgh the 17th instant, and had the happiness to find two of the principal traders arrived there with a great quantity of peltry, and that they had been conducted there by some of the Shawanese Chiefs, and that the rest of the traders, with their horses and skins, were got as far as the Newcomer's Town, under the protection of another Shawanese party.

"The traders inform us that they have met with no ill treatment from the Shawanese; but, on the contrary, they were at the greatest pains to protect them from the Mingoes, who had suffered most from the white people, and who came to their town several times, with the intention to murder them. It seems they did not think it prudent to bring the Shawanese to Pittsburgh, but conducted them from some distance below that place, through the woods to Colonel Croghan's. Mr. Conolly ordered out a party of forty men to make them prisoners, as he says.

"The people of the town were alarmed at seeing a party march out the route they took, and suspected they were intended to attack a party of our people stationed at the Bullock Pens, about seven miles from thence, which it seems has some time been threatened, and acquainted me with what they feared. I immediately waited on Mr. Conolly, and insisted, in direct terms, he should tell me if he had any such design. He assured me he had not, but that, as the Shawanese had committed depredations on his Majesty's subjects, he had ordered out that party to make those prisoners who had escorted the traders; and that might have been his real intention; but I am convinced those who were to put it in execution would not have made prisoners. We put it out of their power to do either, by sending them over the river.

"Your Honor will judge from this circumstance that the crew about Fort Pitt (now Fort Dunmore), are intent on a war, for were not that the case,

honor, generosity, gratitude, every manly principle, must have prompted them to be kind, and afford protection to those poor savages, who had risked their own lives to preserve the lives and property of their fellow-subjects; but why need I mention this circumstance; one at least as strong is, that John Drinuing, who publicly acknowledged, or rather boasted, of having killed the Indians, with Mr. Cresap, is one of Mr. Connolly's Lieutenants, and is at the present time out somewhere with the command of a party to take scalps, from friends I suppose; a murderer, I am sure, will never meet an enemy on fair terms.

"I mentioned something of a condolence in my last, and as the Shawanese were up, I suffered myself to be persuaded by Mr. Croghan to collect a small present of goods for that purpose, which was on Sunday morning to have been divided and sent to the three nations, the Six Nations, Shawanese, and Delawares: but Mr. Connolly's frolic prevented it that day. Next morning, the Indians, being some Six Nations, and some Delewares, were brought down to Mr. Croghan's, and were shown the condolence, and acquainted that it was ordered for them by you, and that when their Chiefs arrived they would be spoken to, and the present delivered, and a messenger was sent after the Shawanese to acquaint them likewise. As the Indians themselves made a distinction betwixt us and our neighbors, it may perhaps be a means of keeping peace in our quarter at least. I hope your Honor will not be offended at my taking this upon myself. The value of the goods is but trifling, not exceeding thirty or forty pounds. I have inclosed a list of them, but the person from whom I got them neglected to affix the prices.

"Whatever may be Mr. Croghan's real views, I am certain he is hearty in promising the general tranquility of the country; indeed, he is indefatigable in endeavoring to make up the breaches, and does, I believe, see his mistake in opposing the interests of your Government; and I doubt not but a very little attention would render him as serviceable as ever. Real friendship you must not expect, for, by his interest alone he is regulated, yet he may be useful, as by and by you will probably want to make another purchase. I purposely gave him an opportunity of opening a correspondence with me, which he embraced, and from what I can see, he would be glad to be on better terms with your officers than he has been; but this is only conjecture.

"With this, your Honor will receive an extract from Mr. McKee's journal of all the transactions with the Indians, from the beginning of the troubles, as also another of Mr. Connolly's advertisements. I know not well what he means by it, but I believe his design is to distress the Indian trade."

EXTRACT TAKEN FROM A JOURNAL OF INDIAN TRANSACTIONS.

"May 1, 1774. Information having been given that sundry depredations had been committed upon several Indian parties going down the river from

this place, by the white inhabitants settled upon the Ohio, near Wheeling and Yellow Creek, the following Message was despatched to King Custologa, Captains White Eyes and Pipe, and such other Chiefs as were most contiguous to this place :

“ ‘BRETHREN : We are under the necessity, from some disagreeable intelligence which we have just received, of calling upon your immediate attendance at this place, where we shall have things of importance to communicate to you, which intimately concerns the welfare of us both. This will be sufficient, we expect, to induce your speedy appearance here, as delays, upon this occasion, may be attended with the most dangerous consequences.’ (A string of white wampum.)

“ *May 3.* A meeting held at Colonel Croghan’s house, at which was present Captain Connolly, the Commandant of the militia, and several inhabitants of Pittsburgh, with Goyasutha, the White Mingo, and a deputation of the Six Nation Indians, who were here upon their way with speeches from Sir William Johnson to the Hurons and Wabash Confederacy.

“ ‘BRETHREN : We are sorry to inform you that we have lately received accounts of some outrages being committed upon several of your people going down the Ohio, by some ill disposed white persons settled upon it; and we take the earliest opportunity of making you acquainted with what we have heard, in order to convince you that we discountenance so barbarous a breach of friendship with you, and we assure you that it has not been done with the intent or knowledge of Government, and we make no doubt your brother, the Governor of Virginia, when he becomes fully acquainted with the circumstances of the unhappy loss you have sustained in so many of your people, that he and his wise men will fall upon the most salutary measures of doing you every justice that can be expected. In the mean time we have to recommend to you, in the most earnest manner, your affording every assistance in your power to accommodate this unfortunate breach which has happened, as you must be sensible that a general war between us must be attended with the greatest calamity on both sides.’ (A belt of wampum.)

“ After some time they returned for answer :

“ ‘BRETHREN : (the English) We have considered what you have said to us, and as the Chiefs of the Delawares are expected in this night, or tomorrow, we will consult with them, and then know what reply to make. But you may depend upon it, that we shall do everything in our power to keep things quiet, which we make no doubt can be done, from the general peaceable disposition of our own people, provided you will be strong upon your parts, in preventing your rash people from commencing any further hostilities upon the Indians.’ (A string of wampum.)

“ *May 4.* Arrived, Captain White Eyes, Pipe, and Samuel Compass, brother to one of the Delaware Indians lately murdered in the traders’ canoe,

with several other Chiefs and principal men of the Delawares. The same evening they proceeded to the Six Nation Village, at Pine Creek, in order to consult with the Chiefs there, and be informed of what had already passed between them and us.

"*May 5.* At a Condolence held with the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, Munsies, Mohigans, and Twightwees, who are the several Nations that have been sufferers in the late unfortunate disturbances, present :

"Captain Connolly, Commandant, and a number of other gentlemen.

"**SIX NATION INDIANS.**—Guyasutha, White Mingo, and the Six Nation Deputies as before mentioned, with a number of other Chiefs, and principal men.

"**DELAWARES.**—Captains White Eyes, Pipe, Keykewenum, and Samuel Compass, with a number of other Indians of that Nation.

"**BRETHREN :** It was with the deepest concern that we informed you two days ago of the late unhappy death of some of your friends, and it adds much to our grief upon this occasion, when we consider that some of our rash, inconsiderate people, have been accessory thereto. We condole with you, and bewail the misfortunes you have suffered, and as a testimony of our sincerity, we deliver you these strings of wampum.' (A string to each Nation.)

"**BRETHREN :** We wipe the tears from your eyes, and remove the grief which this melancholy circumstance may have impressed upon your hearts, that you may be enabled to look upon your brethren (the English) with the same friendship as usual, and listen to them with the like goodness of heart as formerly, when no evil disturbed your minds.' (A string to each Nation.)

"**BRETHREN :** We now collect the bones of your deceased people, and wrap them up in those goods which we have prepared for that purpose, and we likewise inter them, that every remembrance of uneasiness upon this heap may be extinguished and also buried in oblivion.' (Delivered a condolence present.)

"**BRETHREN :** We have now, conformably to your custom, condoled with you in the usual manner upon such occasions ; and we are to request some of your Chiefs present, who have the most influence with the distant tribes to proceed to them with the greatest expedition with what you have now heard, as it is highly necessary that we should be made acquainted without delay, with the result of their councils upon the present circumstances of affairs, as well as it may be useful for them to be informed of our sentiments thereupon ; and that the stroke they have received, is not only contrary to the judgment of every wise man amongst us, but all authority, which consequently will be exerted to do them justice ; therefore, these facts ought to have great weight in their determination at this time ; and as a further proof of our uprightness towards them, two of the gentlemen

here present will accompany you in the execution of this good work.' (A string of wampum.)

"Captain Conolly then addressed the Indians as follows:

"**BRETHREN:** I am very sorry to find that a dispute has happened between our people and yours, which has been attended with bad consequences to both parties. You ought to be certain, brothers, that our wise men had no act or part in what has happened, and that it was entirely owing to the folly and indiscretion of our young people, which you know, like your own young men, are unwilling to listen to good advise. As to the particulars of what has happened, we yet do not know; we are sure, however, that people are killed on both sides, but we hope, as the dispute happened only between the young and foolish people, that it will not engage our wise men in a quarrel in which none of us had a part. It is, however, brothers, very unlucky that any difference should have happened between us at this time, as the great Headman of Virginia and all his wise people are just going to meet together to counsel about the settling in this country, bought from you, the Six Nations, and to give orders to their young men, which may come to be your neighbors, to be kind and friendly towards you. And, likewise, I expect they will buy goods to clothe your old people and children, to brighten the chain of friendship between us, and to convince you that we will be as friendly towards you as your late neighbors from Pennsylvania were. And, therefore, I desire you, brothers, not to listen to what some lying people may tell you to the contrary, for although we are always ready to fight our enemies, yet we will show our true and steady friendship upon every occasion when necessary.' (A string of wampum)

"Captain White Eyes, on behalf of the indians present, made the following answer:

"**BRETHREN:** (the English,) We have heard with satisfaction the several speeches you have now delivered to us, and we return you our sincere thanks for the friendship and concern you have been pleased to express for us upon this occasion; we cannot doubt of your uprightness towards us, and that the mischief done to us, has been done contrary to your intent and desire, which we believe has arose entirely from the evil minded persons who have been the perpetrators of it; therefore it is incumbent upon us to aid you with our best assistance. As the great and good work of peace has been established between us, by the labor and pains of our greatest and wisest men, it ought not to be disturbed by the folly or imprudence of any rash people whatever, who, hereafter, refusing to pay due obedience to good advice, or offering to slip their hands from the chain of friendship, it will be our duty to chastise, should not those examples of violence before their eyes have this effect. Brethren, I will carry your messages to the other Nations; they are intended for myself, as it is too serious to be trifled

with, or boys to be employed on ; it is the happiness of ourselves, our women and children, and everything dear to us, that we are endeavoring to preserve. 'Therefore there can be no doubt that I shall speak my sentiments fully and truly to all Nations upon it.' (A large string of white wampum.)

"Guyasutha then returned Captain White Eyes thanks on behalf of the Six Nations present, and told him, as he had delivered their sentiments fully in the foregoing speech, it was needless for them to say anything more upon the subject, but desire him to be strong in restoring the tranquility of the country, and that one of his people should accompany him in this good undertaking.

"May 9. A speech delivered by several Chiefs, Six Nations and Delawares :

"**BRETHREN :** (the Governor of Virginia,) No doubt you have been informed by the officer commanding at this place of the misfortunes which have lately happened in this country. And we now declare to you, as well as to all our brothers (the English), that we had no suspicion of so much mischief being done, as we have always on our parts made it our constant study to promote the peace subsisting between our brethren (the English) and us, and we also assure you that we still continue to preserve that chain of friendship ; and we hope that such of you, our brethren, the white people, who are in authority, will do everything in your power to prevent your rash people from committing further hostilities upon us.

"**BROTHER :** We have to request you in a particular manner to be strong, and consider what may be best to be done with those flagrant offenders of our peace.

"As to us, we have the satisfaction to inform you that we have received a message from the Lower Towns, informing us that all the Indians there remained quiet, and that they have submitted the loss they have sustained to the candor and justice of your wise people.' (A belt.)

"May 16. A message delivered by five principal men of the Delawares from Custaloga :

"**BRETHREN :** (the English,) I have received your several messages since the outrages committed upon the Indians, and with respect to my people, I assure you that we are perfectly well pleased with them. Our young men are following their employment as usual, relying entirely upon your sincerity, and the hopes of your great men doing everything in their power to redress the breach in our friendship ; therefore, we have also to hope that what you have said to us upon this head comes from your hearts, and not with a design to amuse or deceive us, as we are upon our parts heartily disposed to preserve the strictest friendship with you.' (A string.)

"May 17. **BROTHER :** (Custaloga,) We are glad to find by your message that you and your tribe are so well satisfied with our endeavors to

reconcile the bad conduct of some rash, unthinking people, so injurious to the peace subsisting between you and us. The measures, however, as well as concern, we have shown you upon this occasion, must be sufficient to convince you of the desire we have to live in amity with all our Indian brethren, and although the folly of a few individuals have given you some cause of complaint, yet the general conduct of your brethren (the English) towards you must evince to you their sincerity as well as justice.' (A string.)

"May 21. Arrived, two messengers from Newcomer's Town, and delivered the following speech in writing :

'Newcomer's Town, May 13, 1774.

'This day assembled in Council, King Newcomer, Captain Kill Buck, and Thomas McKee, together with several other chief men of the Delawares. They have received a speech from John Thompson they did not approve of; and they now thought proper to acquaint their brothers at Fort Pitt of him, and would be very glad that our brothers would not take any notice of what he has to say to them, as he only speaks of himself, and there was none of us present; so we would be glad that our brothers of Pennsylvania and Virginia would not hear his speech. He tells us that he will speak to our brothers of Pennsylvania, that they should speak to the people of Virginia, and give them some physic to drink that will bring them to their senses again. This is what he has to say, but we hope that our brothers will not take any notice, or think anything of it, as he cannot speak for us all.

"To our brothers Colonel Croghan, Captain McKee, and Captain Conolly.'

"Returned the following answer :

"May 21. 'BRETHREN: (Chiefs of the Delawares.) We received your speech of the 13th instant, by the two messengers you sent us, and we return you thanks for putting us on our guard against the bad man you have mentioned in it (though he was known to us before), and you may be assured that we shall not pay any regard to what he says to us, or to any other man that does not come with sufficient authority from you. Brethren, we desire you to be strong, and speak to your grand children, the Shawanese, and let them know that any unruly conduct of theirs at this time will only produce more fatal consequences than has already happened, and that the number of people who yet desire to live and preserve the peace of this country are far superior to those bad people who desire the contrary, so that if they study their real interest they will not delay to inform us of their sentiments, as they must be convinced that our whole country are now collected in bodies, and waiting to hear from them. Brethren, we desire your young men may be informed that we shall be glad to see them come here and trade as usual.' (A string.)

" *May 25.* White Eyes, after delivering the condolence speeches to the Delawares, at the Newcomer's Town, received the following answer, directed to their brethren, the English :

" ' BRETHREN : We are glad to receive your messages now delivered to us by Captain White Eyes upon the late disturbances which have happened between our young men, and we return you thanks for the speedy measures you have taken to speak to us upon it. We are entirely satisfied upon this account, and banish everything which could give us uneasiness from our hearts, as you desire us, and we likewise request that you will do the same, that nothing may remain upon either side to discontent us. (A string.)

" ' BRETHREN : We have too great a regard for the ancient friendship established between you and us, and which has so long subsisted between our forefathers, to suffer the conduct of foolish men to have any bad effect upon it, or to weaken our good intentions in the least, so as to loosen our hands from the hold we have of it ; therefore we do not look towards the evil that has been done, with any resentment in our minds, but with a desire to have it buried in oblivion, as well as everything else which has an appearance of disturbing our future tranquility. Be strong, brethren, and think favorably of our peace, as we do, and we shall be too powerful for any bad people, who are not inclined to listen to or preserve it as we do. Brethren, when our wise people concluded the peace which subsists between us, it was mutually agreed between them, that though probably we might lose people on both sides by the rashness or folly of bad men, that it ought not, nor should not, have any evil effect upon the amity settled by them, and this is still what we adhere to. Brethren, last of all spoke to our grandchildren, the Shawanese, upon this head, and desired them to keep their young, imprudent men from doing mischief, and this advice we have again given them at this time. (A belt.)

" ' BRETHREN : The road which you have cleared between you and us, we now, by this string of wampum, upon our parts, remove every obstacle that may impede our travelling it with satisfaction, and we desire that our young men may be permitted to continue their trade as usual. Those white people who are in our towns, to the number of eleven, you will see in a few days, who are going to Pittsburgh under the protection of your brethren the Delawares, and as soon as matters wear a more favorable aspect, we shall expect them to return to our town.' (A string.)

" The Shawanese then delivered the following answer to the condolence speeches and message sent them :

" ' BROTHERS : (Captain Conolly, Mr. McKee, and Mr. Croghan.) We have received your speeches by White Eyes, and as to what Mr. Croghan and Mr. McKee says, we look upon it all to be lies, and perhaps what you say may be lies also ; but as it is the first time you have spoken to us, we listen to you, and expect that what we may hear from you will be more

confined to truth than what we usually hear from the white people. It is you who are frequently passing down and up the Ohio, and making settlements upon it, and as you have informed us that your wise people were met together to consult upon this matter, we desire you to be strong, and consider it well.

“BRETHREN: We see you speak to us at the head of your warriors, who you have collected together at sundry places upon this river, where we understand they are building forts, and as you have requested us to listen to you, we will do it, but in the same manner that you appear to speak to us. Our people at the Lower Towns have no Chiefs amongst them, but are all warriors, and are also preparing themselves to be in readiness, that they may be better able to hear what you have to say.

“You tell us not to take any notice of what your people have done to us; we desire you likewise not to take any notice of what our young men may now be doing, and as no doubt you can command your warriors when you desire them to listen to you, we have reason to expect that ours will take the same advice when we require it, that is, when we have heard from the Governor of Virginia.

“BRETHREN: (of Pennsylvania,) It is some years ago since we had the satisfaction to see you at Pittsburgh, when you came there to renew the ancient friendship that subsisted between our forefathers; and it gave us great pleasure to assist you in the great work, when the path was opened between you and us, and we now tell you that your traders who have travelled it, shall return the same road in peace, and we desire our grandfathers, the Delawares, to be strong in conducting them safe to you.’ (A string.)

“May 26. The Indians expressing a desire of hearing their brethren of Pennsylvania speak to them, Captain St. Clair, on behalf of that Province, addressed them as follows:

“BRETHREN: (Six Nations and Delawares,) We have heard your good speeches, and I am come from your brother of Pennsylvania to thank you for the care and pains you have taken to preserve the general peace. We are determined to do all in our power to maintain the friendship that subsists between us and our brethren the Six Nations and Delawares entire; but as our people are alarmed at what has happened with the Shawanese, we recommed it to you to prevent your people from hunting amongst us for some time, as our people will not be able to distinguish betwixt them and others. We wish, and will endeavor to keep the path open to our brethren, and keep bright that chain of friendship betwixt us which was so long held fast by their and our forefathers. Signed, AR. ST. CLAIR.’

“The Delawares then returned thanks for the good opinion their brethren of Pennsylvania had expressed of them, and that their sentiments correspond so nearly with their own, with respect to keeping whole their ancient friendship, and they called upon their uncles, the Six Nations, to be witness

to their now declaring that they were determined to preserve it unshaken and unhurt from the attacks of bad people.

"Guyasutha then told his nephews, the Delawares, that he was rejoiced to find them so determined upon supporting the good order and peace of the country. That they might always depend upon being backed by the Six Nations in so laudable a resolution, who were so strongly linked in friendship with the English, that it was not to be broken; therefore, what they had now heard from them was very agreeable.'

"*May 26.* A speech delivered the Delawares, upon receiving their answer to the condolence messages that had been sent them, and which was delivered by Captain White Eyes :

"**BROTHERS :** We are glad to find that our former friendship is not to be hurt by what has happened between our young people and yours, and as we have been very sorry for it, we now, at your request, remove the trouble from our hearts, and desire that you may do the same, so that nothing but friendship may be thought of between us.

"**BROTHERS :** We are glad to find that you are so friendly and considerate as not to allow the rash actions of our young, foolish people to break in upon our former friendship, and as you desire it may be forgot, we hope it will, and that we never have cause of future disturbance. You may be assured that we are strong on our parts to maintain the strictest friendship with our brethren the Delawares, and are sure that we will be able for any bad people that may want to interrupt it; what you observe as to the good understanding between us and you, we have an eye to, and think as you do, that the rashness of foolish young men should not interrupt. We thank you for the pains you have taken to speak to your grandchildren, the Shawanese, and for the advice you have given them. (A string.)

"**BROTHERS :** We have heard the Shawanese answer to our message by you, and we understand it; we are sorry that they should be so foolish as not to listen to reason; but since we think they will not, we must desire our brethren, the Delawares, to withdraw themselves from amongst them, that no evil may happen them by accident, which would give us great concern. We, likewise, once more desire such of our brethren, the Six Nations, as may be amongst them to come away also, and listen to their own Chiefs as they have been often desired. We are sorry to think that the Shawanese want to destroy themselves, and be no longer a nation; for if they attempt to kill any of us, for what has happened owing to bad young men, our warriors will fall upon them, and they must expect nothing but chastisement; therefore, I must desire you, my brothers, to remove yourselves from those bad people, that we may know our friends. They say that the traders among them shall return safe. I hope they speak true, as that may be a great means to prevent mischief. (A belt.)

"**BRETHREN :** We clearly see that the road between you and us is open

if it were not for bad people, but we hope that will not prevent our intercourse with you as usual. We thank you for the mark of your friendship in bringing in our people, the traders, safe to us ; and we promise when matters are better settled, they shall trade with you as formerly.' (A belt.)

" Captain White Eyes then replied :

" ' BRETHREN : We are very glad to hear what you have now said, and we find that you would willingly preserve the peace. We shall inform all the Nations in friendship with us of what has passed between us at this time, and in one month will be able to complete this design, and then we shall be able to distinguish those who are inclined to listen to our wise people, and preserve the peace, from those that choose to speak by their warriors. This will afford time for those who are inclined to remove themselves to their Chiefs, and give an opportunity to the warriors to speak to one another.'

" *June 1.* A party of Moravian Indians came in, with one of the missionaries residing amongst them and his family, with a quantity of peltry belonging to our traders.

" Those Indians say that they were informed on the way hither that a principal man of the Delawares, who had gone to the lower Shawanese Town, after White Eyes' messages were delivered to the Shawanese, in order to hear news, has returned, and brought an account that the traders there were still alive, and that the Shawanese Chiefs there had spoke boldly in defence of them to the Mingoes, who were the only people constantly attempting to put them to death ; but that the Shawanese had told the Mingoes that they had brought the traders amongst them, and were determined to protect them in their bosoms until they could return them safe home ; and that if the Mingoes could not be satisfied without taking revenge upon the white people for the loss they had sustained, that they must look for it at a greater distance than in their towns, upon the people whom they had pledged their faith to preserve. Those Indians further say, that the chief disturbances amongst them appears to be only at a small village upon Muskingum, called Waketummakie, composed mostly of the friends of the people who have been killed ; and that the Mingoes, as the greatest sufferers, are most enraged ; however, that the party collected to strike the Virginians were not gone a few days ago, and that if they could not be prevented from their rash undertaking, that the Newcomer, Chief of the Delawares, was determined to send runners to apprise us of them, as they attempted to proceed to war.

" *June 5.* Two messengers, from the Newcomer, arrived with an account that five days ago one Conner, a white man, who lives at the Snake's Town, upon the Muskingum, had returned home from the place where the traders were making their canoes, and informed them that the traders were all safe, to the number of twenty-seven or thirty, and that the Shawanese had taken

great pains in protecting them, and was about sending them off with their peltry, with some of their young men, and some Delawares, to protect them upon their way up to Pittsburgh.

“ These messengers further say, that all the towns, as well as the Shawanese, are now quiet, and that their Chiefs have been able to prevail over their rash and foolish young men, who wanted to take revenge on the white people for their loss, except two small parties, consisting of thirteen men in the whole, who were friends of the Indians that suffered, and could not be restrained, though their Chiefs did everything in their power to prevent them from the bad undertaking; that they hoped their brethren the English would not blame them, or think that they countenanced any evil that might be committed by these rash men, who have stole away from them to do mischief, contrary to their Chiefs’ advice, and are chiefly all Mingoës, who have had the most relations killed; that one party has been out eleven days, and was to return in fifteen, and intended against that part of the river where their friends were put to death, or somewhere else below that, upon Virginia. The above party having declared that as soon as they had taken revenge for their people, and returned home, that they would then sit down and listen to their Chiefs.

“ The above messengers also say that the day they left home a runner came in there from five Cherokees that were to be in the day following upon business, and that the Delawares would inform us of it as soon as it was known. And they also said that they heard that one of the before mentioned parties who had gone to take revenge upon the white people were returned, and had killed one man.

“ They then produced some belts of wampum, which had been delivered to them by Sir William Johnson, several years ago, desiring them to collect themselves together, and sit in the centre between their brethren the white people, Six Nations, and Western Indians, where they were required to hold fast by the middle of the chain of friendship, and that they were thereby empowered to speak strongly to any Nation who might attempt to disturb it.

“ Answer :

“ BRETHREN : We return you thanks for the trouble you have taken to bring us the news we have now heard from you, and we esteem it as a proof of your sincerity and good inclination to preserve the peace of the country, as well as those belts you have laid before us, convinces us that you still bear in remembrance the former friendship that has been contracted with you. Be strong brethren in doing what you have been desired upon them; you have now an opportunity of exerting your good intentions that way, by speaking to those foolish people, who have not listened to the accommodation our wise people were endeavoring to make of the late unhappy disturbances, for you must be convinced that every mischief that may

be committed at this time, is widening the breach, and of consequence involving us on both sides in greater difficulties. Therefore we have nothing more to say at present, than to recommend to you to follow the advice that has been sent to you by Captain White Eyes, which was to abstract yourselves from bad people who may be obstinate in pursuing their own destruction.'

"Answer to the speech of the Indians of the Six Nations and Delawares, dated Pittsburgh, May 7, 1774 :

"'BROTHERS: I am informed of the misfortunes that have lately happened in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, and have received your speech on the occasion, and I lament no less those that have befallen my brothers, the Indians, than those that have happened to my fellow subjects, the English.

"'From the accounts I have received however, the Indians have been the aggressors, and thereby the occasion of the fatal consequences which have ensued. But as you, my brethren, say that you always on your parts have made it your constant study to promote the peace subsisting between you and us, and still continue to preserve that chain of friendship, so I take this opportunity of assuring you that your brethren, the Virginians, do cordially love you, and hope always to live in peace, unity, and good correspondence with you. And to that end, if you can point out the offenders against our peace, we will on our parts omit nothing in our power to overtake the transgressors on our side with the punishment due to such crimes.

"'I rejoice at the information you give me of the good disposition of the Indians of the Lower Towns, and you may assure them that their complaints, when they reach us shall be attended to with that candor and justice to which they submit them, and which is due to them. DUNMORE.'

Dated at *Williamsburgh*, May 29, 1774.'

"June 9. A message sent with Lord Dunmore's speech to the Six Nations and Delawares.

"'BRETHREN: We herewith send you the Headman of Virginia's answer to your message of the 7th May, 1774, who is, you see, much concerned for the unlucky disputes which happened between us and you, and you must observe his speech is very friendly and good towards the Six Nations and Delawares.

"'But, brethren, as the Mingoes and Shawanese have since struck us, notwithstanding our endeavors to restore friendship, we have now upon this account, again to desire your people to withdraw from amongst them that no injury may happen to you. Brothers, you will send the Headman of Virginia's speech to Captain White Eyes, and our brothers of the Six Nations in order to show them that he is determined to hold fast by the ancient chain of friendship.

"By the Honorable John Penn, Esquire, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware.

"A message to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanese Indians :

"BRETHREN : When I heard that you had taken care of our traders, and had sent some of your young men to conduct them home in safety, it made my heart glad, because I was satisfied that you kept fast hold of the chain of friendship which was made between our forefathers, and renewed by us, and you may be assured that I shall always remember this instance of your kindness, and that I shall hold fast that end of the chain which is in my hands so long as you hold yours. But, brethren, it gives me great concern, and my heart is grieved, to hear of the difference between you and our brothers, the people of Virginia. If any of the wicked people of Virginia have murdered any of your people, you should complain of it to the Governor, and he will have them punished. You should not in such cases take revenge upon innocent people, who have never hurt you. It is a very wicked thing to kill innocent people, because some of their countrymen have been wicked and killed some of you.

"BRETHREN : If you continue to act in this manner, the people of Virginia must do the same thing by you, and then there will be nothing but war between you. Consider, brethren, that the people of Virginia are like the leaves upon the trees, very numerous, and you are but few, and although you should kill ten of their people for one that they kill of yours, they will at last wear you out and destroy you. They are able to send a great army in your country, and destroy your towns and your corn, and either kill your wives and children, or drive them away. Besides, brethren, the Virginians, as well as our people, and you, are the children of the great King who lives beyond the great water, and if his children fall out, and go to war among themselves, and some of them are wicked and will not make peace with the others, he will be very angry, and punish those who are in fault. Therefore, brethren, let me advise you to forget and forgive what is past, and to send to the Governor of Virginia and offer to make peace. I shall write to the Governor of Virginia, and endeavor to persuade him to join with you in mending the chain of friendship between you which has been broken, and to make it so strong that it may never be broken again. And I hope, brethren, if he be willing to do this good thing, that you will be of the same mind, and then we shall all live together like friends and brothers. (A belt.)

"Given under my hand, and the lesser seal of the said Province, at Philadelphia, the sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four.

JOHN PENN."

"Williamsburgh, Friday, October 14, 1774.

"This day an express arrived from his Excellency, the Governor, who has sent copies of several speeches that passed between him and the Chiefs

of the Six Nations and Delawares ; wherein they greatly disapprove of the murders and outrages committed by the Shawanese, and promise to use their best endeavors to bring them to a treaty with his Excellency, when it is hoped a permanent peace will be established, and an end put to an Indian war, so ruinous to the frontier inhabitants, as well as expensive to the country.*

COUNCIL BETWEEN LORD DUNMORE AND THE INDIANS.

“At a Council held with the Indians : Present, his Excellency the Right Honorable the Earl of Dunmore, Lieutenant and Governor of Virginia, &c., Alexander McKee, Esquire, Deputy Agent, &c.: Indians—Delawares, King Custaloga, Captain White Eyes, and Pluggy, a Six Nation Chief, and sundry others.

“Captain White Eyes spoke :

“*First.*—Brother : I wipe the sweat and dust from your eyes by this string, and remove the fatigue that you have had during your journey ; and also, I clear and open your ears, that you may readily comprehend and hear what your brothers have now to say to you ; I also remove every concern from your heart, owing to any bad impressions which have been made upon you during your journey to this place, that you may believe the sincerity of us towards you, and all our brethren the English. (A string.)

“*Second.*—Brother : I will now inform you of what I know concerning the Shawanese. Our uncles, the Mohawks, have been sent by the Shawanese here, in order to know in what manner they should act, so as to be admitted to a conference with their brethren, the English of Virginia. Our uncles, the Mohawks, desire to inform you that the principal men of that Nation continue to hold fast by the ancient chain of friendship ; but that some foolish young men had loosened their hands therefrom, and that it was not in their power to prevent them heretofore. Brother, I have now told you of what our uncles, the Mohawks, have told us, of what the Chiefs of the Shawanese say, and hope you will be strong, and consider upon what you may have to say to them, that whenever you choose to speak, we may be ready to join you in so doing.

“*Third.*—Brother : I desire you to listen to your brethren, the Five Nations and Mohawks, the Wyandots, and also your brethren the Delawares. These are the people who have taken pains to keep everything quiet since these unhappy troubles. All the Western Nations are quiet, but keep their eyes fixed on this quarter. Brother, I am rejoiced to see you, as I was troubled and afraid before, but now my apprehensions are dispersed

* It will be perceived that there is neither date nor place for this Council. No doubt, however, that it must have been at this place, in September, 1774, as Lord Dunmore was then here preparing for his expedition against the Indians.

on seeing you, which is the cause of my pleasure. Brother, I now esteem our women and children restored to life upon your arrival, and that even the foolish young people will have reason to be thankful on the conclusion of the present prospect. (A string.)

“*Fourth.*—Brother: I desire you to listen to us few of the numerous Chiefs who formerly were of our Nations: as the few now remaining have a due remembrance of the friendship subsisting between our forefathers. Brother, during the trouble which happened, owing to foolish people, I was apprehensive it might be the cause of universal trouble, so as to have shook our amity, and weakened the ancient friendship between us. Brother, I tell you that I am extremely rejoiced at your arrival here, as you are esteemed our elder brother; and I hope that, as you have it amply in your power, you will restore our ancient friendship, and establish it upon the former good footing; to promote which, we will contribute our weak endeavors, by affording all our assistance. (A belt.)

“‘This is what your brethren have to say to you who are here present.’

“His Lordship said:

“‘I am much obliged to you for this mark of your friendship, and I will consider of what you have said, and shall return you an answer hereafter.’

“His Excellency’s Answer to the Delawares and Six Nation Chiefs:

“‘BRETHREN: I now wipe the tears from your eyes, which you may have shed for the loss of any of your people. I remove the grief from your hearts which it may have occasioned. I also clear your ears from any bad reports, that you may now look upon your brethren, the Virginians, with friendship, and that you may believe what I am about to say to you in your hearts, and receive it with pleasure.’ (A string.)

“‘BRETHREN: With these trifling goods I cover the graves of your deceased friends, that the remembrance of your grief upon that occasion, may be buried in total oblivion. (Condolence present.)

“‘BRETHREN: Your desire is gratified; I do see clearly, and the sweat and fatigue I have experienced on my journey here, will be no cause of complaint to me, when I find an opportunity to convince my brethren, the Delawares and Six Nations, of my good intentions towards them. You may be assured, brethren, that as I am now here present, I shall be able to hear plainly, and to distinguish clearly what is just and unjust between me and my brethren, the Indians. (A string.)

“‘BRETHREN: I am much obliged to you for the pains you have taken to heal the sores made by the Shawanese, and would have been very glad to have now given you a more favorable answer as to them; but you yourselves must be well acquainted how little the Shawanese deserve the treatment or appellation of brethren from me, when, in the first place, they have not complied with the terms prescribed to them by Colonel Bouquet, (and to which they assented,) of giving up the white prisoners; nor have they ever

truly buried the hatchet ; for the next summer after that treaty, they killed a man upon the frontiers of my Government ; the next year they killed eight of my people upon Cumberland river, and brought their horses to their towns, where they disposed of them (together with a considerable quantity of peltry,) to the traders from Pennsylvania. Some time after, one Martin, a trader from my Government, was killed with two men, on Hockhocking, by the Shawanese, only because they were Virginians ; at the same time permitting one Ellis to pass, only as he was a Pennsylvanian. In the year 1771, twenty of my people were robbed by them, when they carried away nineteen horses, and as many owned by Indians, with their guns, clothes, &c., which they delivered up to one Callender and Spears, and other Pennsylvania traders in their towns. In the same year, on the Great Kenhawa, in my Government, they killed — — —, one of my people and his brother ; and the year following, Adam Stroud, another of my people, his wife and seven children, were most cruelly murdered on Elk waters. In the next year they killed Richards, another of my people, on the Kanhawa. A few moons after, they killed Russel, one of my people, and five white men and two negroes, near Cumberland Gap ; and also carried their horses and effects into their towns, where they were purchased by the Pennsylvania traders. All these, with many other murders, they have committed upon my people, before a drop of Shawanese blood was spilt by them ; and have continually perpetrated robberies upon my defenceless frontier inhabitants, which at length irritated them so far that they began to retaliate. I have now stated the dispute between them and us, and leave it to you to judge what they merit. (A belt.)

“ BRETHREN : You desire me to listen to my brethren, the Five Nations, the Mohawks, the Wyandots, and to my brethren the Delawares. I do so with the utmost attention, and am well pleased to return you my thanks for the pains you have taken, and am extremely happy, and exceedingly desirous that the eyes of the Western Nations, and all others, may be continually fixed upon me ; for then they will plainly see that my real intention and sincere desire, is only to do justice to all parties. Brethren, I hope our pleasure at meeting is mutual ; and you may be assured, from my late proceedings, that my good will towards you is most sincere, and I rejoice equally with you at the new life your women and children have acquired by my arrival ; and I most sincerely wish that they may long continue in a full enjoyment of peace and happiness, to which I will most cheerfully contribute my utmost assistance. (A string.)

“ BRETHREN : I am very glad to find that the Chiefs of the different Nations have a due and friendly regard to the friendship formerly subsisting between our forefathers, which I shall be happy at all times to continue. I am glad to observe that few, if any, of the foolish people who have been the authors of the late troubles, were in any wise particularly connected

with you ; and I hope that our ancient friendship is too strongly linked to be broke by a few banditti of a distant Nation. I own I am very much rejoiced at my arrival here, as I hope it will be the means of adding fresh strength to the ancient chain of friendship subsisting between us ; and particularly so, as I see your inclinations are to facilitate this good work. I acknowledge myself your elder brother, and shall, on every occasion, manifest my regard as such towards you ; and I do expect that you will continually look up to me as your elder brother, from whom you may be assured of the strongest marks of brotherly kindness, either in peace or war. And as you may now be certain of protection from your elder brother, I flatter myself you will continue to tread the ancient path towards him here, when he will be answerable that the most ample justice shall be done you.' (A belt.)

“ At a conference held with several of the Delaware and Mohawk Chiefs.

“ Intelligence received from Captain Pipe :

“ ‘ At my arrival at the Lower Shawanese Towns, I was told by the Cornstalk that he was much rejoiced to hear from his brethren, the white people, in the Spring, upon the first disturbances ; that he had, in consequence thereof, ordered all his young people to remain quiet, and not to molest the traders, but to convey them safe to their grandfathers, the Delawares, where they would be safe. The Shawanese Chiefs declared they were well pleased to hear from their brethren, the English, and that they had spoke to all their young people to remain quiet. Upon his arrival at the Standing Stone, he sent word to the Shawanese to assemble their Counsellors ; but, as they were out a hunting, it could not be immediately effected. The principal warriors always listened to the Chiefs, and had no hostile intentions. The mischiefs which had been done, were perpetrated by the foolish young people ; but that now, as soon as they were assembled, they would be able to prevent any thing of that nature for the future. The Shawanese told me that a party of Twightwees, one of Tawas, and a party of Wyandots, were as far advanced on their way to war against the white people, as their town ; but that they had advised them to return ; that they expected the war which threatened them would be extinguished, as they now endeavored at peace.’ ”

“ Pluggy, a Mohawk, who was questioned whether he knew of these parties, said that some hunters who were of the Wyandots and Tawas, came to the Shawanese Towns, to hear news, but were sent back.’ ”

“ Speech of the Mohegans to the Shawanese.

“ **BRETHREN :** Formerly you came to us on the other side of the Mountains, and told us we were your elder brothers, desiring us to come over and show ourselves to your grandfathers, the Delawares, that they might know our relationship. We did so, and as one people held fast the same

chain of friendship; but now we see you only holding with one hand, whilst you keep a tomahawk in the other. We desire you, therefore, to sit down and not be so haughty, but pity your women and children. We therefore take the tomahawk out of your hands, and put it into the hands of your grandfathers, the Delawares, who are good judges, and know how to dispose of it.'

"Answer of the Shawanese:

"'BRETHREN: We are glad to hear what you have said, and that you have taken the tomahawk out of our hands and given it to our grandfathers, the Delawares; but, for our parts, we are not sensible that we have had the tomakawk in our hands. It is true some foolish young people may have found one out of our sight, hid in the grass, and may have made use of it; but that tomahawk which we formerly held, has been long since buried, and we have not since raised it.

"'There was a great deal of consultation amongst the different Nations, while I was at their towns, but nothing particularly relative to what is now in question.

"'Colonel Stephen demanded of Captain Pipe how he was received by the Shawanese, who says that he arrived there about noon, and after having cleared their eyes and opened their ears in the common form, that they had a great dance, and afterwards came to him; and, upon hearing what he had to say, expressed their satisfaction by saying they hoped their friendship was now renewed. Though he heard some of the young people expressing a threatening at the Delawares' so much interfering in their quarrel with the white people; that if they had any thing to say, they wondered why the white people did not come themselves to speak.

"'The Delawares said, that as the sentiments of the Shawanese were now known, that if the Governor had an inclination, they would join him in anything he had to offer to them for the promotion of peace, and the restoration of harmony to the country.'

"Reply of the Mohawks and Delaware Chiefs, to his Lordship's Answer:

"Present: Captain White Eyes, Captain Pipe, Captain Winganum, Delawares; Captain Pluggy and Big Apple Tree, Mohawks.

"Captain White Eyes spoke in behalf of the Delawares:

"'BROTHER: Your brethren here present, are very happy to have heard your good speeches, and are glad to find you acknowledge yourself their elder brother. We acquainted you that our sincere desire was, that the peace between us and our brethren the English, should be upon a lasting footing. We now are convinced that it will be upon a sure and permanent foundation, as our children may have an opportunity of being instructed in the Christain religion. We shall acquaint all the tribes of Indians of what

has here passed between us, and we are satisfied that it will be very satisfactory to them to hear the good talk from our elder brother. For my part, I can assure you, brother, that for my tribe I can answer, even for the foolish young people thereof, that they will not be the cause of any disturbance in any manner whatever hereafter, either by theft or otherwise, or give cause of any trouble to your people. The Chiefs of the other tribes of our Nation will confirm what I have now said, as soon as they have an opportunity. (A string.)

“**BROTHER :** As your brethren, the Shawanese, are desirous to speak to you by themselves, I hope you will listen to them. I will desire them to speak to you : and that you may there have an opportunity of speaking together, I would be glad to acquaint them when they could see you to enter into conference. I am much obliged to you for the promise you have given me, that justice shall be done us in the trade here, and that proper persons shall be appointed to see that we are fairly dealt with. I shall acquaint the young men with it, that they may come to trade in their usual manner.’

“The Big Apple Tree, Mohawk, spoke :

“**BROTHER :** This day it hath pleased God that we should meet together—we who are sent on behalf of another Nation. The Shawanese told me that they heard there was something yet good in the heart of the Big Knife. They desired me to take their hearts into our hands, and speak strongly on their behalf to the Big Knife. I am glad the Shawanese, my younger brethren, have desired me to undertake this business, if I can serve them ; and I am equally rejoiced at the appearance thereof, from your good speeches. You may be assured that, as they have delivered themselves into our care, we shall do our endeavor to induce them to pursue proper measures to restore peace. You may be also assured that your brother, the Chief of the Wyandots, will also assist me in taking care that our younger brothers, the Shawanese, act a prudent part. Wheresoever, brother, you build your Council Fire, to speak to the Shawanese, you may be assured, that we, the Mohawks, with our brethren, the Wyandots, will come with them to speak also ; and that we hope peace then will be restored and established on a permanent footing.’ (A string.)

“His Lordship’s answer :

“**BRETHREN :** I shall consider of what you have said, and will give you an answer this afternoon.’

“His Lordship’s answer to their reply :

“**BRETHREN :** I am glad to find that what I have said in our late conference has been satisfactory to you ; and you may be assured that whatever I have promised shall be confirmed, so that my actions shall convince you of the sincerity of my heart. I am glad to find you have a desire of instructing your children in the Christian religion, which will be the

cause of peace remaining between us on a lasting footing, and of adding happiness to your own nation. (A string.)

“‘BRETHREN: I have already informed you of the evil disposition of the Shawanese towards us; but to convince you how ready the Big Knife is to do justice, at all times, even to their greatest enemies, at the request of my good brethren, the Six Nations, and you the Delawares, I will be ready and willing to hear any good speeches which the Shawanese may have to deliver to me, either at Wheeling, where I soon purpose to be, or, if they should not meet me there, at the little Kenhawa, or somewhere lower down the river. (A string.)

“‘BRETHREN: (The Mohawks,) You will hear by my speech to my younger brethren, the Delawares, that I am prevailed upon to listen to the Shawanese, notwithstanding their bad behaviour towards my people, and as I am prevailed upon merely by the confidence I repose in the friendship of my brethren, the Wyandots and Five Nations, I expect this will be looked upon as a strong proof of my regard for them; and as it is your wish, I will meet the Shawanese at one of the places mentioned in my answer to my younger brethren, the Delawares, provided they are led to the Council Fire by my brethren, the Mohawks, the Wyandots and the Delawares, as I shall be satisfied that whatever they may then promise you my brethren will see them strictly adhered to.’ (A string.)

“The Delawares reply:

“‘BROTHER: We are much rejoiced to hear what you have now said, and believe it to be sincere; and you may be satisfied that I, in behalf of my people, will endeavor to convince you that we are so. When the Delawares, the Six Nations, the Shawanese and you, our elder brother, meet together, you will then see who are sincere in their friendship. In a short time it will be seen, for those who are determined on good, will not fail to meet you. I shall speak to the Shawanese, and, if their intentions are equal to their professions, they will see you; but, on behalf of my people, I promise to meet you. This is all I have to say at this time; but you may be certain that myself, Captain Pipe and Captain Winganum will wait on you.’”

BATTLE AT POINT PLEASANT.

FROM THE CAMP, ON POINT PLEASANT, AT THE MOUTH OF THE GREAT KENHAWA, OCTOBER 17, 1774.

"For the satisfaction of the public, in this letter they have a true statement of the battle fought at that place, on the 10th instant :

"On Monday morning, about half an hour before sun-rise, two of Captain Russell's Company discovered a large party of Indians about a mile from Camp, one of which men was shot down by the Indians; the other made his escape and brought in the intelligence. In two or three minutes after, two of Captain Shelvey's men came in and confirmed the account. Colonel Andrew Lewis being informed thereof, immediately ordered out Colonel Charles Lewis to take the command of one hundred and fifty of the Augusta troops, and with him went Captain Dickenson, Captain Harrison, Captain Wilson, Captain John Lewis, of Augusta, and Captain Lockridge, which made the first Division. Colonel Fleming was also ordered to take the command of one hundred and fifty more of the Botetourt, Bedford and Fincastle troops, viz : Captain Thomas Burford, from Bedford, Captain Love, of Botetourt, Captain Shelvey and Captain Russel, of Fincastle, which made the Second Division. Colonel Charles Lewis's Division marched to the right, some distance from the Ohio; and Colonel Fleming, with his Division, on the bank of the Ohio, to the left. Colonel Charles Lewis's Division had not marched quite half a mile from Camp, when, about sun-rise, an attack was made on the front of his Division, in a most vigorous manner, by united tribes of Indians, Shawanese, Delawares,* Mingoes, Tawas, and of several other Nations, in number not less than eight hundred, and by many thought to be a thousand. In this heavy attack, Colonel Charles Lewis received a wound, which in a few hours caused his death, and several of his men fell on the spot. In fact, the Augusta Division was forced to give way to the heavy fire of the enemy. In about a second of a minute after the attack on Colonel Lewis's Division, the enemy engaged the front of Colonel Fleming's Division, on the Ohio, and in a short time the Colonel received two balls through his left arm, and one through his breast; and after animating the officers and soldiers in a most calm manner, to the pursuit of victory, retired to the Camp. The loss from the field was sensibly felt by the officers in particular; but the Augusta troops being shortly reinforced from the Camp by Colonel Field, with his Com-

* There could have been only some straggling Delawares.

pany, together with Captain McDowell, Captain Matthias, and Captain Stewart, from Augusta, Captain John Lewis, Captain Paulin, Captain Arbuckle, and Captain McClenachan, from Botetourt, the enemy, no longer able to maintain their ground, was forced to give way till they were in a line with the troops, Colonel Fleming being left in action on the banks of the Ohio. In this precipitate retreat Colonel Field was killed. During this time, which was till after twelve o'clock, the action continued extremely hot. The close under-wood, and many steep banks and logs, greatly favored their retreat; and the bravest of the men made the best use of them, whilst others were throwing their dead into the Ohio, and carrying off their wounded. After twelve, the action in a small degree abated, but continued, except at short intervals, sharp enough till after one o'clock. Their long retreat gave them a most advantageous spot of ground, from whence it appeared to the officers so difficult to dislodge them, that it was thought most advisable to stand, as the line was then formed, which was about a mile and a quarter in length, and had sustained till then a constant and equal weight of the action, from wing to wing. It was till about half an hour of sunset they continued firing on us scattering shots, which we returned to their disadvantage. At length, night coming on, they found a safe retreat.

"They had not the satisfaction of carrying off any of our men's scalps, save one or two stragglers, whom they killed before the engagement. Many of their dead they scalped, rather than we should have them; but our troops scalped upwards of twenty of their men that were first killed. It is beyond doubt their loss in number far exceeds ours, which is considerable."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM STAUNTON, IN VIRGINIA, DATED NOVEMBER 4, 1774.

"On the tenth of October, our Army being encamped in the Fork of the Great Kenhawa, two men went out early to hunt, but were fired upon by a number of Indians, when one of them was killed; the other made his escape, and brought the intelligence to the Camp. Colonel Lewis immediately ordered out three hundred men, who, after marching about three quarters of a mile before sun-rise, were attacked by a number, (supposed to be from eight hundred to one thousand,) of desperate savages. They soon made our men retreat about one quarter of a mile, when a reinforcement coming up, they continued fighting till noon, and were never above twenty yards apart, often within six, and sometimes close together tomahawking one another. The Indians then began to fall back, but continued fighting at a distance till night came on and parted them. Such a battle with Indians, it is imagined, was never heard of before. We had upwards of fifty men killed, and ninety wounded. Amongst the slain were many brave men, both officers and privates; and a Magistrate of this place, Mr. Frog, a very worthy gentleman, was also killed. So eager were the Indians for his

scalp, that one man shot three of them over him, endeavoring by turns to scalp him. The number of Indians killed cannot be ascertained, as they were continually carrying them off, and throwing them into the river; but from the tracks of blood, the number must have been great. Our men got upwards of twenty scalps, eighty blankets, about forty guns, and a great many tomahawks; and intend in a few days to go over the river, to meet the Governor, twenty or twenty-five miles from their Towns. The Indians the Governor lately concluded a peace with, it is assured, were in this battle. We suppose they have had the other struggle before this time, and are very impatient to know the issue."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM AN OFFICER, LATE UNDER COMMAND OF DUNMORE, AGAINST THE INDIANS, DATED FORT AUGUSTA, NOV. 21, 1774.

"I returned from the Shawanese expedition to my own house, on the 11th instant, an account of which is as follows:

"I left home with my Company the 25th of August, and arrived at the Levels of Greenbrier, (which was the place of general rendezvous,) on the first of September, and against the fifth, we had about eleven hundred men assembled; but the Fincastle men were not yet arrived. However, Colonel Charles Lewis, with the Augusta men, which were about six hundred, marched from that place the 8th of September, and arrived at the mouth of Elk River, (which empties into New River, about sixty miles from the mouth of New River,) the 21st of the same month, where we encamped, and got to making canoes to carry our flour down New River.

"Colonel Andrew Lewis with the Botetourt Troops, joined us at Elk on the 23d or 24th. We made twenty-seven canoes, and on the first of October, crossed Elk, loaded our canoes, and fell down into New River; and next day being very wet, we encamped on the other side of the mouth of Elk. The following day we proceeded down New River, and arrived at the mouth of it on the sixth of October. In all this march, we were never disturbed by the enemy. Our pack-horse men said they saw Indians at times; and at Elk the Indians viewed us and stole some of our horses.

"On our arrival at the mouth of New River, or Great Kenhawa, we sent out spies to search if Indians were in those parts, but they could not discover any. Our men went a hunting every day; and on Monday, the tenth of October, by break of day, a number of our men went out as before, two of whom were fired on by the Indians, about a mile and a half from the Camp; one was killed, the other came into Camp with the alarm that he had discovered about thirty Indians, and that his companion was killed; on which the drum beat to arms. Our men started up from their tents, (numbers being in bed, for the sun was not yet up.) Orders were immediately given, that one hundred and fifty men from each line should go in quest of the enemy; on which, Colonel Charles Lewis, with one hundred and fifty of the Augusta troops, and Colonel Fleming, with one hundred

and fifty Botetourt troops, marched out ; the men of each line were ordered to form on their own ground. In a few minutes three guns went off within about one hundred and twenty poles of the Camp, which was immediately followed by several hundreds ; on which two hundred men were ordered out, who, on their approach, found our men giving way before the enemy : but that reinforcement turned the matter.

"The battle continued. Several Companies were again ordered out, among whom I was ordered out with fifty men to a certain place, to prevent the Indians getting round our Camp. I, with my men, run about half a mile, and came to some of our men by a hill : the Indians had retreated. We then pursued them from tree to tree, till raising a small ridge, they had placed themselves behind logs, fired on us, killed three men near me, and wounded ten or twelve more. We pushed up farther, and there made a stand, which the whole line from the Ohio to us did at the same time. This happened about one o'clock. There we remained watching the Indians, and they us, till near night, now and then firing as opportunity offered, on both sides. The Indians, at the approach of night, skipped off and left us the field, but carried away all their wounded, and many of their slain. However, we got twenty-one of them dead on the ground ; and we afterwards heard they had two hundred and thirty-three killed and wounded ; but I cannot say that is true. We had forty men killed that night, and ninety-six wounded, twenty odd of whom are since dead.*

* LIST OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED VIRGINIANS.—Killed, Colonel Charles Lewis, Major John Field, Captains John Murray, Robert McClenahan, Samuel Wilson, James Ward, Lieutenant Hugh Allen, Ensigns Candiff and Baker ; Privates, 44.

Wounded, Captains W. Fleming (since dead), J. Dickinson, Thomas Burford, John Stidman, Lieutenants Goodman, Robeson, Lard, Vanners ; Privates 79.

BOSTON, Feb. 20, 1775.—On reading the accounts of the battle between the brave Virginians, and their savage neighbors, it brought to my mind the keen resentments and mortifying reflections that must naturally kindle in the breasts of an experienced General, brave officers, and intrepid soldiers, to remember that the professed design of Britain, in maintaining standing armies in America, was the protection of the Colonies, and yet now at the very moment the noble Virginians were bleeding, dying, and winning the laurels of victory, they were confined and basking in their tents, to execute one of the most inglorious designs that ever disgraced the name of a British soldier, viz : enslaving a free Province that has supported itself more than one hundred and fifty years, against her savage foes. These resentments and reflections must still increase, when they feel and know the irresistible conviction this proceeding will give to every honest man in Britain and America, of these two facts : First, That the real design of keeping a standing army in America was not protecting but enslaving the Colonies. The second thing thus demonstrated is, that the Colonies do not need or desire protection from the standing armies, but are able and willing to defend themselves, and therefore they must view their stay in America as useless and burdensome. In this situation it is natural for Americans to imagine the honest, generous souls of the gentlemen of the army will kindle to such a degree, when their inglorious and base employment is compared with that of the virtuous Virginians, gaining the art of war, and glory of victory, that they would rather resign their commissions or lives, than suffer the eternal disgrace of having their names handed down to posterity, with these facts to sully some future page in British or American story. Can we expect less from these generous spirits than that they let their corrupt employers know the just indignation they feel at this abuse and disgrace that is, and will be, fixed eternally on their names as the dupes of tyranny ?

"On the 17th, we crossed the river to go to the Towns, and marched on with about eleven hundred men, leaving three hundred at the Camp to take care of the wounded and provisions; (for know that the Fincastle troops, three hundred in number, joined us the night after the battle;) but on the 24th we were stopped by express from the Governor, informing us that he had made peace."

DUNMORE'S CAMPAIGN.

We extract from Dr. Doddridge's "Notes on the Settlement and Indian wars in the western part of Pennsylvania and Virginia," an account of this last contest in which Americans were engaged as the subjects of Great Britain, adopting some notes upon such parts as we think need explanation or correction.

"Devoutly might humanity wish that the record of the causes which led to the destructive war of 1774, might be blotted from the annals of our country; but it is now too late to efface it: the 'black-lettered list' must remain, a dishonorable blot in our national history; good however may spring out of evil. The injuries inflicted upon the Indians in early times, by our forefathers, may induce their descendants to show justice and mercy to the diminished posterity of those children of the wilderness, whose ancestors perished, in cold blood, under the tomakawk' and scalping knife of the white savages.

"In the month of April, 1774, a rumor was circulated that the Indians had stolen several horses from some land jobbers on the Ohio and Kenhawa rivers. No evidences of the fact having been adduced, leads to the conclusion that the report was false.* This report, however, induced a pretty general belief that the Indians were about to make war upon the frontier settlements; but for this apprehension there does not appear to have been the slightest foundation.

"In consequence of this apprehension of being attacked by the Indians, the land jobbers ascended the river, and collected at Wheeling. On the 27th of April, it was reported in Wheeling that a canoe containing two Indians and some traders, was coming down the river, and then not far from the place. On hearing this, the commandant of the station, Captain Cresap, proposed taking a party to go up the river and kill the Indians. This project was vehemently opposed by Col. Zane, the proprietor of the place.

* See Note A.

He stated to the Captain, that the killing of those Indians, would inevitably bring on a war, in which much innocent blood would be shed, and that the act, in itself, would be an atrocious murder, and a disgrace to his name forever. His good council was lost. The party went up the river. On being asked, at their return, what had become of the Indians, they coolly answered that 'they had fallen overboard into the river.' Their canoe, on being examined, was found bloody, and pierced with bullets. This was the first blood which was shed in this war, and terrible was the vengeance which followed.

"In the evening of the same day, the party hearing that there was an encampment of Indians at the mouth of Captina, went down the river to the place, attacked the Indians, and killed several of them. In this affair, one of Cresap's party was severely wounded.*

"The massacre at Captina, and that which took place at Baker's, about forty miles about Wheeling, a few days after that at Captina, were unquestionably the sole causes of the war 1774.† The last was perpetrated by thirty-two men, under the command of Daniel Greathouse. The whole number killed at this place, and on the river opposite to it, was twelve, besides several wounded. This horrid massacre was effected by an hypocritical strategem, which reflects the deepest dishonor on the memory of those who were agents in it.

"The report of the murders committed on the Indians near Wheeling, induced a belief that they would immediately commence hostilities, and this apprehension furnished the pretext for the murder above related. The ostensible object for raising the party under Greathouse, was that of defending the family of Baker, whose house was opposite to a large encampment of Indians, at the mouth of big Yellow Creek. The party were concealed in ambuscade, while their commander went over the river, under the mask of friendship to the Indian camp, to ascertain their number; while there, an Indian woman advised him to return home speedily, saying that the Indians were drinking, and angry on account of the murder of their people down the river, and might do him some mischief. On his return to his party, he reported that the Indians were too strong for an open attack. He returned to Baker's, and requested him to give any Indians who might come over in the course of the day, as much rum as they might call for, and get as many of them drunk as he possibly could. The plan succeeded. Several Indian men with two women came over the river to Baker's, who had previously been in the habit of selling rum to the Indians. The men drank freely, and became intoxicated. In this state they were all killed by Greathouse, and a few of his party. I say a few of his party, for it is but justice to state, that not more than five or six of the whole number, had any

* See Note B.

† See Note C.

participation in the slaughter at the house ; the rest protested against it as an atrocious murder. From their number being by far the majority, they might have prevented the deed ; but alas ! they did not. A little Indian girl alone was saved from the slaughter, by the humanity of some one of the party whose name is not now known.

“The Indians in the camps hearing the firing at the house, sent a canoe with two men in it, to enquire what had happened. These two Indians were both shot down as soon as they landed on the beach. A second, and larger canoe, was then manned with a number of Indians in arms ; but in attempting to reach the shore, some distance below the house, were received by a well directed fire from the party, which killed the greater number of them, and compelled the survivors to return. A great number of shots were exchanged across the river, but without damage to the white party, not one of whom were wounded. The Indian men who were murdered, were all scalped.

“The woman who gave the friendly advice to the commander of the party, when in the Indian camp, was amongst the slain at Baker's house.

“The massacre of the Indians at Captina and Yellow Creek, comprehended the whole of the family of the famous but unfortunate Logan, who before these events, had been a lover of the whites, and a strenuous advocate for peace ; but in the conflict which followed them, by way of revenge for the death of his people, he became a brave and sanguinary chief among the warriors.

“The settlers along the frontiers, knowing that the Indians would make war upon them for the murder of their people, either moved off to the interior, or took up their residence in forts. The apprehensions of war were soon realized. In a short time the Indians commenced hostilities along the whole extent of our frontiers.

“Express was speedily sent to Williamsburgh, the then seat of Government of the Colony of Virginia, communicating intelligence of the certainty of the commencement of an Indian war. The assembly was then in session.

“A plan for a campaign, for the purpose of putting a speedy conclusion to the Indian hostilities, was adopted between the Earl of Dunmore, the Governor of the Colony, and General Lewis of Bottetourt county. General Lewis was appointed to the command of the southern division of the forces to be employed on the occasion, with orders to raise a large body of volunteers and drafts from the south-eastern counties of the Colony with all dispatch. These forces were to rendezvous at Camp Union, in Greenbrier county. The Earl of Dunmore was to raise another army in the northern counties of the Colony, and in the settlements west of the mountains, and assemble them at Fort Pitt, and from thence descend the river to Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the great Kenhawa, the place appointed for the

junction of the two armies, for the purpose of invading the Indian country, and destroying as many of their villages as they could reach in the course of the season.

“ On the eleventh of September, the forces under Gen. Lewis, amounting to eleven hundred men, commenced their march from Camp Union to Point Pleasant, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles. The tract of country between these two points was, at that time, a trackless desert. Captain Matthew Arbuckle, the pilot, conducted the army by the nearest and best route to their destination. The flour and ammunition were wholly transported on pack-horses, as the route was impassable for wheel carriages. After a painful march of nineteen days, the army arrived, on the first of October, at Point Pleasant, where an encampment was made.

“ Gen. Lewis was exceedingly disappointed at hearing no tidings of the Earl of Dunmore, who, according to previous arrangement, was to form a junction with him at this place. He immediately dispatched some scouts to go by land in the direction of Fort Pitt, to obtain intelligence of the route which the Earl had taken, and then return with the utmost dispatch. On the ninth, three men who had formerly been Indian traders, arrived in the camp on express from the Earl, to inform Lewis that he had changed his plan of operations, and intended to march to the Indian towns by the way of Hockhocking, and directing Gen. Lewis to commence his march immediately for the old Chillicothe town.

“ Very early in the morning of the ninth, two young men set out from the camp to hunt up the river. Having gone about three miles, they fell upon a camp of the Indians, who were then in the act of preparing to march to attack the camp of Gen. Lewis. The Indians fired upon them, and killed one of them; the other ran back to the camp with intelligence that the Indians, in great force, would immediately give battle.

“ Gen. Lewis instantly ordered out a detachment of the Bottetourt troops under Col. Fleming, and another of the Augusta troops under Col. Charles Lewis, remaining himself with the reserve for the defence of the camp. The detachment marched out in two lines, and met the Indians in the same order, about four hundred yards from the camp. The battle commenced a little after sunrise, by a heavy firing from the Indians. At the onset our troops gave back some distance, until met by a reinforcement, on the arrival of which, the Indians retreated a little way and formed a line behind logs and trees, reaching from the bank of the Ohio to that of the Kenhawa. By this manoeuvre, our army and camp were completely invested, being inclosed between the two rivers, with the Indian line of battle in front, so that no chance of retreat was left. An incessant fire was kept up on both sides, with but little change of position until sun-down, when the Indians retreated, and in the night recrossed the Ohio, and the next day commenced their march to their towns on the Scioto.

"Our loss in this destructive battle, was seventy-five killed, and one hundred and forty wounded. Among the killed were Colonel Charles Lewis, Colonel Fields, Captains Burford, Murry, Ward, Wilson and M'Clenachan; Lieutenants, Allen, Goldsby and Dillon, and several subaltern officers.

"Colonel Lewis, a distinguished and meritorious officer, was mortally wounded by the first fire of the Indians, but walked into the camp and expired in his own tent.

"The number of Indians engaged in the battle of the Point, was never ascertained, nor yet the amount of their loss. On the morning after the engagement, twenty-one were found on the battle ground; twelve more were afterwards found in different places where they had been concealed. A great number of their dead were said to have been thrown into the river during the engagement. Considering that the whole number of our men engaged in this conflict were riflemen, and from habit sharp shooters of the first order, it is presumeable that the loss on the side of the Indians was at least equal to ours.

"The Indians, during the battle, were commanded by the Cornstalk warrior, the King of the Shawanese. This son of the forest, in his plans of attack and retreat, and in all his manœuvres throughout the engagement, displayed the skill and bravery of the most consummate General. During the whole of the day, he was heard from our lines, vociferating with the voice of Stentor, 'be strong, be strong.' It is even said, that he killed one of his men with his own hand for cowardice.

"The day after the battle, after burying the dead, entrenchments were thrown up round the camp, and a competent guard was appointed for the care and protection of the sick and wounded. On the day following, Gen. Lewis commenced his march for the Shawanese towns on the Scioto. This march was made through a tractless desert, and attended with almost insuperable difficulties and privations.

"In the meantime, the Earl of Dunmore, having collected a force and provided boats at Fort Pitt, descended the river to Wheeling, where the army halted for a few days, and then proceeded down the river in about one hundred canoes, a few keel boats, and perouges, to the mouth of Hock-hocking, and from thence over land, until the army had got within eight miles of the Shawanee town Chillicothe, on the Scioto. Here the army halted and made a breast work of fallen trees, and entrenchments of such extent as to include about twelve acres of ground, with an enclosure in the centre containing about one acre, surrounded by entrenchments. This was the ciadel which contained the markees of the Earl and his superior officers.

"Before the army had reached that place, the Indians chiefs had sent several messengers to the Earl, asking peace. With this request he soon determined to comply, and therefore sent an express to Gen. Lewis, with an

order for his immediate retreat. This order Gen. Lewis disregarded, and continued his march until his Lordship in person visited his camp, was formally introduced to his officers, and gave the order in person. The army of Gen. Lewis then commenced their retreat.

"It was with the greatest reluctance and chagrin, that the troops of Gen. Lewis returned from the enterprise in which they were engaged. The massacres of their relatives and friends at the Big Levels and Muddy Creek, and above all, their recent loss at the battle of the Point, had inspired these big knives, as the Indians called the Virginians, with an inveterate thirst for revenge, the gratification of which, they supposed was shortly to take place, in the total destruction of the Indians, and their towns along the Scioto and Sandusky rivers. The order of Dunmore was obeyed; but with every expression of regret and disappointment.

"The Earl and his officers having returned to his camp, a treaty with the Indians was opened the following day.

"In this treaty, every precaution was used on the part of our people, to prevent the Indians from ending a treaty in the tragedy of a massacre. Only eighteen Indians, with their chiefs, were permitted to pass the outer gate of their fortified encampment, after having deposited their arms with the guard at the gate.

"The treaty was opened by Cornstalk, the war chief of the Shawanese, in a lengthy speech, in which he boldly charged the white men with having been the authors of the commencement of the war, in the massacres of the Indians at Captina and Yellow Creek. This speech he delivered in so loud a tone of voice, that he was heard all over the camp. The terms of the treaty were soon settled, and the prisoners delivered up.

"Logan, the Cayuga chief, assented to the treaty, but still indignant at the murder of his family, refused to attend with the other chiefs at the camp of Dunmore. According to the Indian mode in such cases, he sent his speech in a belt of wampum by an interpreter, to be read at the treaty.*

"Thus ended, at the treaty of Camp Charlotte, in the month of November, 1774, the disastrous war of Dunmore. It began in the wanton and unprovoked murder of the Indians at Captina and Yellow Creek, and ended with an awful sacrifice of life and property to the demon of revenge. On our part we obtained at the treaty, a cessation of hostilities and a surrender of prisoners, and nothing more.†

"The plan of operations adopted by the Indians, in the war of Dunmore, shows very clearly, that their chiefs were by no means deficient in the foresight and skill necessary for making the most prudent military arrange-

* We omit the speech here, intending to devote considerable space, in our next number, to a notice of it.—EDITOR.

† See Note D.

ments for obtaining success and victory, in their mode of warfare. At an early period they obtained intelligence of the plan of the campaign against them, concerted between the Earl of Dunmore and Gen. Lewis. With a view, therefore, to attack the forces of these commanders, separately, they speedily collected their warriors, and by forced marches reached the Point before the expected arrival of the troops under Dunmore. Such was the privacy with which they conducted their march to Point Pleasant, that Gen. Lewis knew nothing of the approach of the Indian army, until a few minutes before the commencement of the battle, and it is very probable that if Cornstalk, the Indian commander, had had a little larger force at the battle of the Point, the whole army of Gen. Lewis would have been cut off, as the wary savages had left them no chance of retreat. Had the army of Lewis been defeated, the army of Dunmore, consisting of but little more than one thousand men, would have shared the fate of those armies, which at different periods have suffered defeats, in consequence of venturing too far into the Indian country, in numbers too small, and with munitions of war inadequate to sustain a contest with the united forces of a number of Indian nations.

“It was the general belief among the officers of our army at that time, that the Earl of Dunmore, while at Wheeling, received advice from his Government of the probability of the approaching war between England and the Colonies, and that afterwards, all his measures with regard to the Indians had for their ultimate object an alliance with those ferocious warriors, for aid of the mother country in their contest with us. This supposition accounts for his not forming a junction with the army of Lewis at Point Pleasant. This deviation from the original plan of the campaign, jeopardized the army of Lewis, and well nigh occasioned its total destruction. The conduct of the Earl at the treaty shows a good understanding between him and the Indian chiefs. He did not suffer the army of Lewis to form a junction with his own, but sent them back before the treaty was concluded, thus risking the safety of his own forces, for at the time of the treaty the Indian warriors were about his camp, in force sufficient to have intercepted his retreat, and destroyed his whole army.”

NOTE A.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE OLDEN TIME.

The mere stealing of a few horses would seem to be a very inadequate cause of alarm; and we would rather incline to look for some more formidable source of apprehension. Such we find in the testimony of Joseph

Tomlinson. He says he was living near Yellow Creek from 1770 until the massacre at that place, and states that two men were killed and one wounded, on board of a canoe of William Butler, near the mouth of Little Beaver Creek, a few days before the outrage at Yellow Creek. There were in fact several causes operating at that time (1774), all calculated to excite apprehension along the frontier. The difficulties between the mother country and the Colonies were growing more complicated and angry. The dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania was in a very critical condition. The jealousy between the Indian traders of the two Colonies was very strong, so strong indeed that Dunmore, in his speech at the Conference at this place, alledged that the Indians had plundered Virginia traders, and delivered their horses, guns and clothing to Spear and Callenden, Pennsylvania traders. Dunmore and Conolly were both rash men, devoted to the interests of Great Britain, and suspected of desiring war with the Indians, as well as between the two States. Under such circumstances, it seems not at all strange that an Indian war should have occurred.

NOTE B.

We have lately been favored with a copy of a very curious little book, entitled, "A Biographical Sketch of Captain Michael Cresap," by John J. Jacob, printed at Cumberland, in Maryland. It is intended as a defence of his character against the charge contained in the celebrated speech attributed to Logan, and in Jefferson's Notes. It also notices this affair, which Doddridge places at Captina, but which really occurred at Grave Creek. As to the first charge, the horrible massacre at Yellow Creek, there is not the slightest evidence to sustain it. Colonel Gibson, Geo. B. Clarke, and many other persons, whose testimony we had before seen, acquit Cresap of any connection with that outrage. Mr. Jacobs, however, brings forward the testimony of other witnesses, viz: General John Minor, Dr. Wheeler, and especially Benjamin Tomlinson, who was at Yellow Creek at the time of the massacre, all of whom disprove Cresap's connection with that atrocious affair. As to the murder at Grave Creek, Mr. Jacobs alleges that it occurred after Conolly had written a circular, warning the people that there was danger from the Indians, after the murder of two white men at Little Beaver, and after the massacre at Yellow Creek. He also states that in June, 1775, when Congress required Maryland to raise two companies of riflemen to proceed to Boston, Michael Cresap was the first Captain appointed, and soon after marched with one hundred and thirty men. He arrived at Boston, was soon after taken sick, started for home, but died at New York on the 5th of October, 1775, aged thirty-three years. It is undoubtedly true that such a circular was written by Conolly. Devereux Smith, in a letter to Dr. Smith, mentions such a letter, and states that Cresap had given the receipt of it as one of the causes of his at-

tack. He also states that Cresap gave the killing of the Indians at Little Beaver Creek, as another reason, and as Smith was a contemporaneous witness, without interest in the matter, his statement is entitled to belief. But the massacre at Yellow Creek, we think, from the weight of evidence, followed, not proceeded, the operations of Cresap near Wheeling.

There is great difficulty in reconciling the different statements in relation to the use of Cresap's name, in the speeches usually attributed to Logan.

Colonel Gibson, who bore the speech from Logan to Dunmore, makes the following statement under oath, that after Logan had delivered to him the speech, "he," the deponent (Gibson), "told Logan that it was not *Colonel* Cresap who had murdered his relations, and that although his son, *Captain* Michael Cresap, was with the party who killed a Shawanese Chief and other Indians, yet he was not present when his (Logan's) relations were killed at Baker's, near the mouth of Yellow Creek." But he (Gibson) does not say whether Logan then ordered the name of Cresap to be stricken out. Joseph Tomlinson, however, who was present when the speech was delivered to Dunmore, states that he heard it read three times, first by Gibson and twice by Dunmore, and that the name of Cresap was not mentioned in it.

Now the questions arise: "Did Logan strike out the name of Cresap, when Gibson told him that the charge against him was false? Or did Gibson, knowing the charge to be false, yet consent to carry it to Dunmore with that charge?" He had the best means of knowing the falsehood of the charge, and to have aided in giving it currency, would have been an act of baseness. Tomlinson's statement, however, must exonerate Gibson from all suspicion of such conduct. The name was not in the speech, when it came to Dunmore's hand.

How then did the name afterwards get into the speech again?

Jacobs, in his notice of Cresap, argues that Dunmore had restored the name on, as it may not have been very effectually erased, and some person copying may have chosen to introduce it. Dunmore was a desperate man. He was willing to go very far to aid his country. He was accused by men of high standing, such as Theodorick Bland, of exciting the Indians against the frontier; of regretting Lewis' success at Point Pleasant; and of hoping for a long and bloody Indian war. His coadjutor, Conolly, was equally desperate, and very hostile to Cresap, who was a whig. So that there was an inducement for Dunmore to introduce the name of Cresap. It was carrying out the very game of which he was accused. It was calculated to excite the Indians against those who were favorable to the American cause. It would also gratify the ill feeling of Conolly to Cresap.

But whether the name was re-introduced by mistake or design, there is no doubt that Cresap was innocent of any participation in the brutal outrage at Yellow Creek.

In the next number of the *Olden Time*, we will publish the celebrated speech, the testimony of Gibson, Tomlinson, and others, the letter of Luther Martin, denying the charge, some letters from Thomas Jefferson to Colonel Gibson, and several other matters which probably throw more light upon the subject than has ever been collected together before.

NOTE C.

It is perhaps saying too much to assert that the affair at Captina and the horrible massacre at Yellow Creek were "the *sole* causes of the war of 1774." Upon looking back to the speech of Lord Dunmore, at the conference held here in September, 1774, it will be seen that many whites had been killed by the Indians, from 1763 down to the death of two of Butler's men, at Little Beaver, before either of the affairs at Captina or Yellow Creek. Ill blood had been brewing for ten years between the white and red men, and the occurrence at Yellow Creek, atrocious as it was, only precipitated a war which was inevitable.

NOTE D.

The terms of this treaty have never, to our knowledge, been published. Jacobs, in his life of Cresap, says "he never saw it." Butler, in his History of Kentucky, says, "no treaty with the North Western Indians, previous to that of Lord Dunmore, exists on the Colonial records, *if even that has been preserved.*"

Burke (not very good authority), in his History of Virginia, says that "peace was granted to the Indians on condition that all their lands on the east of the Ohio were surrendered, prisoners released from captivity, and hostages given." We learn from the proceedings of the Virginia House of Burgesses, that Lord Dunmore promised to meet the Indians in the Spring of 1775, at Pittsburgh, to conclude a peace and restore the hostages. This he neglected to do, and the Indians, especially the Delawares, were greatly dissatisfied, and regretted that they had not united with the Shawanese in the late war.

NEMACOLIN.

The following paragraphs from Mr. Jacobs' work about Thomas Cresap, (commonly called by the Indians the Big Spoon, from his great hospitality,) the founder of the family, will probably interest some of our readers. We never thought, until we saw Mr. Jacobs' book, that we should ever know the name of the engineer who laid out the first road over the Mountains, and will do our part now to preserve the memory of it :

" He now commenced Indian trader, and borrowed from Mr. Dulany £500, to aid him in his business, and having provided a large quantity of skins and furs, he shipped them for England, but fortune still frowned, the ship was taken by the French with all his skins and furs, and once more he was compelled to begin the world anew. In this dilemma, he sent for Mr. Dulany, stated his loss, and offered him his land, about 1400 acres, for the debt. Mr. Dulany acceded to the proposal, and Col. Cresap made another remove to the place now called Old Town, but by himself called Skipton, after the place of his nativity ; this place is a few miles above the junction of the north and south branches of the Potomac, on the north fork, and at length became the place of his permanent residence, and here he acquired an immense landed estate, on both sides of the river i. e. in Virginia and Maryland, and it was, perhaps, about this time, or soon after, that having renewed his acquaintance with the Washington family, he entered, co-jointly, into an association with two or three gentlemen of this name, of whom I think the General was one, Col. George Mason, and many other gentlemen in England and America, and formed what was called the Ohio Company.

" This company made the first English settlement at Pittsburgh before Braddock's war, and it was through their means and efforts that the first path was traced through that vast chain of mountains, called the Allegheny. Colonel Cresap, as one of that company, and an active agent thereof in this section of the country, employed an honest and friendly Indian to lay out and mark a road from Cumberland to Pittsburgh. The Indian's name was Nemacolin, and he did his work so well that General Braddock, with his army, pursued the same path, which thenceforward took the name of Braddock's road, and does not, at this day, materially differ from the present great National Road.

" And there can be no doubt that the exertions and influence of this com-

pany had a strong tendency to accelerate the exploring and settling of the western country. They were in fact, and might truly be said to be the corps of pioneers, that opened the way to that immense flood of population we now see spreading like a mighty torrent, almost to the Pacific Ocean, and it may not, perhaps, be amiss at this place, to state a circumstance perfectly in my memory, demonstrative of that energetic and enterprising spirit always so conspicuous in the character of Col. Cresap. The circumstance I allude to is a plan conceived and digested by the old gentleman, when I believe upwards of 90 years old. It was to explore and examine the country quite to the western ocean, and it appeared so rational and practicable, that if he had been thirty years younger, 'tis probable he would himself have tested its practicability."

MARBURY STREET.

We have long been puzzled to know why the street which runs right by our dwelling to the Allegheny river, was called Marbury street. We have often made inquiries of old residents, but never until within a short time got any information. Judge Wilkins, a few days ago, informed us that an application had been made to him to prepare the papers to procure from Government some arrears of pay or pension due to an old soldier.

Upon examining the necessary documents, he discovered that the soldier had belonged to the company of a Captain Marbury, and that he was discharged from the service at Fort Pitt, in June, 1784.

So that Captain Marbury was here in June, 1784, while Vickroy was laying out the town of Pittsburgh. Marbury street was laid out partly along the glacis and partly in the ditch of the Fort, and close by the main entrance into it. Now we can readily imagine that friendship may have existed between Vickroy and Captain Marbury, and that the former was willing to compliment the latter by naming the street after him. Or even without undertaking to explain exactly how it happened, we may readily conclude from the facts of Captain Marbury being *in* the Fort, and Marbury street just *outside* of it, that the one was called after the other.

We have often heard Vickroy talk about playing ball against what he called the *wall* of the Fort, meaning what military men call the *revetment*. This ball playing may perhaps have taken place in that very part of the ditch where Marbury street was laid, and Vickroy being engaged in both the sport and the survey, and Captain Marbury perhaps in the former, the supposed compliment would very naturally follow.

Our mind, at least, is satisfied as to the name of the only street in Pittsburgh whose origin we were ignorant of.

THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

FEBRUARY, 1847.

NO. 2.

LOGAN'S SPEECH.

The eloquent address in relation to the cold blooded and atrocious massacre of the Indian's, at Baker's Bottom, opposite Big Yellow Creek, has generally been attributed to the Indian named Logan, and we adopt the name as the heading of this article, though we are by no means clear that it was his production. The speech, no matter by whom produced, has been quoted and admired, wherever the English language was understood, and as it related to a most atrocious transaction near "the head of the Ohio," comes properly within the scope of our work.

We propose to devote considerable space to the subject, and enable every reader to form his own opinion on every question involved.

In Mr. Jefferson's notes on Virginia, in speaking of the Indians of America, he has the following remarks.

"The principles of their society forbidding all compulsion, they are to be led to duty and to enterprise by personal influence and persuasion. Hence eloquence in council, bravery and success in war become the foundations of all consequence with them. To these acquirements all their faculties are directed. Of their bravery and address in war we have multiplied proofs, because we have been the subjects on which they were exercised. Of their eminence in oratory, we have fewer examples, because it is displayed chiefly in their own councils. Some, however, we have of very superior lustre. I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished any more eminent, to produce a single passage, superior to the speech of Logan, a Mingo chief, to lord Dunmore, when governor of this State. And, as a testimony of their talents in this line, I beg

leave to introduce it, first stating the incidents necessary for understanding it.

"In the spring of the year 1774, a robbery was committed by some Indians on certain land adventurers on the Ohio. The whites in that quarter, according to their custom, undertook to punish this outrage in a summary way. Captain Michael Cresap, and a certain Daniel Great-house, leading on these parties, surprised at different times, traveling and hunting parties of the Indians, having their women and children with them, and murdered many. Among these were unfortunately the family of Logan, a chief celebrated in peace and war, long distinguished as the friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanaway, between the collected forces of the Shawanese, Mingoes, and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated and sued for peace. Logan, however, disdained to be seen among the suppliants. But lest the sincerity of a treaty should be disturbed, from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent, by a messenger, the following speech to be delivered to Lord Dunmore.

"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat, if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This calling on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance: for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace, But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one.'"

Many years elapsed, the speech became more and more widely circulated, it was extensively read and admired, and became a theme of recitation in public exhibitions, along with the most eloquent passages of ancient and modern poets and orators. At length in 1797, Luther Martin, a very able lawyer, a son-in-law, of Michael Cresap, in obedience to injunctions of a relative as he alleged, and perhaps in some measure under the influence of political feelings, addressed the following letter to Mr. Fennel, a public declaimer, through the Philadelphia Gazette edited by William Cobbet.

MR. FENNEL—By the late Philadelphia papers I observe, Sir, that in your “readings and recitations, moral, critical, and entertaining,” among your other selections you have introduced “The Story of Logan the Mingo Chief.” In doing this, I am satisfied you were not actuated by a desire to wound the feelings of a respectable family in the United States, or by a wish to give a greater publicity to a groundless calumny.

You found that story and speech in Jefferson’s Notes on Virginia; you found it related with such an air of authenticity, that it cannot be surprising that you should not suspect it to be a fiction.

But, Sir, philosophers are pretty much the same, from old Shandy, who in support of a system sacrificed his aunt Dinah, to De Warville and Condorcet, who for the same purpose would have sacrificed a world.

Mr. Jefferson is a philosopher; he too had his hypothesis to establish, or, what is much the same thing, he had the hypothesis of Buffon to overthrow.

When we see him employed in weighing the rats and the mice of the two worlds, to prove that those of the new are not exceeded by those of the old—when, to establish that the body of the American savage is not inferior in form or in vigor to the body of an European, we find him examining minutely every part of their frame, and hear him declare that, though the wrist and the hand of the former are smaller than those parts of the latter, yet, “*les organes de la generation ne font plus foibles ou plus petits* ;”—and that he hath not only as many hairs on his body, but that the same parts which are productive of hair in the one, if left to themselves, are equally productive of hair in the other :—when we see him so zealous to establish an equality in such trifles, and to prove the body of his savage to be formed on the same modula with the “*Homo sapiens Europæus*,” how much more solicitous may we suppose him to have been to prove that the mind of this savage was also formed on the same modula.

Than the man whom he has calumniated, he could scarcely have selected a finer example to establish the position that the human race in the western world are not be-littled in body or mind; but that unfortunately that man was not born in America.

For the want of better materials he was obliged to make use of such as came to his hands; and we may reasonably conclude, whatever story or speech he could pick up calculated to destroy the hypothesis of Buffon, or to establish his own, especially in so important a point, instead of being scrutinized minutely, would be welcomed with avidity. And great and respectable as the authority of Mr. Jefferson may be thought, or may be in reality, I have no hesitation to declare, that from an examination of the subject, I am convinced the charge exhibited by him against Colonel Cresap is not founded in truth; and also, that no such specimen of Indian oratory was ever exhibited.

That some of Logan’s family were killed by the Americans I doubt

not; whether they fell the victims of justice, of mistake, or of cruelty, rests with those by whom they fell. But in their death Colonel Cresap, or any of his family, had no share. And in support of this assertion I am ready to enter the lists with the author of the Notes on Virginia.

No man, who really knew the late Colonel Cresap, could have believed the tale. He was too brave to be perfidious or cruel. He was a man of unlaunted resolution; a man of whom it might be said, with as much propriety as I believe was ever said of man, "that he knew not fear."

Courage, hospitality, candour, and sincerity were the prominent features of his character. These also are the leading traits in his descendants.

Immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he established himself at Old Town, on the north branch of the Potomac, only fifteen miles this side of Fort Cumberland, and one hundred and forty miles to the westward of Baltimore town. What must have been the situation of himself and his family on so distant a frontier, during the war which terminated in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-three, and during the troubles which preceded that war, may be easily conceived by those who have any knowledge whatever of the situation, at that time of the settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

After the defeat of General Braddock, a company raised and commanded by his eldest son, Thomas Cresap, and in a great measure supplied with arms and other necessaries by the Colonel himself, attacked the invading savages, and drove them over the mountains; but this victory was embittered by the loss of their gallant leader; he and one of the Indian Chiefs, fell by wounds mutually inflicted, and expired together. Soon after this event, Colonel Cresap, and his then eldest son, raised another company, at their own expense, crossed the mountains, and defeated the Indians with considerable slaughter. After the inhabitants of that part of the country where he resided had generally fled from their houses, and retired to the neighborhood of Conococheague, he remained with his family at his house near Old Town, which he had surrounded with a stockade, for twelve months or upwards. When at last he was induced to withdraw from so dangerous a situation, removing with his books and papers, accompanied by a few of the former inhabitants, who had been in his neighborhood collecting their cattle, and were driving them down the country, he was attacked by the Indians who lay in ambush for him, and four of his party were killed on the spot; the Indians were, however, repulsed with considerable loss, and he had the good fortune to escape unhurt.

That Colonel Cresap and his family were frequently and actively engaged in the conflicts which took place between us and the Indians, is well known. That some of the Indians have fallen by their hands, is not denied; but those were not in the number of our friends.

To the Indians who were attached to our cause his doors were ever open. At his house was their frequent rendezvous; there often they met messengers from the then governors of Virginia and Maryland; there they were often furnished with arms, with ammunition, and with provisions, and not unfrequently out of his own stores, and at his own expense.

It was to those savages, who were employed by the French nation (before it became our very good friend and ally) to ravage their frontiers and butcher the peaceful inhabitants, that he and his family were terrible. And to those they were terrible, though not "as the fires of heaven."

But, perhaps, it was from the facts which I have here stated that Mr. Jefferson considered himself authorized to say "Colonel Cresap was infamous for the many murders he had committed on the much injured Indians." And lest some future philosopher, in some future Notes on Virginia, might be tempted to call him also "infamous for his many murders of the much injured" Britons, may, perhaps, have been his motive for flying with such precipitation from the seat of his government, not many years since, when the British army invaded that State.

As to Logan; lightly would I tread over the grave even of the untutored savage; but justice obliges me to say, I am well assured that the Logan of the wilderness—the real Logan of nature—had but little, if any more likeness to the fictitious Logan of Jefferson's Notes, than the brutified Caffre of Africa to the enlightened philosopher of Monticello.

In what wilderness Mr. Jefferson culled this fair flower of aboriginal eloquence; whether he has preserved it in the same state in which he found it, or, by transplanting it into a more genial soil, and exposing it to a kinder sun, he has given it the embellishments of cultivation, I know not.

There are many philosophers so very fond of representing savage nature in the most amiable and most exalted point of view, that we feel ourselves less surprised when we see them become savages themselves. To some one of this class of philosophers, I doubt not it owes its existence.

Yet, but for Jefferson, "it would have breathed its poisons in the desert air." Whatever was the soil in which it first sprung up, it soon would have withered and died unnoticed or forgotten, had not he preserved it in his collection. From thence the authors of the Annual Register have given their readers a drawing as large as nature. The Rev. Mr. Morse in his Geography, and Mr. Lendrum in his History of the American Revolution, have followed their example; and you, Sir, are now increasing its celebrity by exhibiting it to thronging spectators, with all its coloring, retouched and heightened by the flowing pencil of a master.

Do you ask me how I am interested in this subject? I answer, the daughter of Michael Cresap was the mother of my children. I am influenced also by another motive not less powerful. My much lamented

and worthy relation, who died on the expedition against the western insurgents, bequeathed to me as a sacred trust, what, had he lived, he intended to have performed himself, to rescue his family from this unmerited opprobrium.

Do you ask me, why have I so long neglected this duty? I answer, because for a long time past every feeling of my mind has been too much engrossed by the solicitude, though an unavailing solicitude, of preserving the valuable life of one of that family, to attend to any objects which could bear a postponement. The shock is now past. I begin to recall my scattered thoughts to other subjects; and finding the story of Logan in the catalogue of your readings, it instantly brought me to the recollection of a duty, which I have hastened thus far to fulfil.

And now, Sir, to conclude: I arrogate to myself no authority of prohibiting the story and speech of Logan from being continued in your readings and recitations; this I submit to your sentiments of propriety and justice; but from those sentiments I certainly have a right to expect, that, on its conclusion, you will inform your hearers, it is at best but the ingenious fiction of some philosophic brain; and when hereafter you oblige an audience with that story and speech, that with the poison you will dispense the antidote, and by reading to them this letter, also oblige your very humble servant.

LUTHER MARTIN.

March 29, 1797.

To Mr. James Fennel.

Mr. Jefferson finding his veracity and integrity thus impeached, addressed letters to various persons, who might be supposed to have some knowledge of the matter, and received a mass of testimony which is published in an appendix to a later edition of his "Notes on Virginia."

As the bulk of this testimony has no bearing upon the authorship of the celebrated speech, we shall only remark, that while it disapproves entirely the charge against Cresap as to any participation in the outrage at Yellow Creek, it seems to implicate him in the killing of other Indians lower down the Ohio. But as to the matter most material to Mr. Jefferson's reputation, it settles beyond controversy, that such a speech was taken from Logan to Lord Dunmore. This was enough to acquit the author of the "Notes on Virginia" of all unfairness in the matter. But to proceed to the Speech, we will state that many years ago, Mr. James M'Kee, the brother of Alexander M'Kee, the Deputy of Sir William Johnson, stated to us distinctly, that he had seen the speech in the hand-writing of one of the Johnsons, whether Sir William, or his successor Guy, we do not recollect, before it was seen by Logan. We had not then nor have we now the slightest doubt, that our esteemed friend believed what he said. He was a gentleman of sense and unquestionable integrity and veracity, and we had no shadow of suspicion, that he did not suppose that he was speaking the precise truth; but we supposed that he had somehow confounded the speech with some other paper.

Under this impression, we never gave much weight to his statement, in the consideration of the speech. A few months ago, however, two letters from Thomas Jefferson to Gen. John Gibson, (the man who carried the speech from Logan to Dunmore,) were placed in our hands, and upon contrasting the particularity of the letters with the vagueness of the affidavit elicited by them, we were greatly surprised and a strong impression was made upon our mind that James M'Kee's statement was possibly true. The following is one of these letters.

PHILADELPHIA, FEB. 12. 1798.

DEAR GENERAL:—Your favor of the 2d inst. is received. Should our session be continued to a greater length than I expect, it would be a circumstance of great pleasure to me to see you here. But I do not think we can continue here much longer than the present month, as there is really nothing to do, but to receive information from our envoys at Paris. If that wear a peaceable aspect, as I hope it will, we ought not to remain here a week longer for any thing we have to do. I must therefore trouble you to give me by way of letter the information respecting Cresap and his party, and the murder of Logan's family. It seems Logan has mistaken the title of Cresap, if not the person. *I wish to get a minute history of the whole transaction* in order to correct or confirm that which has been before given. We are very anxious here to get some information from our envoys in order to know on what ground we are to stand with our former allies. They appear to have established peace with all their continental neighbors, and to be collecting all their energies to invade England. Their objects seem to be to republicanize her government, and to bring her power on the ocean within more reasonable and safe limits. I shall with great pleasure make myself useful to you here, should any thing turn up in which I can be so. I shall thereby be discharging a duty of conscience and at the same time of friendship. I am with sentiments of great esteem Dear General,

Your most obedient servant.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

TO GEN. GIBSON.

It will be observed that Mr. Jefferson tells Col. Gibson that he wishes to get "a *minute history* of the whole transaction."

The second letter is a long one, and we publish it in full.

PHILADELPHIA, MARCH 21. 1800.

DEAR SIR:—I received last night your favor of the 14th, and now inclose you a copy of your letter. I was within a day or two of putting into the press the evidence I had collected on this subject. I have been long in collecting it, because of the distance and dispersion of those acquainted with the transaction. However, I have at length, that of a dozen or fifteen persons, who clear up the mystery which threw doubt on this piece of history. It appears that instead of one, there were four dif-

ferent murders committed on the Indians. The first by Cresap and his party a little above Wheeling, on two Indians. The second by the same persons on the same or the next day, on a party of Indians encamped below Wheeling at the mouth of Grave Creek, among whom were some of Logan's relations. The Indians here returned the fire and wounded one of Cresap's party. The third by Greathouse and Tomlinson a few days after. This was a hunting party of Indian men, women and children, encamped at the mouth of Yellow Creek opposite to Baker's bottom. Greathouse went to their camp as a friend, found them too strong, and invited them over to Baker's to drink. They came over, were furnished with as much rum as they would drink, and when the men were quite drunk, Greathouse's party fell on and massacred the whole, except a little girl, Logan's cousin, whom they made prisoner. Here his sister was murdered, and some other of his relations. The Indians over the river alarmed at the guns, sent over two canoes of men to seek for their friends. Greathouse and his party received them as they approached the shore, with a well directed fire, and killed and wounded several. At this massacre, Baker says there were 12 killed and 5 or 6 wounded. The popular report at a distance from the scene, had blended all these together, and made only one transaction of it; and passing from one to another unacquainted with the geography of the transaction, the Kanhawa had been substituted for the Ohio. Hence too arose the doubt, whether it was not Greathouse instead of Cresap who killed Logan's relations. The principal murder was by Greathouse at Yellow Creek, but some of them had been killed a few days before by Cresap at Grave Creek. The mistake of Cresap's title, calling him Colonel instead Captain, I presume was merely an Indian mistake. I think I have observed them call those whom they deemed great men among us, Colonel, by way of courtesy. I suppose *from the letter you inclose me*, which I now return, that *some chicanery is to be exercised on Logan's speech, its genuineness, whether it was written, in the Indian language, and by whom and &c. as to ALL this you can set us to rights.* This gentleman began as I am told, (for I have never read a single one of his papers, except as much of the beginning of the first, as showed me the style in which he thought proper to indulge himself, and which determined me at once not to gratify him by reading what he wrote to give me pain.) He begun, it is said, by denying that any such speech was ever delivered, by declaring it a forgery, and a forgery of mine, and &c. He finds the current of testimony too strong to be resisted, and *wants to see if he can take any hold on the circumstances of its being written or spoken, in what language, by whom, and &c.* You have perfectly divined the cause of his taking up this subject. While his wife lived he never noticed it. For years after her death, he never noticed it. But when it become an object with a party to injure me in the eyes of my countrymen, this, among other circumstances, was thought to furnish grounds for writing me down. They

set this cat's paw to work on it: and he has served them with zeal. I shall never notice him otherwise than by publishing the evidence I have collected, and correcting the text in the Notes on Virginia, conformably to the more exact information of the historical fact. I shall delay doing this a few days, in hopes of receiving from you the deposition you are so kind as to promise. If this could be by the first return of post I should be glad, because I must get these testimonies printed before Congress leaves this place.

With respect to the application you wish to the Governor, he is to be here in a few days, and if I can possibly serve you with him I will. I shall see him of course, but must be indirect in the manner. A little reflection will suggest to you that there are delicacies in this business which must be observed, and are necessary indeed to give effect to what is desired. Ancient recollections and a thorough sense of the just grounds on which you have a right to be thought of, give me a sincere wish to serve you. I am with great esteem Dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
THOMAS JEFFERSON.

TO GEN. GIBSON.

The most casual reader will observe that this letter is what lawyers would call a *leading* one, one calculated to *lead* the witness in his reply. Take, for instance, the expression "I think, I have observed them call those whom they deemed great men among us, Colonel, by way of courtesy." The truth, we believe, is just the reverse of this; Captain, we think, is the complimentary expression among the Indians. But that is not very important.

Again Mr. Jefferson says. "I suppose from the letter you inclose me, which I now return, that some chicanery is to be exercised on Logan's speech, its genuineness, whether it was written in the Indian language and &c. &c. Here it will be observed that Colonel Gibson had enclosed to Mr. Jefferson, from some person, name not mentioned, the letter, which first suggested to the latter gentleman the idea that "some chicanery was to be exercised on Logan's speech, its *genuineness*, whether in the Indian language, and *by whom and &c.*" Thus it appears manifest that Colonel Gibson was zealous in the cause of Mr. Jefferson, was watchful of his interests, understood his case, perceived clearly the game which Mr. Martin was about to play against him, and like a faithful sentinel was prompt in giving the necessary information. It will also be observed that Mr. Jefferson immediately upon the receipt of the letter inclosed to him, also perceived clearly the plan of attack which was to be adopted against him, and immediately called Gibson's attention to the important points, and emphatically remarks, "as to *all* this you can set us to rights." To impress still more strongly upon his mind the importance of his testimony, the Colonel is informed that the publication of his book will be delayed a few days "in the hopes of receiving from you the de-

position you *promised*." It is also obvious from this that the deposition was no hasty thought, got up on the spur of the moment, but deliberately considered and "*promised*" to Mr. Jefferson.

Yet after being thus fully aware of the very points at issue, after being reminded by Mr. Jefferson, that Mr. Martin would endeavor "to take hold of the circumstances of its (the speech) being written or spoken, in what language and by whom." Colonel Gibson goes before a magistrate and makes the following deposition.

*Allegheny County, SS. }
State of Pennsylvania. }*

Before me, the subscriber, a justice of the peace in and for said county, personally appeared John Gibson, Esq., an associate Judge of same county, who being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that in the year 1774, he accompanied lord Dunmore on the expedition against the Shawnese and other Indians on the Sciota; that on their arrival within fifteen miles of the towns, they were met by a flag, and a white man of the name of Elliott, who informed lord Dunmore that the chiefs of the Shawnese had sent to request his lordship to halt his army and send in some person who understood their language; that this deponent, at the request of lord Dunmore and the whole of the officers with him, went in; that on his arrival at the towns, Logan, the Indian, came to where this deponent was sitting with the Corn-Stalk, and the other chiefs of the Shawnese, and asked him to walk out with him; that they went into a copse of wood, where they sat down, when Logan, after shedding abundance of tears, *delivered to him the speech, nearly as related by Mr. Jefferson* in his Notes on the State of Virginia; that he the deponent told him then that it was not Colonel Cresap who had murdered his relations, and that although his son capt. Michael Cresap was with the party who killed a Shawnese chief and other Indians, yet he was not present when his relations were killed at Baker's near the mouth of Yellow creek on the Ohio; that this deponent on his return to camp *delivered the speech to lord Dunmore*; and that the murders perpetrated as above, were considered as ultimately the cause of the war of 1774, commonly called Cresap's war.

JOHN GIBSON.

Sworn and subscribed the 4th April, 1800, at Pittsburgh, before me,

JER. BAKER.

Now what could be more vague than this? "delivered to him the speech *nearly* as related by Mr. Jefferson;" again the deponent "delivered the speech to Lord Dunmore." "Delivered the speech," may apply either to the delivery of a written copy or to an oral delivery, as we say, "Mr. Smith *delivered* an address in Philo Hall." No language could have been devised, which would more effectually conceal from the public the real state of the case, as to whether it was "*written or spoken*," and "*by whom*." How easily could he have said that it was delivered orally or in the handwriting of Logan, if either was true. How very natural

would it have been to say so ; especially after being told by Mr. Jefferson that "as to *all* this you can set us to rights." Does the deposition set Mr. Jefferson or Martin or any other person "right" as to any single point as to the mode of delivery, or if written, in whose handwriting ?

He states distinctly that the speech in some form was delivered to him by Logan, and by himself to Dunmore ; but in what shape is effectually obscured. So that if the speech was really in the handwriting of one of the Johnsons as Mr. M'Kee told us ; Col. Gibson adopted very suitable language, to conceal that fact and yet serve Mr. Jefferson's purpose, without expressing any untruth. In fact, the most ingenious sophist could contrive no other words in our language, which would show that a speech was delivered, and yet conceal so effectually whether it was in writing or oral.

Now when we reflect how easy and how natural it would have been, to state whether the speech was delivered orally or in writing ; it really seems singular that such an important matter should have been overlooked. Col. Gibson's friend Jefferson wanted "a *minute* history of the whole transaction." Col. Gibson himself had suggested to Mr. Jefferson by sending him the letter of some third person, that "some chicanery was to be exercised on the speech whether it was written and &c." and yet that very fact is effectually and most ingeniously concealed. Our readers will observe, too, that Col. Gibson swears that he told Logan that neither Colonel Cresap nor the Captain was present at the massacre at Baker's Bottom, "*when his relations were killed,*" and yet he says nothing about the reply. Did Logan assent to the correction or did he persist in his own statement ? How naturally would some explanation on this point have followed, if the whole truth had been declared ! If Logan remained silent on a point in which his feelings were so deeply interested, his silence would amount to assent. If Logan had agreed that Cresap was not present at Baker's Bottom, "*when his relations were killed,*" but said that he was present at some other place, when other relations were killed, that would be important in Mr. Jefferson's reply and would very naturally have been stated in the deposition. But nothing of the sort is stated, and although the deposition had been "promised" for weeks, we find little in it, but the vague statement about the "delivery" of the speech, the positive statement that Cresap "was not present at Baker's Bottom when Logan's relation were killed," and the equally distinct statement that although he was *not* present at the killing of Logan's relations, yet he was present at the killing of "*other* Indians." Truly this niggardliness in doling out testimony in the case where it was so much needed and where "a *minute* history" was requested, seems remarkable.

But we annex the testimony of Joseph Tomlinson, who was at Baker's Bottom when Logan's relations were killed, and also in Dunmore's camp when the speech was delivered to that nobleman. We have lately been

assured that Tomlinson, though present at Baker's Bottom was a respectable man. He testifies that the speech was delivered on a clean sheet of paper, in the handwriting of Gibson, and that the name of Cresap was not in it. As Col. Gibson applies the same language to the commitment of the speech to himself by Logan, as he uses in relation to the delivery of the speech to Dunmore, we must infer that both were in writing. Now it is no where alleged that Logan could write.

One of the witnesses, whose testimony Mr. Jefferson collected and published, was William Robinson. He had been taken prisoner by the Indians, and condemned to be burnt, but was saved by Logan. He testified "that about three days after this, Logan brought him a piece of paper, and told him he must write a letter for him, which he meant to carry and leave in some house where he should kill somebody; that he made ink with gun-powder, and the subscriber proceeded to write the letter by his direction, addressing captain Michael Cresap in it, and that the purport of it was, to ask "why he had killed his people? That some time before they had killed his people at some place (the name of which the subscriber forgets,) which he had forgiven; but since that he had killed his people again at Yellow creek, and taken his cousin, a little girl, prisoner; that therefore he must war against the whites: but that he would exchange the subscriber for his cousin." And signed it with Logan's name, which letter Logan took and set out again to war; and the contents of this letter, as recited by the subscriber, calling to mind that stated by Judge Innes to have been left, tied to war club, in a house, where a family was murdered, and that being read to the subscriber, he recognises it, and declares he verily believes it to have been the identical letter which he wrote, and supposes he was mistaken in stating as he has done before from memory, that the offer of the exchange was proposed in the letter; that it is probable it was only promised him by Logan, but not put in the letter."

The following is that letter:

"CAPTAIN CRESAP.

"What did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for? The white people killed my kin, at Conestoga, a great while ago; and I thought nothing of that. But you killed my kin again, on Yellow creek, and took my Cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since; but the Indians are not angry: only myself

Captain JOHN LOGAN."

JULY 21st, 1774.

Now we would ask is it probable that the man who had to employ a penman to write down such a letter, could have delivered the eloquent speech supposed to be Logans? We confess we greatly doubt upon the subject.

One other remark upon this letter, it was dated in *July 1774*, and it is directed to *Captain Cresap*, the only one of the Cresap's who really had

any participation in the Indian troubles in the spring of 1774; and yet the speech which was delivered in *November* of the same year, names *Colonel Cresap*. Now we would ask, if the speech in *November* was spoken or dictated by the same person who dictated the letter in *July*, how did it happen that he was correct in giving his title to *Cresap* in *July* and wrong in *November*. Is it not more likely that the speech and the letter were the productions of different persons? The letter, too, agrees with *Gibson* in the statement that *Logan's* relations were all killed at *Yellow Creek*, and not as *Mr. Jefferson* said, one portion at that place and another portion lower down the river.

The letter is precise and specific as to the place where *Logan's* relatives were killed, there is no vagueness about it, it is manifestly from the mind of a person who knew what he was writing about; while the speech deals in that kind of loose generality, which one not knowing the precise facts, would be likely to use.

Our conclusions then upon the whole matter are as follows.

1st That a speech called *Logan's* was delivered to *Dunmore*.

2 That *Mr. Jefferson* honestly believed such to be the fact when he wrote his "Notes."

3 That the letter addressed to *Captain Cresap* was dictated by *Logan*.

4 That the Speech was not dictated by the same person who dictated the "letter."

5 That *Captain Cresap* was concerned in the killing of some Indians.

6 That he was not concerned in the killing of *Logan's* relatives.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH TOMLINSON.

Ques. 2. Do you recollect the time and circumstances of the affair at *Yellow Creek*?

Ans. Yes, the time was the third or fourth day of *May, 1774*, and the circumstances were, that two or three days before these Indians were killed at *Yellow Creek*, by the whites, two men were killed and one wounded in a canoe belonging to a *Mr. Butler* of *Pittsburgh*, as they were descending the *Ohio river*, near the mouth of *little Beaver* and this canoe was plundered of all the property, and moreover, about this time the Indians were threatening the inhabitants about the river *Ohio*; and I was also informed they had committed some depredations on the property of *Michael Cresap*. I assisted in the burial of the white men killed in *Butler's* canoe.

Ques. 3d. Who commanded the party that killed the Indians at *Yellow Creek*, and who killed those Indians. Do you know?

Ans. The party had no commander. I believe *Logan's* brother was killed by a man named *Sappington*; who killed the others I do not know, although I was present, but this I well know, that neither *Capt.*

Michael Cresap, nor any other person of that name was there, nor do I believe within many miles of the place.

Ques. 4. Where was Logan's residence, and what was his character?

Ans. I believe his residence was on Muskingum; his character was no ways particular, he was only a common man among the Indians, no chief, no captain.

Ques. 5th. Where and when did Logan die?

Ans. To this Question, I answer that I do not know when nor where Logan died. But was informed by Esquire Barkley of Bedford, that he became very vile, that he killed his own wife, and was himself killed by her brother. I am however, certain he did not die until after Dunmore's treaty, on the Scioto.

Ques. 6th. Was Logan at the treaty held by Dunmore with the Indians at camp Charlotte, on Scioto? did he make a speech, and if not, who made a speech for him?

Ans. To this question I answer—Logan was not at the treaty, perhaps Cornstalk the chief of the Shawanee nation, mentioned among other grievances, the Indians killed on Yellow Creek; but I believe neither Cresap nor any other person, were named as the perpetrators; and I perfectly recollect, that I was that day officer of the guard, and stood near Dunmore's person, that consequently I saw and heard all that passed; that also two or three days before the treaty, when I was on the out-guard, Simon Girty who was passing by, stopped with me and conversed—he said he was going after Logan, but he did not like his business, for he was a surly fellow—he however, proceeded on, and I saw him return on the day of the treaty, and Logan was not with him; at this time a circle was formed and the treaty begun, I saw John Gibson on Girty's arrival, get up and go out of the circle and talk with Girty, after which he (Gibson) went into a tent, and soon after returning into the circle, drew out of his pocket a piece of clean new paper, on which was written in his own handwriting—a speech for and in the name of Logan. This I heard read three times, once by Gibson, and twice by Dunmore; the purport of which was, that he (Logan) was the white man's friend, that on a journey to Pittsburgh to brighten this friendship, or on his return from thence, all his friends were killed at Yellow Creek, that now when he died who should bury him, for the blood of Logan was running in no creatures veins:—but neither was the name of Cresap, or the name of any other person mentioned in this speech. But I recollect to see Dunmore put this speech among the other treaty papers.

Ques. 7th. If Logan was not at the treaty, and made no speech, pray from whence came, and who was the author of, that famous speech.

Ans. In addition to what is stated above, I say there is no doubt in my mind, that, it originated altogether with and was framed and produced by Col. John Gibson.

Ques. 8th. Do you recollect the names of any gentlemen who were present at the treaty.

Ans. Yes, I recollect the following persons and believe they are still alive and live at the following places, to wit:—Gen. Daniel Morgan, (Berkley County, Virginia,) Col. James Wood, now Governor of Virginia, Capt. David Scott, (Monongahela,) Capt. John Wilson, (Kentucky,) Lieut. Gabriel Cox, (Kentucky,) Capt. Johnson, (Youghyoughenia,) Capt. James Parsons, (Moorfield,) Gen. George R. Clark, Capt. William Harrod, Col. L. Barret, Lieut. Joseph Cresap, and Capt. William Henshaw, (Berkley.)

Ques. 9th. Was the question as to the origin of the war discussed at the treaty.

Ans. Yes, the Indians gave as a reason, the Indians killed at Yellow Creek, Whetstone Creek, Beech Bottom and elsewhere. But the Indians were in fact the first aggressors, and committed the first hostilities.

Ques. 10th. Were not some white men killed by the Indians, in the year 1773.

Ans. Yes, John Martin and two of his men were killed on Hockhocking, about one year before Dunmore's army went out, and his canoe was plundered of above £200 worth of goods.

I lived on the river Ohio, and near the mouth of Yellow Creek, from the year 1770, until the Indians were killed at Yellow Creek, and several years after; I was present when the Indians were killed, and also present at the treaty in September or October, 1774, near Chillicothe on the Scioto; and certify that the foregoing statements of facts are true to the best of my recollection.

Signed,

BENJAMIN TOMLINSON.

Cumberland, April 17, 1797.

POSTSCRIPT.—We have already given much space to the war of 1774, to Cresap's share in that war and to the speech usually attributed to Logan, perhaps rather more than some of our readers may suppose, they merit. Still, however, we are tempted to add a contemporaneous account which appeared in Philadelphia, and which may perhaps throw some additional light on subsequent accounts of the commencement of that war.

By this account published, at the time it appears that a man of the name of Stephens with two Indians were descending the Ohio in a canoe, in which one white man had been killed and another wounded a few days previous by three Cherokees, as he (Stephens) alleged; that they saw another canoe with some persons in it, whom he supposed to be Indians, that he tried to avoid them by crossing the river, and was fired upon and the two Indians killed. To this account Stephens added that "he *suspects* the murder was committed (not by Cresap himself,) but by persons in confederacy with him." That was the first case of killing of

Indians referred to by Mr. Jefferson, and yet Stephens does not charge Cresap with any actual participation in it, but "*suspects* it was done by some persons in confederacy with him."

The second affair mentioned in this account was an action between Cresap and fifteen men with fourteen Indians, who were concealed at the mouth of a creek, "with expectation of being attacked." Certainly this affair has no trait of resemblance to the treacherous and cold blooded conduct of Greathouse and Baker, in making Indian men and women drunk and then murdering them.

It is a pregnant circumstance, that Stephens even before the first Indian had been killed, and while in company with a Shawanese and a Delaware attempted to avoid persons whom he supposed to be Indians, thus showing that alarm already prevailed in the country.

PHILADELPHIA, MAY 23, 1774.

By intelligence from *Pittsburgh* of the 1st of *May*, we learn that about the 26th of *April*, as one *Stephens*, with two *Indians*, (a *Shawanese* and a *Delaware*,) were going down the *Ohio* in a canoe, (that had been a few days before robbed by three men and a woman of the *Cherokee* nation, after they had killed one white man, and wounded another,) he discovered a canoe with people near *Whaling*, coming up the river, which he suspected to be *Indians*, and strove to avoid them by making towards the opposite shore, when they were fired upon twice, and the two *Indians* in his canoe killed; but he could not perceive who it was that fired, as the enemy lay concealed in the bushes. He then threw himself into the river, and observed the canoe that was coming up to contain white men. He made towards it, and found therein Colonel *Michael Cresap*, and some other men, who pretended entire ignorance of his misfortune, although he, the said *Stephens*, declares, that, from several circumstances, he suspects the murder was committed by persons in confederacy with *Cresap*, as he heard him threaten to put every *Indian* to death he should meet with on the river; and that if he could get a number of men together sufficient for the undertaking, he was determined to mark a small *Indian* village on *Yellow Creek*.

We also learn, that Major *Macdonald*, of *Virginia*, on his return to *Pittsburgh* from the *Big Runaway*, gives account that a skirmish had happened between some *Virginians* and *Indians*, in which some were killed on both sides, which had occasioned the surveyors and grantees of land from that Colony to return; and that on his way to *Pittsburgh*, on the 27th of *April*, he stopped at the house of Colonel *Cresap*, near *Whaling*, where one *Mahon* came and informed that fourteen *Indians*, in five canoes, had called at his house going down the river, and asked him for provisions, which he refused, telling them that two of their brethren, the day before, had been killed by the white people, which these *Indians* heard nothing of before, and proceeded down the river. That, upon this news, *Cresap* collected fifteen men, followed and overtook them at the

mouth of a small creek, where they had hauled up the canoes, and were waiting with expectation of being attacked as a consequence of what they had heard. That *Cresap*, spying the canoes, fired among them, upon which a skirmish ensued: and the *Indians* retired after the loss of one man on each side, and left in the canoes sixteen kegs of rum, and some saddles and bridles.

Captain *Crawford*, and Mr. *Neville*, of *Virginia*, from *Pittsburgh*, informed, that about the 3d instant, in their way there, they met a number of the inhabitants moving off their places, and with them a party who produced several *Indian* scalps, and said they got them as follows: "That a number of *Indians* encamped at the mouth of *Yellow Creek*, opposite to which two men named *Greathouse* and *Baker*, with some others, had assembled themselves, at a house belonging to the said *Baker*, and invited two men and two women of the *Indians* over the creek to drink with them, when, after making them drunk, they killed and scalped them; and two more *Indian* men then came over, who met with the like fate. After which six of their men came over to seek their friends, and on approaching the bank where the white men lay concealed, perceived them and endeavored to retreat back, but received a fire from the shore, which killed two *Indians*, who fell in the river; two fell dead in the canoe, and a fifth was so badly wounded that he could hardly crawl up the bank." Among the unfortunate sufferers was an *Indian* woman, wife to a white man, one of the traders; and she had an infant at her breast, which these inhuman butchers providentially spared and took with them. Mr. *Neville* asked the man who had the infant if he was not near enough to have taken its mother prisoner without killing her? He replied, that he was about six feet from her when he shot her exactly in the forehead, and cut the hoppase with which the child's cradle hung at her back; and he thought to have knocked out its brains, but remorse prevented him, on seeing the child fall with its mother. This party further informed them, that after they had killed these *Indians* they ran off with their families, and that they thought the whole country was fled, as *Cresap*, who was the perpetrator of the first offence, was then also on his way to *Redstone*.

CAPTAIN MICHAEL CRESAP.—This individual owing to the beauty and eloquence of the *Logan* speech, has acquired a reputation, certainly not to be envied, and which we verily believe he does not merit. He was an early martyr in the cause of his country, in the struggle for independence, and we feel it to be a duty and a pleasure to do him justice. That he killed some *Indians* in the spring of 1774, seems undeniable, but that he was clear of any connection with the *Yellow Creek* outrage is equally certain.

He was the first Captain appointed by Congress in the two companies first raised in Maryland on the 27th of June 1775, to march to Boston,

and the following extract of a letter will prove that he was no laggard in the service of his country, and certainly not well suited to participate in the cruel and cowardly massacre at Yellow Creek. Nor will the article be uninteresting as a reminiscence of those days. Our readers, too, by looking back to page 523 of the first volume of this book will perceive that at the very time when Cresap was marching to Boston, Connely and Dunmore were busy arranging their plot, and the former was even attempting to seduce Colonel Gibson, the bearer of the Logan speech.

Extract of a letter to a gentleman in Philadelphia, dated Fredericktown Maryland, August 1, 1775.

Notwithstanding the urgency of my business, I have been detained three days in this place by an occurrence truly agreeable. I have had the happiness of seeing Captain *Michael Cresap* marching at the head of a formidable company of upwards of one hundred and thirty men, from the mountains and backwoods, painted like Indians, and armed with tomahawks and rifles, dressed in hunting shirts and moccasins, and though some of them had travelled near eight hundred miles, from the banks of the Ohio, they seemed to walk light and easy, and not with less spirit than at the first hour of their march. Health and vigour, after what they had undergone, declared them to be intimate with hardship, and familiar with danger. Joy and satisfaction were visible in the crowd that met them. Had Lord North been present, and been assured that the brave leader could raise thousands of such like to defend his country, what think you would not the hatchet and the block have intruded on his mind? I had an opportunity of attending the Captain, during his stay in town, and watched the behavior of his men, and the manner in which he treated them; for it seems that all who go out to war under him do not only pay the most willing obedience to him as their commander, but in every instance of distress look to him as their friend or father. A great part of his time was spent in listening to and relieving their wants, without any apparent sense of fatigue and trouble. When complaints were before him, he determined with kindness and spirit, and on every occasion condescended to please without losing his dignity.

THE FIRST COPY OF THE LOGAN SPEECH.

In the first volume of the 4th series of the "American Archives," page 1020, there are two copies of this speech. The second copy or edition was sent in a letter from Virginia to New York, and was published there on the 16th of February 1775, this is the copy republished in Jefferson's Notes. The other copy, being the first ever published, so far as we can find, appeared at Williamsburgh. We here republish it with the introductory remark, so that our readers may compare them, and note the particulars in which they differ.

WILLIAMSBURGH, VA. FEB. 4, 1775.

The following is said to be the message from Captain Logan, an Indi-

an Warrior, to Governor Dunmore, after the battle in which Colonel Charles Lewis, was slain, delivered at the Treaty.

"I appeal to any white man to say that he ever entered Logan's cabin but I gave him meat, that he ever come naked but I clothed him. In the course of the last war, Logan remained in his cabin, an advocate for peace. I had such an affection for the white people, that I was pointed at by the rest of my nation. I should even have lived with them, had it not been for Colonel Cresap, who last *year* cut off in cold blood, all the relations of Logan, not sparing woman or children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called on me for revenge; I have sought it—I have killed many, and fully glutted my revenge. I am glad there is a prospect of peace, on account of the Nation; but I beg you will not entertain a thought that any thing I have said proceeds from fear! Logan disdains the thought! he will not turn on his heel to save his life! Who is there to mourn for Logan? No one."

Certainly the difference between these two copies of a speech could not be merely accidental. The variances are numerous, and in every instance, according to our best judgement and taste, the second edition is an improvement of the first.

There is also one serious and important variance in which the second or New York edition corrects an error in the first or Virginia edition. The latter speaks of the killing of his relatives "*last year*" which would be 1773; the New York edition of the speech says "*last spring*."

Here the questions naturally present themselves. How did it happen that the less elegant and correct copy should be the first published, and that too at the residence of Dunmore? Which was the copy that Gibson speaks about? Who prepared the spurious one? Again why was the publication never made for three months, and then made when affairs between the mother country and the colonies were approaching a crisis—within seventy five days of the battle of Lexington, and just eleven days *after* the father of Michael Cresap had been appointed one of a committee to raise money to purchase arms and ammunition to be used in the struggle for independence.

THE IROQUOIS.

In our first volume, we have given great attention and much space to the history of this remarkable people, the earliest known proprietors of the country around the head of the Ohio. But we are not at all apprehensive that our readers will think we can devote too much of the Olden Time to the account of that confederacy which ruled with such absolute sway over the vast region extending from Lake Champlain to the Ohio, and which produced such men as Tanacharison, Guyasutha and Cornplanter. Every thing calculated to explain the means by which the union of five distinct nations was so long preserved, and to illustrate

their domestic institutions must continue to interest every enlightened mind. It was, therefore, with much satisfaction we lately saw in the *American Review*, a series of "letters on the Iroquois," addressed to Albert Gallatin, President of the New York Historical Society. We republish them in full, and feel confident that they will be read with avidity by our friends. The existence of institutions so artificial and yet so admirably calculated to accomplish the purposes of the framers, among a people usually regarded as savages, must astonish and yet gratify all who, now, for the first time become acquainted with them.

The wisdom and policy of the Iroquois were well displayed in the selection of their home in the heart of the now styled "Empire State;" and we were struck with the force of remarks upon that subject, by De Witt Clinton, in an Address which we read near forty years ago. Situated as they were on the high table land from which the waters flow into the St. Lawrence, the Mohawk, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, and the Allegheny rivers, their light canoes and their fierce warriors could be readily transported to any part of the country, to conquer enemies or to punish refractory subjects.

LETTERS ON THE IROQUOIS.

BY SKENANDOAM:

ADDRESSED TO ALBERT GALLATIN, L. L. D., PRESIDENT N. YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
ADVERTISEMENT.

It is proper to observe, that many parts of the following letters were read on several occasions in the years 1844, 5 and 6, before the "Councils of the New Confederacy of the Iroquois;" and to the establishment of that historical institution, the research, by which the facts were accumulated, is chiefly to be attributed. The Institution referred to, is founded upon the ancient Confederacy of the Five Nations; and its symbolic council-fires are kindled upon the ancient territories of the Mohawks, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. In the design from which it originated—to gather the fragments of the history, the institutions, and the government of our Indian predecessors; and to encourage a kinder feeling towards the Red Man—literary and moral objects are presented, in themselves as attractive to the scholar and the moralist, as they are dignified and just. If, in pursuing this design, the new Confederacy shall eventually trace out the footsteps of the Iroquois beside our rivers, hills, and lakes—preserving thus the vestiges of their existence; and shall extend to the small residue of their descendants, still within our limits, the hand of kindness and protection, it will have achieved a work not unworthy of after praise.

LETTER I.

Interest in our Indian Predecessors—Passion of the Red Man for the Hunter State—Tendency of Indian Races to subdivide; its effect—The System of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois, one of Federation—Their Confederacy founded upon the Family Relations—Our Antiquities—Object of Letters.

VENERABLE SIR,—The flight of time lays waste unregistered events. It is thus that the incidents of untold ages upon this continent have been scattered like the sunlight under which they were enacted, leaving no ray behind to light up the eye of research. The social history and political transactions of the Red Man, are as easily enveloped in the mist of obscurity, as his footsteps through the forest are obliterated by the leaves of autumn. Race after race, and nation upon nation, have sprung up and hastened onward to their fall; and neither the first nor the last could explain its origin, or number the years of its duration

From this general uncertainty of knowledge, we turn with encouragement to the Iroquois; the last Indian race, in the order of succession, which exercised dominion over the territory, out of which our State has been erected. The interest incident to such a relation is stimulated by the fact that they flourished side by side with our early population; and the events of their progress and decline thus becoming identified with the political affairs of a different people, have found a place upon the historic page. To the Iroquois, by common consent, has been assigned the highest position among the races of North America which live or have lived in the Hunter State; and of whose past or present existence we have been informed. In the establishment of a confederacy, for the double object of acquiring strength and securing peace they were eminently fortunate. They enlarged their dominions by conquest to an unparalleled extent, and held surrounding nations under the terror of their arms.

During the expansion of the power of the Iroquois, there sprung up a class of orators and chiefs, unrivaled among the Red Men, for eloquence in council, and bravery upon the war-path. In a word, the Confederacy exhibited the highest development of the Indian ever reached by him in the Hunter State.

Many circumstances, therefore, unite, to invest the history of our Indian predecessors with permanent interest. While, however, their political events have been diligently collected and arranged, the government which they constructed, the institutions which they established, and the social ties by which they were bound together, have scarcely been made subjects of inquiry, and never of extended investigation. The Confederacy of the Iroquois dismembered and in fragments, still clings together, in the twilight of its existence, by the shreds of that moral faith, which no political disasters could loosen, and no lapse of years can rend asunder. There are reasons for this spectacle, which no mere alliance of hostile nations can explain, and which history has failed to reach.

In entering upon such a theme of inquiry as Indian organization, there are certain general considerations which press upon the attention and which are worthy of previous thought. Governments have ever been regarded as among the chief instrumentalities of human progress. By this aggregation into societies, mankind are brought largely under the influence of the social relation; and their progress has been found to be in exact proportion to the wisdom of the institution under which their minds were developed. The passion of the Red Man for the Hunter State, has proved to be a principle too deeply inwrought to be controlled by efforts of legislation, or to be repressed by governmental restrictions. His government, if one was sought to be established, must have conformed to this irresistible tendency of his mind, this inborn sentiment, otherwise it would have been disregarded. The effect of this powerful principle has been to enchain the tribes of North America to their primitive state. Another

effect of this principle, and still more fatal to their political prosperity, is to be found in the repeated subdivisions of the generic stocks of the continent, by which all large accumulation of members, and power, in any race or nation, have been prevented. Whenever a hunting-ground became too thickly populated for the easy subsistence of the occupants, a band under some favorite chief put forth, like the swarm from the parent hive, in quest of a new habitation; and in course of time became independent. We have here the true reason why the red-race never has risen, or can rise above its present level. The fewness of the generic stocks, the unlimited number of independent tribes, and their past history, establish the correctness of this position.

It is obvious that the founders of the Iroquois Confederacy were aware of the enfeebling effects of these repeated sub-divisions, and sought by the counter principle of federation, to arrest the evil. They aimed to knit the whole race together under such a system of relationships, that, by its natural expansion an Indian empire would be developed of sufficient magnitude to control surrounding nations, and thus secure an exemption from perpetual warfare. We must regard it therefore as no ordinary achievement, that the legislators of the Iroquois united the several tribes into independent nations, and between these nations established a perfect and harmonious union. And beyond this, that by a still higher effort of legislation, they succeeded in so adjusting the confederacy, that as a political fabric composed of independent parts, it was adapted to the Hunter State, and contained the elements of an energetic government.

Upon an extended examination of their institutions, it will become manifest that these great results were secured by establishing the Confederacy upon the family relations. Their forms and ceremonies, the Tribal league, or bond of cross-relationship between the tribes of the same name through the several nations; their laws of family relatedness, and of inheritance; the relation of chief and warrior; and lastly the long house, in which, in an emblematical sense, the whole family of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee* or Iroquois were sheltered—all indicate that this Indian structure was designed to be but an elaboration of the family relationship. These relations are older than the notion of society or government: and are consistent alike with the hunter, the pastoral, and the civilized state.

The league was so wisely constituted that it seemed a systematic combination of the race; and the pulse of the Confederacy was felt at the same instant upon the Hudson, the Susquehannah, the Iroquois lake, the Genesee, and the Niagara. When their possessions were enlarged by conquest followed by occupation, it was an expansion and not a dismember-

* Ho-de-no-sau-nee. This is the true name of the Iroquois. It is now in use, and has been since the foundation of the Confederacy. It signifies "the People of the Long-House." Out of the circumstance that they likened their political structure to a house the name originated. The word is given in the Seneca dialect; and should be pronounced with a quick and heavy accent on the *de*.

ment of the Confederacy. Peace itself was one of the prominent objects of the league, to be attained by the admission of surrounding nations. To the Eries, and to the Neuter Nation the Hodenosaunee, if their traditions may be trusted, offered the alternative of admission or extermination; and the strangeness of this proposition will disappear, when it is remembered that an Indian nation regards itself as at war with all other nations not in actual alliance with itself. From whatever point we scrutinize the general features of the Confederacy, we are induced to regard it, in many respects, as a beautiful, as well as remarkable structure, and to hold it up as the triumph of Indian legislation.

It is another singular feature in connection with Indian organizations, that their decline and fall are sudden, and usually simultaneous. A rude shock from without or within, but too easily disturbs their inter-relations; and when once cast back upon the predominating sentiment of Indian life—the Hunter State—a powerful nation rapidly dissolves into a multitude of fragments, and is lost and forgotten in the undistinguished mass of lesser tribes. But the Iroquois Confederacy was subjected to a severer test. It went down before the Saxon, and not the Indian race. This Indian constellation paled only before the greater constellation of the American Confederacy. If it had been left to resist the pressure of surrounding nations (living, like the Iroquois themselves, a hunter-life,) there is reason to believe that it would have subsisted for ages; and perhaps, having broken the spell, would have introduced civilization by an original and spontaneous movement.

Of the Indian character it is an original peculiarity, that he has no desire to perpetuate himself in the remembrance of distant generations, by monumental inscriptions, or other erections fabricated by the art and industry of man. The Iroquois would have passed away, without leaving a vestige or memorial of their existence behind, if to them had been entrusted the preservation of their name and deeds. A verbal language, a people without a city, a government without a record, are as fleeting as the deer and the wild fowl upon which the Indian himself subsists. With the departure of the individual, every vestige of Indian sovereignty vanishes. He leaves but the arrow-head upon the hill side, fit emblem of his pursuits; and the rude pipe and ruder vessel, entombed beside his bones—at once the record of his superstition, and the evidence of his existence. If the red man had any ambition for immortality, he would entrust his fame to the unwritten remembrance of his tribe and race, rather than to inscriptions on columns in his native land, or other monument more durable than brass, which neither wasting rain, nor mighty wind, nor flight of time, could overthrow.

It is for us to search out their government and institutions, and to record the events of their political existence. To these sources the historian must turn for the materials to be inscribed upon the introductory pages of our territorial history; and should he desire more ample knowledge of

the Hodenosaunee, in the various departments necessary to a full history of the race, the effort must be quickly made, for soon the avenues of inquiry will be perpetually closed. The antiquities of our State are essentially Indian, on which account they lose in comparative interest. Could we look back to a barbarous and antiquated era, during which our ancestors were struggling upon this territory to emerge from rudeness, and to elevate themselves to a state of civilization, the research would rise in dignity and importance. But since our ancestors occupied this territory as a civilized race, with no link between them and the aboriginal occupant, except that of feeble humanity, we are inclined to pass by the incidents of his sovereignty with careless and transient observation.

In many respects the richness and value of our aboriginal remains are not appreciated. The antiquities of New York are as vast in their magnitude, as they were ancient in their enactment. Upon our hill tops lie entombed the bones of a race whose name and era of occupation, are lost in such a deep obscurity that even tradition cannot reach them.* Passing over other nations, intermediate and contemporaneous, the details of whose existence and extinction are extremely limited, we come down to the last Indian epoch, which embraces the rise, progress, and decline of the Iroquois. In this era we have a long series of prominent events; and in the Confederacy itself we have the most remarkable organization ever framed by any Indian race in North America, except, perhaps, the Aztec monarchy. The Hodenosaunee occupied our precise territory, and their council-fires burned continuously from the Hudson to the Niagara. Our old forests have rung with their war-shouts, and been enlivened with their festivals of peace. Their feathered bands, their light canoes, their eloquence, their deeds of valor, have had their time and place. In their progressive course, they had stretched their chain around the half of our republic, and rendered their name a terror nearly from ocean to ocean, when the advent of the Saxon race arrested their career, and prepared the way for the destruction of the Long-house, and the final extinguishment of the council-fires of the Confederacy.

From this general reference to the variety and magnitude of our Indian history and antiquities, the importance of the subject will be admitted. The following letters are not designed to touch the historical or political events of the Confederacy; but rather to inquire into the structure of the government and the nature of the institutions, under and through which these historical results were produced.

* There are, or have been, at least fifty trench enclosures between Utica and Lake Erie. Many of these trenches are around the brow of a hill, in which case each is known by the familiar name of Fort Hill. Within these enclosures are found human skeletons, and remains of Indian pottery. The trees found growing in the trenches by the first settlers, indicated a period of from 300 to 500 years since their desertion. The Iroquois know nothing of their objects, or of the race by whom they were constructed.

LETTER II.

Origin of the Confederacy, and distribution of its powers—The Government an Oligarchy—Sachemships—War Chiefships—Chieftaincies.

In their own account of the origin of the confederacy, the Iroquois invariably go back to a remote and uncertain period, when the league between the Five Nations was formed, its details and provisions were settled, and those laws and institutions were established, under which, without essential change, they have continued to flourish. If we may trust their evidence, the system under which they confederated was not of gradual construction, under the suggestions of necessity, but the result of one protracted effort of legislation. The nations at the time were separate and hostile bands, although of generic origin, and were drawn together in council to deliberate upon the plan of a confederacy, which a wise man of the Onondaga Nation had projected, and repeatedly urged upon their consideration; and under which, he undertook to assure them, the united nations could elevate themselves to supreme authority. Tradition has preserved the name of Daganoweda as the founder of the Confederacy, and the first lawgiver of the Hodenosaunee. It likewise points to the northern bank of the Ga-nun-ta-a, or Onondaga Lake, as the place where the council-fire was kindled, around which the wise-men of the different bands assembled; and where, after many days' debate, they succeeded in effecting a union of the nations. Their traditions further assert that the Confederacy, as established by this council, with its laws, rules, and mode of administration, has come down to them through many generations with scarcely a change, except in the addition of a class of rulers called chiefs, the lowest in authority; and an essential modification of the law in relation to marriage.

Without turning aside to inquire into the probable accuracy of their own narration, it will be sufficient to investigate the structure of the government, as it stood in its full vigor, shortly before the American Revolution, and to deduce the general principles upon which it was founded.

The central government was organized and administered upon the same principles as each Nation in its separate capacity; and the Nations stood nearly in the same relation to the Confederacy, that the American States bear to the Union—since the Iroquois government presents several oligarchies within one oligarchy, in the same manner as our Confederacy exhibits several republics within one republic.

To obtain a general conception of the character of a government, the ruler, ruling body, or bodies, as the case may be, would be the first objects of attention; and when their powers and tenure of office are discovered, the true index to the nature of the government is furnished. In the case to which this test is about to be applied, the organization was externally so obscure as to induce a universal belief that the relations

between ruler and people were simply those of chief and follower—the earliest and lowest political relation between man and man; while, in point of fact, the Iroquois had emerged from this primitive state of society, and had organized a systematic government.

At the institution of the League, fifty permanent sachemships were created, with appropriate names; and in the sachems who held these titles were vested the supreme powers of the Confederacy. To secure order in the succession, and to determine the individuals entitled, the sachemships were made hereditary under limited and peculiar laws of descent. The sachems, themselves, were equal in rank and authority (except three, to be presently mentioned;) and, in the place of holding separate territorial jurisdictions, their powers were joint, and co-extensive with the Confederacy. As a safeguard against contention and fraud, each and every sachem was "raised up," and invested with his title by a council of all the sachems, with suitable forms and ceremonies. Until this ceremony of confirmation or investiture, no one could become a ruler. He received, when raised up, the name of the sachemship itself, as in the case of titles of nobility, and so also did his successors, from generation to generation. The sachemships were unequally distributed between the five nations, but without thereby giving to either a preponderance of political power. Nine of them were assigned to the Mohawk nation; nine to the Oneida; fourteen to the Onondaga; ten to the Cayuga; and eight to the Seneca. The sachems, united, formed the Council of the League; the ruling body in which resided the executive, legislative, and judicial authority. It thus appears that the government of the Iroquois was an oligarchy; taken at least in the literal sense, "the rule of the few;" and, while more system is observable in this than in the oligarchies of antiquity, it seems, also, better calculated, in its framework, to resist political changes.

This specimen of Indian legislation is so remarkable, that a table of these sachemships, with their division into classes, indicating certain inter-relations, hereafter to be explained, is inserted, in the Seneca dialect.

TABLE showing the names of the Sachemships of the Iroquois Confederacy, which names have been borne by their sachems in succession, from the foundation of the Confederacy to the present time:—

Gá-ne-á-ga-o-noh.*

I.—1. Dá-gá-e-o-ga. 2. Há yé-went-há. 3. Da-ga-no-wé.dá.

II.—4. Sôh-á-e-wá-ah. 5. Da-yo-ho-gó. 6. O-á-ha-go-wá.

III.—7. Da-an-noh-gá-e-néh. 8. Sá-da-gá-e-wá-deh. 9. Hos-dá-

weh-é-ont-ha.

* Mohawk Nation:

O-ney-yote-car-o-noh.*

I.—1. Ho-dís-ha-teh. 2. Ga-núh gweh-yo-díh. 3. Da-yo-há-gwen-da.

II.—4. So-noh-sase. 5. To-no-ú-gú-oh. 6. Há-de-á-dun-nent-há.

III.—7. Da-wá-dí-o-dí-yoh. 8. Gá-ne-ú-dus-ha-yeh. 9. Ho-wus-hí-dí-oh.

O-non-dár-ga-o-noh.†

1.—1. Ta-do-dí-húh. Bear tribe. The highest sachemship in the Confederacy. 2. To-nehs-sa-á. Beaver tribe. Hereditary counselor of the Tadodá-húh. 3. Da-ú-t-gú-doos. Beaver tribe. Hereditary counselor of the Tadodá-húh.

II.—4. Gá-neá-dí-je-wake. S. T. 5. Ah-wá-ga-yat. T. T. 6. Da-á-yát-gwá-e.

III.—7. Ho-no-we-ná to. W. T. To this sachemship was assigned the custody of the archives, such as they might have.

IV.—8. Gá-wá-ná-sín-doh. D. T. 9. Há-é-hoh. D. T. 10. Ho-yo-ne-á-ne. T. T. 11. Sa-dí-gwá-seh. Bear T.

V.—12. Sí-go-ga-há. D. T. 13. Ho-sa-há-ho. T. T. 14. Ská-no-wun-de. T. T.

Gwc-u-gweh-o-noh.‡

I.—1. Da-gá-í-yoh. 2. Da-je-no-dí-weh-oh. 3. Gá-dá-gwá-soh. 4. So-yo-wase. 5. Há-de-ís-yo-noh.

II.—6. Dá-yo-o-yo-go. 7. Jote-ho-weh-gó. 8. De-á-wate-ho.

III.—9. To-dí-e-ho. 10. Des-gí-oh.

Nun-da-war-o-noh.§

I.—1. Gá-ne-o-dí-yoh. Turtle tribe. 2. Da-gá-o-yase. Snipe tribe.

II.—3. Ga-no-gí-e. Turtle tribe. 4. Sá-géh-jo-wá. Hawk tribe.

III.—5. Sí-de-a-noh-wus. Bear tribe. 6. Nis-há-ne-a-nent. Snipe tribe.

IV.—7. Gá-no-gó-e-da-we. Snipe tribe. 8. Do-ne-ho-gá-weh. Wolf tribe.

Unlike the Amphictyons, the sachems of the Iroquois held no vernal or autumnal session, to legislate for the welfare of the race. The kindling of the council-fire depended entirely upon exigencies of a public or domestic character. Originally, the object of the general council was to raise up sachems to fill such vacancies as had been occasioned by death or deposition. In course of time, as the intercourse with foreign nations became more important, it assumed the charge of all matters which concerned the common welfare. It declared war and made peace; sent and

* Oneida:

† Onondaga:

‡ Cayuga:

§ Seneca:

received embassies; disposed of subjugated nations; and took all necessary measures to secure the prosperity and expansion of the Confederacy.

In this body of oligarchs, the sachem Tadodahoh,* one of the Onondagas, is still regarded, and ever has been, as superior in dignity and authority to the other sachems. As an acknowledgment of this comparative eminence, two sachems were always assigned to him as his hereditary counselors. Still he had no unusual or executive powers—in fact, no authority not equally possessed by his compeers;—and this sachemship must remain an anomaly, unless we accept the light which tradition indirectly affords. At the establishment of the Confederacy, Tadodahoh was a potent ruler, and had rendered himself illustrious by military achievements. Down to this day, among the Iroquois, his name is the personification of heroism, of forecast, and of dignity of character. He was reluctant to consent to the new order of things, as he would be shorn of his power and placed among a number of equals. To remove these objections, his sachemship was dignified above the others by certain special privileges, not inconsistent, however, with an equal distribution of powers; and from his day down to the present, this title has been regarded as more noble and illustrious than any other in the catalogue of Iroquois nobility.†

With a mere league of Indian nations, the constant tendency would be to a rupture, from remoteness of position and interest, and from the inherent weakness of such a compact. In the case under inspection, something more lasting was aimed at than a simple union of the five nations, in the nature of an alliance. A blending of the national sovereignties into one government, with direct and manifold relations between the people and the Confederacy, as such, was sought for and achieved by these forest statesmen. On first observation, the powers of the government appear to be so entirely centralized, that the national independencies nearly disappear; but this is very far from the fact. The crowning feature of the Confederacy, as a political structure, is the perfect independence and individuality of the nations, in the midst of a central and embracing government, which presents such a united and cemented exterior, that its subdivisions would scarcely be discovered in transacting business with the Confederacy. This remarkable result was in part effected by the provision that the same rulers who governed the Confederacy in their joint capacity, should, in their separate state, still be the rulers of the several nations.

For all purposes of a local and domestic, and many of a political character, the nations were entirely independent of each other. The nine Mohawk sachems administered the affairs of that nation with joint au-

* Tadodahoh, Seneca. Tadodahoh, Onondaga. Tadodal, Oneida.

† The present Tadodahoh is a bright and interesting boy, about six years of age, and lives at Onondaga. He should be carefully educated from his childhood.

thority, precisely in the same manner as they did, in connection with others, the affairs of the League at large. With similar powers, the ten Cayuga sachems, by their joint councils, regulated the internal and domestic affairs of their nation. As the sachems of each nation stood upon a perfect equality, in authority and privileges, the measure of influence was determined entirely by the talents and address of the individual. In the councils of the nation, which were of frequent occurrence, all business of national concernment was transacted; and, although the questions moved on such occasions would be finally settled by the opinions of the sachems, yet such was the spirit of the Iroquois system of government that the influence of the inferior chiefs, the warriors, and even of the women, would make itself felt, whenever the subject itself aroused a general public interest.

The powers and duties of the sachems were entirely of a civil character, but yet were arbitrary within their sphere of action. If we sought their warrant for the exercise of power, in the etymology of the word, in their language, which corresponds with sachem, it would intimate a check upon, rather than an enlargement of, the civil authority; for it signifies, simply, "a counselor of the people,"—a beautiful and appropriate designation of a ruler.

Having confined the duties of sachems to civil matters by their organic law, it became necessary to provide a class of officers, in whom the military power might be vested. This was, in part, effected by the creation of fifty war-chiefships, simultaneously with the sachemships, with regulations, in relation to inheritance and investiture, mostly the same. By a novel provision, the subordination of the military to the civil power was perpetually indicated. To each sachem (Ho-yar-na-go-war,) was assigned a war-chief (Ho-yeh-gun-duh-go-wa-sah) to stand behind him on all ceremonious occasions, to aid with his counsel, and to execute the commands of the sachem. He was raised up to discharge these duties, and for this particular sachem, upon whose death, or deposition, the office, in him, ceased: for, with the successor of the sachem, was raised up another military chief. If the sachem should join in a war-party, led forth by his war-chief, as he could do, if inclined, he would cease, for the time, to be other than a common warrior, and would fall under his command. The additional duties of these military chiefs, in time of actual war, and the extent and nature of their authority, it is difficult, if not impossible, now to ascertain.

At this stage of the inquiry, an interesting, but embarrassing, question presents itself. In whom resided the superior military command of the forces of the Confederacy? The Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, agree upon the following answer: At a very early period, two military chieftaincies were established, and made hereditary. The names of each, Ta-wan-ne-ars, and So-no-so-wa, were to be taken, as in the case of the sachemships, by the successive incumbents; and they were to be raised

up, in like manner as the sachems. To these high chieftains, the supreme command of the forces of the Iroquois, and the general conduct of the wars of the Confederacy, were entrusted. By another provision, they were ever to be taken from the Seneca nation, for the reason that this nation was the hereditary door-keeper of the Long-House, to which they had likened their political edifice; and, being thus at the door, they could first take the war-path. If they could not drive back the invader, they called upon the next Fire (the Cayugas) for aid; and, if necessary, upon the third Fire (the Onondagas;) and so on, until the whole Confederacy was in arms. It was thus rendered necessary that the great war-chiefs should be taken from among the Senecas, for upon them had been placed the defence of the House of the Iroquois.

During the revolution, Thayendanegea commanded the Mohawks: and, from his conspicuous position and the high confidence reposed in him, rather than from any claim advanced by the chief himself, the title of military chieftain of the Confederacy has been conceded to him. This is entirely an error; and that he held any such office is denied, expressly, by Onondagas, Tuscaroras, Cayugas, and Senecas.

The singular method of warfare among the Iroquois makes it extremely difficult to obtain a satisfactory exposition of the manner in which their warlike operations were conducted; or to ascertain, beyond dispute, with whom the military power substantially resided. As they were at war with all nations not in actual alliance, it was lawful for any warrior to organize a party, and seek adventures wherever he pleased to direct his footsteps. Perhaps some chief, filled with martial ardor, planned an inroad upon the Cherokees of the south; and, having given a war-dance, and thus enlisted all who wished to share the glory of the adventure, took the war-path at once, upon his distant and perilous enterprise. In such ways as this, many expeditions originated; and it is believed that a great part of the warlike transactions of the Iroquois were nothing more than personal adventures, or the daring deeds of inconsiderable war-parties. Under such a state of circumstances, a favorite leader, possessed of the confidence of the people, from his warlike achievements, would be in no want of followers, in the midst of a general war; nor would the Confederacy be in any danger of losing the services of its most capable military commanders.

One other class of officers yet remains to be noticed, namely—the chiefs. Many generations after the establishment of the Confederacy, and even subsequent to the commencement of the intercourse of the Iroquois with the whites, there arose a necessity for raising up this new class. It was an innovation upon the original frame-work of the Confederacy, but it was demanded by circumstances which could not be resisted. The office of chief (Hah-seh-no-wa-neh) was made elective, and the reward of merit, but without any power of descent. No limit to the number was established. The Senecas still residing in our State number

about two thousand five hundred people; and, exclusive of their sachems and war-chiefs, they have about seventy chiefs. At first, their powers were extremely limited, and confined to a participation in the local affairs of the nation. They stood to the sachems in the light of constituted advisers and assistants; but they continued to increase in influence, until, at the present time, when the confederacy is mostly dismembered, and their internal organization has undergone some essential changes, they have raised themselves to an equality, in many respects, with the sachems themselves. After their election, they were raised up by a council of the nation; but a ratification was necessary, by a council of all the sachems, of the Confederacy, to complete the investiture.

It is, perhaps, in itself singular, that no religious functionaries were recognized in the Confederacy (none ever being raised up;) although there were certain officers in the several nations who officiated at the religious festivals, which were held at stated seasons throughout the year. There never existed, among the Iroquois, a regular and distinct religious profession, or office, as among most nations; and it was, doubtless, owing to the simplicity, as well as narrowness, of their religious creed.

With the officers above enumerated, the administration of the Confederacy was entrusted. The government sat lightly upon the people, who, in effect, were governed but little. It secured to each that individual independence, which the Hodónosaunee knew how to prize as well as the Saxon; and which, amid all political changes, they have contrived to preserve. The institutions which would be expected to exist under the government whose frame-work has just been sketched, would necessarily be simple. Their mode of life, and limited wants, the absence of all property, and the infrequency of crime, dispensed with a vast amount of the legislation and machinery, incident to the protection of civilized society. While, therefore, it would be unreasonable to seek those high qualities of mind, which result from ages of cultivation, in such a rude state of existence, it would be equally irrational to regard the Indian character as devoid of all those higher characteristics which ennoble the human race. If he has never contributed a page to science, nor a discovery to art; if he loses, in the progress of generations, as much as he gains; still, there are certain qualities of his mind which shine forth in all the lustre of natural perfection, and which must ever elicit admiration. His simple integrity, his generosity, his unbounded hospitality, his love of truth, and, above all, his unbroken fidelity—a sentiment inborn, and standing out so conspicuously in his character, that it has, not untruthfully, become its living characteristic; all these are adornments of humanity, which no art of education can instill, nor refinement of civilization can bestow. If they exist at all, it is because the gifts of the Deity have never been debased. The high state of public morals, celebrated by the poet as reached and secured under Augustus, it was the higher and prouder boast of the Iro-

quois never to have lost. In such an atmosphere of moral purity, he grew up to manhood,

“Culpari metuit fides :
Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris :
Mos et lex maculosam edomuit nefas.”

If our Indian predecessor, with the virtues and blemishes, the power and weakness, which alternate in his character, is ever rightly comprehended, it will be the result of an insight into his social relations, and an understanding of the institutions which reflect the higher elements of his intellect.

LETTER III.

Division of the People into Tribes—The Tribal League—Descent limited to the Female-line: it defeated the succession of a Son to the Sorceryship of his Father—Modes of computing degrees of Consanguinity—Laws and Customs in relation to the Succession of Rules—The power of Election and Deposition with the Tribes—Modes of bestowing names—Nature of a Tribe.

The division of a people into tribes is the most simple organization of society. Each tribe being in the nature of a family, the ties of relationship which bind its individual members together, are indispensable, until they are rendered unnecessary by the adoption of a form of government, and the substitution of other ties, which answer the same ends of protection and security.

When a people have long remained in the tribal state, it becomes extremely difficult to remove all traces of such organic divisions by the substitution of new institutions. In the tribes of the Jews, this position is illustrated. Among the Greeks also, especially the Athenians, the traces of their original divisions never entirely disappeared. Solon substituted classes for tribes; but subsequently Cleisthenes restored the tribes, (retaining however the classes,) and increased the number: thus perpetuating this early social organization of the Athenians among their civil institutions. The Athenian Tribe was a group of families, with subdivisions; the Roman Tribes established by Romulus, the same. On the other hand, the Jewish Tribe embraced only the lineal descendants of a common father; and its individual members being of consanguinity, the tribe itself was essentially different from the Grecian. The Iroquois Tribe was unlike them all. It was not a group of families; neither was it made up of the descendants of a common father, as the father and his child were never of the same tribe. In the sequel, however, it will be discovered to be nearest the Jewish: the chief difference consisting in the incident of descent in the female line attached to the former; while descent in the male line was incident to the latter.

The founders of the Iroquois Confederacy did not seek to suspend the tribal divisions of the people, to introduce a different social organization; but on the contrary, they rested the Confederacy itself upon the tribes; and through them, sought to interweave the race into one political family. A full and careful exploration of those tribal relationships which charac-

terize the political system of the Iroquois, becomes therefore of great importance. Without such knowledge as they will afford, their government itself is wholly unmeaning and inexplicable.

In each nation there were eight tribes, which were arranged in two divisions, and named as follows :

Wolf,	Bear,	Beaver,	Turtle.
Deer,	Snipe,	Heron,	Hawk. .

Animals common to all latitudes between Louisiana and Montreal, and hence in themselves incapable of throwing any light upon the land, or locality, in which the race originated.* These names had doubtless an emblematical signification which reached beyond the object itself. Of the origin of their tribal divisions but little is known; and to it perhaps but little importance attaches. Tradition declares that the Bear and the Deer were the original tribes, and that the residue were subdivisions. At the establishment of the Oligarchy, evidence is furnished of the existence of seven of the tribes, in the distribution of the Onondaga and Seneca Sachemships. The fourteen assigned to the former nation, were divided between the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Snipe and Deer Tribes; while the eight belonging to the latter, were given to the Wolf, Bear, Turtle, Snipe and Hawk, to the exclusion of the others, if they then existed; and in these several tribes, they were made perpetually hereditary.

The division of the people of each nation into eight tribes, whether pre-existing, or perfected at the establishment of the Confederacy did not terminate in its objects with the nation itself. It became the means of effecting the most perfect union of separate nations "ever devised by the wit of man." In effect, the Wolf Tribe was divided into five parts, and one-fifth of it placed in each of the five nations. The remaining tribes were subjected to the same division and distribution: thus giving to each nation the eight tribes, and making in their separated state, forty tribes in the Confederacy. Between those of the same name—or in other words, between the separated parts of each tribe—there existed a tie of brotherhood, which linked the nations together with indissoluble bonds. The Mohawk of the Beaver Tribe, recognized the Seneca of the Beaver Tribe as his brother, and they were bound to each other by the ties of

* Table exhibiting the scientific names of the animals adopted by the Iroquois as the emblems of their respective tribes. It follows the classification employed in the *Nat. History of New York*. The species have been determined from careful descriptions obtained of the Seneca's.

Animal.	Seneca Name.	Order.	Family.	Genus.	Species.
Wolf.	Tor-yoh-né.	Carnivora.	Canidæ.	Lupus.	Occidentalis.
Bear.	Ne-e-ar-gu-ye.	Carnivora.	Ursidæ.	Ursus.	Americanus.
Beaver.	Non-gar-ne-e-ar-goh.	Rodentia.	Castoridæ.	Castor.	Faber.
Turtle.	Ga-ne-e-ar-teh-go-wa.	Chelonia.	Chelonidæ.	Chelonura.	Serpentina.
Deer.	Na-o-geh.	Ungulata.	Cervidæ.	Cervus.	Virginianus.
Snipe.	Doo-ese-doo-we.	Grallæ.	Scolopacidæ.	Totanus.	Semipalmatus.
Heron.	Jo-as-seh.	Grallæ.	Arpeidæ.	Ardea.	Candidissima.
Hawk.	Os-sweh-ga-da-ga-ab.	Accipitres.	Falconidæ.	Falco.	Columbarius.

consanguinity. In like manner the Oneida of the Turtle or other tribe, received the Cayuga, or the Onondaga of the same tribe, as a brother; and with a fraternal welcome. This cross-relationship between the tribes of the same name, and which was stronger, if possible, than the chain of brotherhood between the several tribes of the same nation, is still preserved in all its original strength. It doubtless furnishes the chief reason of the tenacity with which the fragments of the old Confederacy still cling together. If either of the five nations had wished to cast off the alliance, it must also have broken the bond of brotherhood. Had the nations fallen into collision, it would have turned Hawk Tribe against Hawk Tribe, Heron against Heron, in a word, brother against brother. The history of the Hodenosaunee exhibits the wisdom of these organic provisions; for they never fell into anarchy during the long period which the league subsisted; nor even approximated to a dissolution of the Confederacy from internal disorders.

With the progress of the inquiry, it becomes more apparent that the Confederacy was in effect a League of Tribes. With the ties of kindred as its principle of union, the whole race was interwoven into one great family, composed of tribes in its first subdivision (for the nations were counterparts of each other;) and the tribes themselves, in their subdivisions, composed of parts of many households. Without these close inter-relations, resting, as many of them do, upon the strong impulses of nature, a mere alliance between the Iroquois nations would have been feeble and transitory.

In this manner was constructed the *Tribal League* of the *Hodenosaunee*; in itself, an extraordinary specimen of Indian legislation. Simple in its foundation upon the *Family Relationships*; effective, in the lasting vigor inherent in the ties of kindred; and perfect in its success, in achieving a lasting and harmonious union of the nations; it forms an enduring monument to that proud and progressive race, who reared under its protection, a wide-spread Indian sovereignty.

All the institutions of the Iroquois, have regard to the division of the people into tribes. Originally with reference to marriage, the Wolf, Bear, Beaver and Turtle Tribes, were brothers to each other, and cousins to the remaining four. They were not allowed to intermarry. The opposite four tribes were also brothers to each other, and cousins to the first four; and were also prohibited from intermarrying. Either of the first four tribes, however, could intermarry with either of the last four; thus Hawk could intermarry with Bear or Beaver, Heron with Turtle; but not Beaver and Turtle, nor Deer and Deer. Whoever violated these laws of marriage incurred the deepest detestation and disgrace. In process of time, however, the rigor of the system was relaxed, until finally, the prohibition was confined to the tribe of the individual, which among the residue of the Iroquois, is still religiously observed. They can now

marry into any tribe but their own. Under the original as well as modern regulation, the husband and wife were of different tribes. The children always followed the tribe of the mother.

As the whole Iroquois system rested upon the tribes as an organic division of the people, it was very natural that the separate rights of each should be jealously guarded. Not the least remarkable among their institutions, of which most appear to have been original with the race, was that which confined the transmission of all titles, rights and property in the female line to the exclusion of the male. It is strangely unlike the canons of descent adopted by civilized nations, but it secured several important objects. If the Deer Tribe of the Cayugas, for example, received a sachemship or war-chiefship at the original distribution of these offices, the descent of such title being limited to the female line, it could never pass out of the tribe. It thus became instrumental in giving the tribe individuality. A still more marked result, and perhaps leading object, of this enactment was, the perpetual disinheritance of the son. Being of the tribe of his mother, it formed an impassable barrier against him; and he could neither succeed his father as a sachem, nor inherit from him even his medal, or his tomahawk. The inheritance, for the protection of tribal rights, was thus directed from the descendants of the sachem, to his brothers, his sisters, children, or some individual of the tribe at large under certain circumstances; each and all of whom were in his tribe, while his children being in another's tribe, as before remarked, were placed out of the line of succession.

By the operation of this principle, also, the certainty of descent in the tribe, of their principal chief was secured by a rule infallible; for the child must be the son of its mother, although not necessarily of its mother's husband. If the purity of blood be of any moment, the lawgivers of the Iroquois established the only certain rule the case admits of, whereby the assurance might be enjoyed that the ruling sachem was of the same family or tribe with the first taker of the title.

The Iroquois mode of computing degrees of consanguinity was unlike that of the civil or canon law; but was yet a clear and definite system. No distinction was made between the lineal and collateral line either in the ascending or descending series? The maternal grandmother and her sisters were equally grandmothers; the mother and her sisters were equally mothers; the children of a mother's sisters were brothers and sisters; the children of a sister would be nephews and nieces; and the grandchildren—that is to say, the grandchildren of the *propositus*, or individual from whom the degree of relationship is reckoned. These were the chief relatives within the tribe, though not fully extended to number. Out of the tribe, the paternal grandfather and his brothers were equally grandfathers; the father and his brothers equally fathers; the father's sisters were aunts, while, in the tribe, the mother's brothers were uncles; the father's sister's children would be cousins as in the civil law; the

children of these consins would be nephews and nieces, and the children of these nephews and nieces would be his grandchildren, or the grandchildren of the propositus. Again: the children of a brother would be his children, and the grandchildren of a brother would be his grandchildren; also the children of a father's brothers, are his brothers and sisters, instead of cousins, as under the civil law; and lastly, their children are his grandchildren, or the grandchildren of the propositus.

It was the leading object of the Iroquois law of descent, to merge the collateral in the lineal line, as sufficiently appears in the above outline. By the civil law, every departure from the common ancestor in the descending series, removed the collateral from the lineal; while, by the law under consideration, the two lines were finally brought into one.* Under the civil law mode of computation, the degrees of relationship become too remote to be traced among collaterals; while, by the mode of the Iroquois, none of the collaterals were lost by remoteness of degree. The number of those linked together by the nearer family ties was largely multiplied by preventing in this manner, the subdivision of a family into collateral branches.

The succession of the rulers of the Confederacy is one of the most intricate subjects to be met with in the political system of the Hodenosaunee. It has been so difficult to procure a satisfactory exposition of the enactments by which the mode of succession was regulated, that the sachemships have sometimes been considered elective; at others as hereditary. Many of the obstacles which beset the inquiry are removed by the single fact, that the titles of sachem and war-chief are absolutely hereditary in the tribe to which they were originally assigned; and can never pass out of it but with its extinction. How far these titles were hereditary in that part of the family of the sachem or war-chief, who were of the same tribe with himself, becomes the true question to consider. The sachem's brothers, and the sons of his sisters, are of his tribe, and consequently in the line of succession. Between a brother and a nephew of the deceased, there was no law which established a preference; neither between several brothers, on the one hand, and several sons of a sister, on the other, was there any law of primogeniture; nor, finally was there any positive law that the choice should be confined to the brothers of the deceased ruler, or the descendants of his sister in the female line, until all these should fail, before a selection could be made

* The following are the names of the several degrees of relationship, recognized among the Hodenosaunee, in the language of the Senecas:

Hoc-sote,	Grandfather.	Hoc-no-seh,	Uncle.
Uc-sote,	Grandmother.	Ah-geh-huc,	Aunt.
Ha-nih,	Father.	Ha-yan-wan-deh,	Nephew.
Noh-yeh,	Mother.	Ka-yan-wan-deh,	Niece.
Ho-ah-wuk,	Son.	Da-ya-gwa-dan-no-da,	Brothers and Sisters.
Go-ah-wuk,	Daughter.	Ah-gare-seh,	Cousin.
Ka-ya-da,	Grandchildren.		

from the tribe at large. Hence it appears, so far as positive enactments were concerned, that the offices of sachem and war-chief as between the tribes, were hereditary in the particular tribe in which they ran; while they were elective, as between the male members of the tribe itself.

In the absence of laws, designating with certainty the individual upon whom the inheritance should fall, custom would come in and assume the force of law, in directing the manner of choice, from among a number equally eligible. Upon the decease of a sachem, a tribal council assembled to determine upon his successor. The choice usually fell upon a son of one of the deceased ruler's sisters, or upon one of his brothers—in the absence of physical and moral objections; and this preference of one of his near relatives would be suggested by feelings of respect for his memory. Infancy was no obstacle; it uniting only the necessity of setting over him a guardian, to discharge the duties of a sachem until he reached a suitable age. It sometimes occurred that all the relatives of the deceased were set aside, and a selection was made from the tribe generally; but it seldom thus happened, unless from the great unfitness of the near relatives of the deceased.

When the individual was finally determined, the nation summoned a council, in the name of the deceased, of all the sachems of the league; and the new sachem was raised up by such council and invested with his office.

In connection with the power of the tribes to designate the sachems and war-chiefs, should be noticed the equal power of deposition. If, by misconduct, a sachem lost the confidence and respect of his tribe, and became unworthy of authority, a tribal council at once deposed him; and having selected a successor, summoned a council of the Confederacy to perform the ceremony of his investiture.

Still further to illustrate the characteristics of the tribes of the Iroquois, some reference to their mode of bestowing names would not be inapt.* Soon after the birth of an infant, the near relatives of the same tribe selected a name. At the first subsequent council of the nation, the birth and name were publicly announced, together with the name and tribe of the father, and the name and tribe of the mother. In each nation the proper names were so strongly marked by a tribal peculiarity, that the tribe of the individual could be determined from the name alone. Making, as they did, a part of their language, they were, consequently, all significant. When an individual was up as a sachem, his original name was laid aside, and that of the sachemship itself assumed. The war-chief followed the same rule. In like manner, at the raising up of a chief, the council of the nation which performs the ceremony, took away the former name of the incipient chief and assigned him a new

* Like the ancient Saxons, the Iroquois had neither a prenomen, nor a cognomen; but contented themselves with a single name.

one, perhaps, like Napoleon's titles, commemorative of the event which led to its bestowment. Thus, when the celebrated Red-Jacket was elevated by election to the dignity of a chief, his original name, O-te-ti-ao-i (Always Ready) was taken from him, and in its place was bestowed Sa-go-ye-wat-lia, (Keeper Awake,) in allusion to the powers of his eloquence.

It now remains to define a tribe of the Hodenosaunee. From the preceding consideration it sufficiently appears, that it was not, like the Grecian and Roman, a circle or group of families; for two tribes were, necessarily, represented in every family; neither, like the Jewish, was it constituted of the lineal descendants of a common father; on the contrary, it distinctly involved the idea of descent from a common mother; nor has it any resemblance to the Scottish clan, or the Canton of the Switzer. In the formation of an Iroquois tribe, a portion was taken from many households, and bound together by a tribal bond. The bond consisted in the ties of consanguinity; for all the tribe, thus composed, were connected by relationships, which under their law of descents, were easily traceable. To the tribe attached the incident of descent in the female line, the prohibition of intermarriage, the capacity of holding and exercising political rights, and the ability to contract and sustain relationships with the other tribes.

The wife, her children, and her descendants in the female line, would, in perpetuity, be linked with the destinies of her own tribe and kindred; while the husband, his brothers and sisters, and the descendants of the latter, in the female line, would, in like manner, be united to another tribe, and held by its affinities. Herein was a bond of union between the several tribes of the same nation, corresponding, in some degree, with the cross-relationship founded upon consanguinity, which bound together the tribes of the same emblem in the different nations.

Of the comparative value of these institutions, when contrasted with those of civilized countries and of their capability of elevating the race, it is not necessary here to inquire. It was the boast of the Iroquois that the great object of their confederacy was peace:—to break up the spirit of perpetual warfare, which wasted the red race from age to age. Such an insight into the true end and object of all legitimate government, by those who constructed this tribal league, excites as great surprise as admiration. It is the highest and the noblest aspect in which human institutions can be viewed; and the thought itself—universal peace among Indian races possible of attainment—was a ray of intellect from no ordinary mind. To consummate such a purpose, the Iroquois nations were to be concentrated into one political fraternity; and in a manner effectively to prevent off-shoots and secessions. By its natural growth, this fraternity would accumulate affiliation, into one common family. Thus in its nature, it was designed to be a progressive confederacy. What means could have been employed with greater promise of success than

the stupendous system of relationships, which was fabricated though the division of the Hodcnosaunee into tribes? It was a system sufficiently ample to infold the whole Indian race. Unlimited in their capacity for extension; inflexible in their relationships; the tribes thus interleagued would have suffered no loss of unity by their enlargement, no loss of strength by the increasing distance between their council-fires. The destiny of this league, if it had been left to work out its results among the red races exclusively, it is impossible to conjecture. With vast capacities for enlargement, with remarkable durability of structure, and a vigorous, animating spirit it must have attained a great elevation and a general supremacy.

JAMES LYON'S NARRATIVE.

Knowing that our very worthy and truthful friend James Lyon of Beaver, had been for some years, a prisoner among the Indians, and feeling entire confidence that every word which he would say, would be the very truth, we were gratified to get from Dr. Denny his account of his adventures, knowing that so far as it goes it is an accurate picture of Indian life. Below we give Dr. Denny's note, and Mr. Lyon's narrative.

In a subsequent letter, Mr. Lyon states that his father had gone to a Mr. Wallace's with a sledge and two horses, that on his return he was taken prisoner by the Indians, carried into the woods and killed. The Indians, then, separated one party took the horses; the other party went to his father's house and took him and his brother prisoners.

These parties met together again at Dirty Camp, as stated in the narrative.

We note with pleasure, the kind feeling manifested by Simon Girty, towards the poor unfortunate child. We are so accustomed to regard that man as a cruel, unfeeling ruffian, that it is refreshing to see even the small display of kindness towards a child, whom he had probably seen often before, and whom he perhaps recollected. Such actions from such persons, strengthen and foster the trust, that no human being is altogether destitute of good traits of character. As there are none altogether perfect, so we may hope that none are altogether wicked.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1846.

TO N. B. CRAIG, EDITOR:

DEAR SIR:—Obliged to attend the late court at Beaver, it was a relief to go back to better days, with James Lyon, and from the court house steps to overlook the site of Fort Mackintosh, where, sixty-one years ago, he was exchanged by the Delawares. It was a fine chance, to get for your publication, from a living and most respectable witness, an account of his captivity amongst the Indians of that day. I told him I had a commission from "*Old Time*" to take his testimony. He was kind enough to gratify me. I took the first opportunity to commit to writing what he said, as near as I could recollect it, and to send my manuscript

for correction; knowing, as I did, his scrupulous regard for truth, and that any statement, purporting to come from him, must have the exactness and fidelity of an affidavit.

After some days, he returned it with a few amendments, accompanied with a sketch of his own, and requesting me to select from it such passages as I might think suitable for my purpose.

But I find it in every essential, so much better than what I had written myself, that I will take the liberty of offering it as a substitute.

Your obedient servant,

W. H. DENNY.

NARRATIVE.

On our return from captivity, my sister Mary Gibson, who lived with my father, and kept house for him, (my mother dying when I was but 18 months old,) informed me that it was in the spring of 1782, which I think was the year, (from my now being in my 70 or 71st year,) that we were taken.

We lived on my father's farm. 5 or 6 miles from Turtle Creek, where the Pittsburgh and Greensburgh turnpike road crosses the creek, and on or nearly on, the old road, and adjoining the farm of Mr. Adam Rayburn, on which a block-house and other buildings were erected, and picketed in, and was called Rayburn's garison.

My sister Mary informed me, that my father had gone on business, to a neighbor of the name of Wallace. My sister made my brother Eli and myself pin-hooks, and we went to the run, that was near the house, to amuse ourselves fishing for minnows, we had not been fishing long, until we heard a noise like tramping of horses, my brother told me to go up on the bank to see what it was, I ran up and looking in the direction of the house where the sound came from, I saw some Indians jumping over the fence, and coming toward us, I ran down and told my brother, (who was but a short distance from me,) that there were Indians coming toward us, I had hardly time to give him notice, until they were on us; a large Indian, who had my father's shirt and hunting-shirt on, which were very bloody, and having two scalps hanging to his powder horn, caught me, and another Indian pursued my brother, who was trying to make his escape up the opposite bank from us, and striking the foremost Indian with his fishing rod, until the Indian was taking his tomahawk from his belt, when he desisted; when the Indian took hold of me, I cried loud, but he shook his tomahawk over my head, which soon silenced me. Two of the Indians took hold of me under each arm, and dragged me along, sometimes lifting me off the ground when they could not get along fast enough by letting my feet touch the ground, and took my brother along in the same way. We did not stop until we reached the hills above "Dirty Camp," on the Hannastown road, here we were joined by another party of Indians, with two of my father's horses, and a small black horse, belonging to a young man by the name of Matthew Long, on which they had a feather bed,

which I understood on our return, was taken from Mr. Wallace's house. My brother was put on the horse that had the bed on, and I was put on behind him.

On the evening of the same day, we passed through an old waste field, in which was feeding a roan mare, heavy with colt, which they took, we had not got a great distance from the field, when an Indian went up a leaning tree, which had lodged on another and looked around, and made a motion for those of us that were riding to get off, which we did, and all squatting down, continued some time in that position; and then changed our course, whether it was north, east, south or west, I cannot tell, we were too young, to know what course we were going. We struck a river, which I suppose was the Allegheny, a few hours before sundown on a bottom, surrounded with considerable hills, in the form of a half moon, the Indians immediately set about driving the horses into the river and made them swim to the other side, all but the roan mare, when they found they could not get her to take the river, they set too to tomahawk her, until she fell from loss of blood; before she was quite dead, they began to skin her hind parts, and cut off some of the flesh, and made a fire, and broiled some of it on sticks, stuck in the ground before the fire, and gave some of it to my brother and myself to eat; it was tough eating, but we were very hungry and were glad to get it; by this time it was dark, during the time we were eating, we heard the report of guns, whether it was above or below us, I now do not recollect, the Indians laughed and appeared much pleased; before we laid down to rest they took my father's pocket book from one of their bundles, (I knew it, it was one of the old fashioned kind, made of worsted,) and examined the contents; it contained some continental money and some pieces with which they seemed much pleased and which I now suppose were guineas.

Early in the morning they made a raft on which we crossed the river; the Indians immediately hunted up the horses, and got all but Long's horse, which had swam back, and we were informed on our return, got safe home; on that night we had a severe storm of wind and rain, they made a shelter for me, but made my brother lie outside, without any covering; we both cried much, the greater part of the night, but being much fatigued we fell asleep,

It continued to rain through the next day and night, we had another storm of wind and rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and they served me at night, the same way they served my brother the night before.

This day they cut off my hair, and my brother's, I resisted all I could, to prevent them cutting it, which pleased the Indians, but finally I had to yield, my hair was unusually long, for one of my age, and white, and my sister Mary took pains to comb and tie it, and I was very proud of it. The Indians gave me the name of O-pon-to-pos, which is white-head in English.

The first town we came to, was small, they had stretched my father's and my sister's scalps, (as we thought one was my sister's and the other my father's, both had black hair,) on small hoops painted red, and then attached them to long poles also painted red.

The Indians fired off their guns, and raised the war whoop, and held up the poles which had the scalps tied to them; a number of the Indians of the village came out to meet us, and escorted us in, we had not been long in camp, until they commenced smoking, and amongst those that visited us, was a white man, immediately on his coming into the camp I went up to him, and he took me on his knee; I was glad to see a white man, he kept me all the time on his knee while he staid, and treated me kindly, when he got up to go away, I wanted to go with him, he had no other way of getting me pacified, but by promising to come and see me again, but that was the last I saw of him, my brother told me that he was *Simon Girty*, that he had seen him frequently at my grandmother Myers' tavern, where we both often visited. I think Girty was above the middle size, but of this I am not certain.

From this town, we set out the same day, and in a few days reached a larger town, where we were made to run the gauntlet, we were put on my father's two horses, (they were almost worn out,) an Indian who spoke English so as to be understood, pointed out to us where to go, which was their council house, made of bark, set on end; my brother snatched a ramrod out of one of the Indian's hand, or the Indian gave it to him I do not know which, but he whipped up his horse and got to the council house, without getting a touch, for which the Indians seemed much pleased. I did not fare so well, I was dragged off my horse by boys, some about my own size and some larger, and was kicked and cuffed, sometimes down and sometimes up, making the best of my way, where my brother was still sitting on his horse, and making signs to me with his hands to come to him, which I at last effected, after getting severely beaten; I received a blow on my forehead which knocked me down; the wound bled profusely and getting into one of my eyes, somewhat retarded my progress. At this town we remained several days. We then removed to a town on a creek, which the Indians called White Woman's Creek, I have since learned that it is the head waters of the Wabash—at this town I was adopted into a respectable Indian family.

I will relate two or three circumstances that took place with me, during the time I was with them, one was this, I had a little Indian brother, about my own age and size; a brother of my Indian father, who was a cripple, being injured by a bear, that he had wounded, kept one side of the fire in the camp with the children, and my Indian father and mother the other side, this Indian frequently got me and my little Indian brother to wrestle, and which sometimes ended in a fight, when that would take place he would part us; one time this little fellow and myself were put to husking corn, we had to use knives to cut that part of

the ear that the husk is attached to, leaving sufficient quantity of husk attached, to plat in a long row, to hang up to dry, for this purpose we had to use knives, otherwise we would break all off; I had laid down my knife to fix the block of wood which we had to use to cut on, and my little Indian brother slipped my knife away, and put his in its place, on lifting the knife up, I found out the trick he had played me, and saw my knife in his hand, as he was making the stroke to cut his ear, I made a grab at the knife, with my left hand, and was severely cut, the scar is still perceivable, his mother gave him a severe whipping. Another circumstance took place, my Indian father went out early in the morning to hunt, and did not return till late in the day, he brought the hind quarter of a deer with him, being fatigued and hungry he cut a piece of the fleshy part of the ham, and stuck it on a stick before the fire, his knife being moist cutting the meat, he leaned it against a stick, that was supporting the wood that was on the fire, with the point up, and the handle on the ground, I suppose to prevent the knife from getting dirty, from the moisture that was on it, my little Indian brother and myself were at our plays, at the end of the fire and rather near the side of the father's side, whilst I was engaged at my plays, he would get splinters from the fire and burn my naked hips, I told him several times if he did not behave himself, I would whip him, but he still persisted, I jumped up to my feet, and made at him, and he was as quick as I was, we clinched and I threw him, and unfortunately on the point of the knife, it entered a little above the hips, near the backbone, he gave a loud scream, I ran to the door of the camp and looking around, saw his father reaching for his tomahawk, I ran down the hill towards the creek, on the road we carried water, and went several rods up the creek, and got under some rocks, where there were some leaves, and covered myself up; it was in the winter and there was considerable snow on the ground, I lay there until near night, but getting cold I came out, and saw my mother going for water, she made signs to me, to come to her, she insisted that I should go to the camp which I did expecting to be killed, or severely chastised, when I went in I had not one angry word said to me; I went up to where the little fellow was lying, and he appeared to be in much pain, I felt sincerely sorry for the accident, for it was really an accident. I cannot account for getting off so easy, in any other way than this, I think the brother, (the crippled Indian and uncle to the boy,) had been observing how the accident took place.

I will relate another circumstance, which will show that the Indian is not devoid of feeling. A daughter had got married, and had moved from her father's camp some distance, I was sent to live with her a short time, she used me cruelly, she would strike me on the head with the back of a scalping knife which would make it bleed profusely, I remember one time she went to the creek to wash, she took me with her to bring wood, to boil her clothes which were few, whilst there she took hold of me, and threw me into the creek, and held me under water; I verily be-

lieve she would have drowned me, if I had not been rescued by her husband, who came around the point of a small island, and who had just returned from hunting. My mother came in the evening of the same day to pay her daughter a visit, she took notice of blood being on my hair, she asked me what did it, I told her it was her daughter, and also that she had tried to drown me, she gave her a scolding, and took me home with her.

When I was informed by my Indian mother that they were going to send me home to my relations, I expressed an unwillingness to go, but when they told me, that they would take me to my brother, I consented to go, we were brought into Fort Macintosh now, (Beaver town,) where a treaty was held in the spring of 1784 or 5, for the exchange of prisoners, Major Zeigler commanded the fort, and treated us kindly and wrote to our friends at Turtle Creek, that we were at the fort; my cousin William Powell and Mr. John Butler, came down to the fort and took us up to Pittsburgh in a canoe, where a number of our friends met us and took us home.

Some distance from Fort Macintosh, in the Indian Country, we met Gen. John Gibson, and Mr. David Duncan, trading with the Indians, they gave my brother and me some clothing; the reason I know it was Messrs Gibson and Duncan that treated us so kindly, I afterwards saw them in Pittsburgh, and recognised them to be the same persons.

After our return home my sister Mary told me that when she thought we were long enough out, she went around the end of the house to call us, she observed moccasin tracks in the mud, and knew at once, that we were taken prisoners, she ran in and took up her child, and running to Rayburn's Garrison, which was about three quarters of a mile off and gave the alarm, how she and her child escaped I cannot tell, there was no person in or about the house, but herself and the child; it was supposed that the Indians had lain concealed in a spice wood thicket, which was near the house and had observed my father leaving home, and following him, killed him, then returned to the house and took us prisoners.

DEAR SIR:—I have returned the narrative of my father's being killed by the Indians, and my brother and myself being taken prisoners. I have also wrote and inclosed a short history of the occurrence, from which you will please select such parts of it, as you may think proper to publish. My son Martin in copying the rough original, has left out some transactions, which took place during our journey home, which I had rather he had put in.

In writing this narrative, it has brought to my recollection, some narrow escapes I have made, for my life in my youthful days, and also, some melancholy reflections over my mind, but I have reason to thank an all ruling Providence, I have been brought through in safety, to a good old age.

Respectfully your friend and obedient servant, JAMES LYON.

BEAVER TOWN, SEPTEMBER 27, 1846.

CONNOLLY'S PLOT.

We have had placed in our hands another book formerly the property of John Ormsby, deceased, entitled "A History of the Civil War in America," in which Mr. Ormsby had, as was his practice, introduced several sheets of notes. Among these was one upon the detection of Connolly's plot, which gives some information upon that subject, which may be worthy of preservation. This note is as follows.

"The above Doctor Connolly was born and bred near Wright's Ferry in Pennsylvania, his father was a grubber among the farmers on the Susquehanna, who found the secret of pleasing a quaker orderly widow of the name of Ewing, and the jobber was a professed papist. This match as might be expected proved very disagreeable, so that he left nothing to commemorate his memory but the above villainous Doctor. This fellow had traversed the Illinois country till he could subsist there no longer, so that he appeared at Pittsburgh a few years before the commencement of the Revolution. Here he was introduced to Lord Dunmore, who travelled through the western country to sound the inclinations of the inhabitants as well as the Indians. Connolly, like a hungry wolf, closed with Dunmore a bargain, that he would secure a considerable interest among the white inhabitants and the Indians on the frontier. In consequence of this agreement my Lord made him a deed of gift of 2000 acres of land at the Falls of Ohio, and 2000 more to Mr. John Campbell, late of Kentucky, both of which grants are now owned by the heirs of Col. Campbell. Connolly immediately set himself to work in disseminating his hellish insinuations among the people. He employed an adjutant to drill the militia, and had the audacity to engage artificers to repair the old fort, and in every respect acted the part of a tyrant. He sent runners among the Indians, far and near, with large promises of soon supplying them with goods and money. Having thus far paved the way for his atrocious designs he met Lord Dunmore at Alexandria, where they concerted the infernal scheme of massacring all those on the frontiers who would not join in their work. Matters being thus arranged, Dunmore sent Connolly to Gen. Clinton at New York * who approved of the scheme, appointed Connolly a Lieutenant Colonel and commander of two or three regiments of whites and Indians, with authority to draw on the Paymaster General for cash. Upon this exaltation, the great and mighty Connolly set out for Baltimore, where he joined the persons who were taken along with him,† and who no doubt, were as sanguinary villains as himself. A report was whispered among the Minute men at Hagerstown, &c. of Connolly's schemes, so that they had a sharp look out for him, and happily succeeded in arresting him and his comrades, and all the commissions for the new regiments, with the general plan of their operations were found upon him, upon which he was committed to prison. This news, you

* This should be General Gage at Boston.

† See Volume 1 Olden Time, page 520.

may be sure was joyfully received on the frontier and especially at Pittsburgh, where the writer of these lines resided with his family. When Lord Dunmore arrived at Pittsburgh he lodged at my house and often closeted me, as he said, for information, respecting the disposition of the inhabitants. He threw out some dark insinuations as to my usefulness, in case I would be concerned, but as he found I kept aloof he divulged his plans to Connolly, and I suppose to Campbell, else why give him the aforesaid grant of land, which he enjoys, and which is very valuable.

Had Connolly and his associates reached Pittsburgh, there were a great many drunken, idle vagabonds waiting to join him. The savages were, also, in high expectation, that they would soon glut their vengeance on the distressed frontier inhabitants. But the Almighty Lord showed himself to be our protector against all the machinations of our European and American foes. Connolly and Arnold, both of whom merited a halter, are now on half pay on the British establishment.

FORT PITT IN 1775—6.

VIRGINIA CONVENTION DECEMBER 18TH 1775.

A Petition of Joseph Simpson, and John Campbell, was presented to the Convention, and read; setting forth, that they had supplied the Soldiery under the command of Lord Dunmore, in the late expedition against the Indians, with sundry articles, which were appraised agreeably to law, the amount of which appraisement, the Commissioners appointed to settle the Accounts of the Militia lately drawn out into actual service, refused to allow them; that they had advanced to Major John Connolly sums of money, and other things to a considerable amount, depending wholly upon his pay as an officer, which he had assigned to them before he had attempted to perpetrate his diabolical plot, which the said Commissioners also refused to allow them; that they have claims against the public, for assignments from sundry officers and men who were in service at Fort Pitt before the 26th of May, 1774, and from sundry artificers for their pay whilst employed in repairing Fort Pitt and building Fort Fincastle, and for sundry materials used in those works, for all which they pray such allowance as shall be found to be just.

Also a petition of Alexander Ross, setting forth that William Thompson, together with your Petitioner, purchased of the Crown the buildings and materials belonging to Fort Pitt when they were evacuated, and occupied the same till some time in the year 1774, when Major John Connolly, by command of Lord Dunmore, took possession thereof for the use of this Colony, and had the same appraised by proper judges, upon oath, to the sum of 1482*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*, besides sundry articles, the sole property of your Petitioner, appraised to 314*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*, and retained the same till the month of August last, when Captain John Nevill, by direction of this Convention, took possession thereof for the defence of this Colony; and praying

the premises may be taken into consideration, and such relief granted them as their case shall be found to deserve.

Ordered, That the said Petitions be referred to Mr. Mercer, Mr. Nevill, Mr. Rootes, Mr. Harvie, Mr. Muhlenburg, Mr. Richard Lee, Mr. Henry Lee, Mr. Carrington, Mr. Peyton, Mr. William Cabell, Mr. Thos. Walker, Mr. Andrew Lewis, Mr. Adams, Mr. Cary, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Taylor, and they are to report the same, with their opinion thereupon, to the Convention.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 6. 1776.

Mr. Adams, from the Committee to whom the Petition of Alexander Ross and William Thompson was referred, reported, that they had according to order, had the same under their consideration, and that it appeared to them that, in the year 1760, His Majesty had a garrisoned fort erected at the place called Fort Pitt, which was kept up until the year 1772, after which a Corporal and a few men only were continued in the said fort; that the Petitioners produced to them a bill of sale from Major Charles Edmonstone, commander of the said fort, to them bearing date the 10th day of October, 1772, reciting that the said Edmonstone, for and in consideration of the sum of fifty pounds, New York currency, to him in hand paid by the said Alexander Ross and William Thompson, did bargain and sell, in behalf of the Crown, unto the said Alexander Ross and William Thompson, all the pickets, bricks, stones, timber, and iron, which are now in the buildings or walls of the said fort, and in the redoubts, to be demolished by order of his Excellency General Gage, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America; and that it also appeared, from the testimony of John Campbell, that he, with many others, signed a Remonstrance, and sent it to General Gage, whereby they complained of a private sale made of the ruins of the fort, by the said Charles Edmonstone, to the Petitioners, and requested that they might be publicly sold; that they received for answer from General Gage, that although the said Charles Edmonstone had proceeded irregularly, yet, as a sale was made, he could not set it aside; that it further appeared, from the deposition of Dorsey Penticost, that he saw a letter from Gen. Gage, dated in the winter of 1772, which seemed to be an answer to a remonstrance of the inhabitants of Fort Pitt, desiring to purchase the ruins of the fort, wherein he informs them that he had received a return from Major Edmonstone of the sale thereof, which was good and by his orders; that there were a corporal and three men left at Fort Pitt, who, he was informed by Edward Hand, surgeon of the said Regiment, were left to take care of the boats, batteaus, &c.; that it also appeared the further sum of fifty Pounds was given as a present, by the Petitioners, to the said Charles Edmonstone, and the sum of twenty-five Pounds to one Bredau, an ensign to the said Regiment, and a witness to the bill of sale; and that the said Edward Hand, another witness to the bill of sale, had

empowered him to receive from the said Alexander Ross one-third of the sales of the ruins of the fort, by virtue of a contract subsisting between the said Edward Hand and the Petitioners; that it further appeared that the Petitioners, since the purchase aforesaid, have sold some of the ruins of the said fort, and were in possession of others in the year 1774, when John Connolly, by order of Lord Dunmore, took possession thereof, and had the same appraised and valued by John Gibson and Thomas Smallman, sworn for that purpose, which valuation amounted to 1082*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*, current money of Virginia; that the said Alexander Ross had built, with out the said fort, several houses, and enclosed a garden with pickets and a brick wall, and was possessed of two redoubts and eight stacks of chimnies, as his private property, some of which were made use of, and others destroyed, by the said John Connolly, having been previously valued by the said Gibson and Smallman, on oath, to the sum of 314*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*, Virginia currency. And that they had come to the following Resolutions thereupon; which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the Clerk's table, where the same were again twice read and agreed to :

Resolved, That so much of the Petition as relates to the claim of the said Alexander Ross and William Thompson be rejected.

Resolved, That such other part of the Petition as relates to the said Alexander Ross is reasonable, and that the sum of 107*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* ought to be allowed and paid to the said Ross, by the public, deducting 55*l.* 10*s.*, which appears at present to be due to the country from the said Ross, for Provisions furnished by John Connolly to four men of the Eighteenth Regiment of Royal Irish, remaining in Fort Pitt, to which the said Ross was Commissary.

OLD MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A gentleman at Trenton, in New Jersey, who takes a deep interest in the early history of this country, has lately sent us some books containing several matters which will be useful to us in the prosecution of our undertaking. One of these books is a collection of pamphlets, published prior to the peace of 1763. One of these pamphlets is "an inquiry into the causes of the alienation of the Shawanese and Delawares from the British interest;" by Charles Thomson Esq., subsequently Secretary of the Revolutionary Congress, published in London in 1759.

The proprietor of this book has attached to the "Inquiry" a copy of a map of Pennsylvania, belonging to the American Philosophical Society. We cannot ascertain exactly when this map was made; but it must have been *after* July 1754, because it gives the boundary of the Indian cession then made, and it probably must have been as early as 1759 for it does not give the English name of this place.

In this map the western boundary of Pennsylvania is a meridian line crossing the Ohio river three or four miles from "Fort Du Quesne," and Logstown is placed on the north side of the river and thirteen or fourteen miles west of the west line of Pennsylvania

THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

MARCH, 1847.

NO. 3.

TRANSACTIONS AT FORT PITT IN APRIL 1776.

The annexed letter and accompanying papers, contain a good deal of information about transactions here in the beginning of 1776. The author of the letter was subsequently General Richard Butler. The Indian whom he called *Kiasola* was the same person who is more generally known as *Kiashuta* or *Guyasutha*.

The person spoken of as John Marvie was, no doubt, John Harvie, a lawyer who with John Neville was appointed a delegate from this country to the Virginia Convention in 1775.

Our relations with the Indians were matters of great interest and importance at the commencement of the Revolution.

We believe that Congress at first only aimed to induce the Indians to remain neutral; but subsequently they labored to enlist their services and succeeded with some tribes. But the greater wealth and liberality of Great Britain triumphed, and even Kiashuta was, at length, induced to desert the Americans.

It was an unfortunate movement for the Six Nations. At the peace of 1783, the British Government abandoned them to the mercy of the colonies, and at the second Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the once powerful Iroquois were treated with great rigor, indeed as a conquered and prostrate nation, and their boundaries were prescribed to them with all the authority and sternness of a Roman victor to a prostrate enemy.

Alexander M'Kee not long after the transactions referred to in Butler's letter, fled to Canada with Girty, Elliot and others.

RICHARD BUTLER TO COLONEL JAMES WILSON.

FORT PITT, APRIL 8, 1776.

SIR: I send this by express to inform you that Kiosola, and two other Indians, messengers from Colonel Butler, the King's Agent at Niagara, and the Commandant of the Six Nations, with a letter to Captain M'Kee,

and a message to Kiosola, arrived here the 3d instant; a copy of which I send enclosed. Kiosola delivered the wampum he received, with a speech from the Six Nations, desiring his attendance at a treaty to be held at Niagara, and one from Colonel Butler and the commandant, to the same purport. He seemed determined to go, although he asked Captain Neville's and my advice; and as we saw it would be of no use to attempt to stop him, we thought it best to send him off pleased; therefore delivered him a small speech, (No. 1,) and one as from yourself and the other Commissioners, (No. 2;) and as I had an opportunity to the Delawares, I sent them the speech, No. 3; all which I hope will meet your approbation. I considered that it would be best that the strange Indians should have a good opinion of us, therefore made them welcome, and sent them well pleased away, at as small an expense as possible. Kiosola desires me to inform you that he has but one heart, and that he will say or do nothing contrary to his engagements last fall; and that he does not doubt of preserving peace, as by what he hears from the Six Nations they mean no other. The Onondaga man (one of the messengers) says, that after Montreal was reduced, there came a great quantity of goods round by the north side of Lake Ontario, in a great many periaugurs to Niagara, and that great presents will be made there to the Indians. There are but few Indians come here from any quarter, and I think they would know their own importance, and expect their friendship shall be purchased as well as courted; yet, with prudent management, I believe they may be kept quiet at no very great expense.

The Indians are not a little alarmed, Kiosola tells me, at the exorbitant price of goods, that our traders charge them, and the great scarcity of ammunition and goods. They say, that at the treaty last fall here, we were to be one people; but that it seems as if we meant to take advantage of them by the times, and advising them to have nothing to do in taking part with those that could and would supply them reasonably if applied to; that they think it very odd at this time, when their relationship is desired, that these advantages should be taken to extort on them, when they could be supplied by the northward people at the usual terms; and he positively desired to know the reason, and when it might be expected to be remedied, that he might inform the people that might ask him. I gave him the following answer:

"Friend Kiosola, it is true, it is hard just now; but our great men have your welfare at heart as well as ours, and will remedy that inconveniency as soon as possible—I hope between this and fall. The reason is this: we used to buy our goods from the people in England; but the present dispute hinders us from that now; but the people of Canada bought a great deal of goods from them last year, and have not yet sold them all; and we bought none, therefore are scarce; and for the future neither the Canadians nor us will buy any more English goods till these disputes are settled; but have sent to France and other parts, and that I am of opinion

against fall they will be both plentifully and reasonably supplied, and I hope they would not be uneasy."

I inquired his reasons for not proceeding with the big belt last fall. He says he was disappointed by Captain Pipe, who was to have met him at the Moravian Town, as Mr. Gibson told him, but did not; then, he says, Mr. Gibson promised to send two of the Delawares from Newcomer's Town to him at the Wyandot Town, to go with him; but after his waiting there ten days, and seeing no likelihood of their coming, he thought it too difficult to attempt alone, and resolved on coming back. He says he called some of the Wyandots together, and charged them to be careful of their young men, and see that they did no mischief; and that he sent a message by a Wyandot man to the western tribes to inform them that there had been a Council here, and that what was said was very good; and that the messenger was to go by the Picts, and then to the Northern tribes, and relate what he was charged with. I then told him that the accounts that went to Philadelphia were, that he was stopped, and that the Northern tribes had threatened to cut the big belt in pieces if he offered to proceed; all which, he says, is false, and that they said nothing of the kind, but seemed quite well pleased. I then asked how Mr. Gibson came to be threatened by Logan. He says it was a report that came to the Wyandot Town by a Mingo man, and he thought it might be so; therefore had word sent to Mr. Gibson for fear, and that he might take care.

I called on Mr. M'Kee the 1st ultimo, and informed him that I had accounts of two messengers from Niagara, and that they had letters which I supposed must be for him; which I expected to be informed of on their arrival, and their embassy, and the contents of the letters, so far as they respected the good of the United Colonies; which he promised I should. On their arrival, Mr. M'Kee went to Colonel Croghan's, and there received his letter and the other messages already mentioned. Mr. Croghan, being chairman of the Committee, wrote to Mr. Thomas Smallman and Mr. John Campbell, to call on Mr. M'Kee to see his letter, and take his parole that he would not leave the neighborhood of Pittsburgh till the next meeting of the Committee, which is to be on the 16th instant. It was shown to me, and my attendance desired, with Captain Neville to be present. We all attended, and Mr. Smallman gave Mr. M'Kee the letter from the Chairman. And on Mr. Smallman's demanding Mr. M'Kee's letter, he immediately complied, and gave it. It was read by Mr. Smallman, Campbell, and myself. His parole was then demanded, as above, which he complied with, and I forbade his sending any despatches, or doing any business with the Indians, without my knowledge, before Captain Neville, Messrs. Smallman and Grayson; which he promised also not to do. Mr. M'Kee observed that the spring business is now on, and his presence necessary at his farm; he expected he would be allowed to go to and from it till then, which was allowed by both Messrs. Campbell and

Smallman. I cannot help reflecting a little on the proceedings against that gentleman, who really behaved very well on the occasion; for after they had agreed that he might go to and from his farm, on his parole, Mr. Campbell made a verbal demand the next morning of his parole in writing, which Mr. M'Kee looked upon as an unbecoming demand, as they had agreed to each other's demands and requests the day before, and that it had some design rather to offend, or put Mr. M'Kee to take measures (by straining their authority) that are quite unnecessary, if they proceed in a decent manner; and their taking those ill-marked steps may not have the effect that true friends to their country would wish; we therefore told Mr. Campbell that, when the Committee called on him in writing, he must answer them in writing also. I cannot help thinking there is more ill-nature than is necessary shown to that gentleman, as he is detained here ever since. I look upon it a little impolitic hindering him to speak to these Indians at this time, as there might still be some of the Committee or myself present, where anything might be said with safety, as a speech might be preconcerted that would save all appearances of our suspicion of their intending any harm, at the same time that proper care would be taken that they should do none. And I must say, in justice to Mr. M'Kee, that I have not seen one act that discovered an inimical intention to this country, as he might have done mischief, had he been so inclined, and gone where he would be caressed for it. Sir, this is not my single opinion, but of several respectable inhabitants of this country; and further, that he has been much more quiet than some others that would fain be thought great friends now. I cannot but think, sir, that Mr. M'Kee should have been prohibited doing any Indian business long ago, as it was reasonable to think that as long as he was not, there would be some directions to him, if but to try his attachment, and it would have kept those northward messengers from amongst our Indians, who are set a stir by any speech from any quarter.

APRIL 9TH.—This day Mr. John Gibson arrived with several Shawnees, to whom Captain Neville spoke, and informed them that to-morrow he would receive the white prisoners and the slaves. For other accounts relative to them, I refer you to Mr. Gibson, who writes by this express, which I have detained four days for his coming. I intend to address them to the same purport that I have the Delawares, as soon as Mr. Gibson has done the business with them.

Sir, there has been a survey made by Colonel William Crawford, of the long island, about four miles below this place, in the Ohio, for John Marvie and Charles Syms, Esqrs., and Captain John Neville, which is a direct breach of the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the treaty here last fall; and the consequences are much dreaded by many people of these parts, as it is a precedent that will be apt to be followed by many; and that it will furnish the officers of the Crown, now going to treat with the Indians, with arguments that may tend much to the dishonor and disadvan-

tage of the Colonies, as we should be punctual in observing our treaties with them, if we expect they should with us. I thought it my duty to acquaint you of it, that such steps may be taken as you may think proper to direct, to prevent any further proceedings of the kind, or any mischief that might follow; as I am sure that John Montour will paint it to our disadvantage on his return, as he claims it by virtue of his father's claim as an Indian, and it has been often talked of by Custologa, Captain Pipe, and other Indians. When an attempt was made to improve it by some white man, and John Montour proposed selling his right of it, they said it was not to sell it, that Montour was allowed to improve it, but, as an Indian, he might settle it, or any other part of their land.

Dear sir, I am obliged to renew the request of a little ammunition, as I find that all messengers expect a little, by way of provision for their return home. Captain Neville has let me have a little for the Onondaga and Mohawk men; and if I should refuse them, it not only implies a distrust, but exposes our poverty. As to other things, I can still get, though high. A smith is very much wanted. I hope you will be so kind as to give me directions, per return of this express, concerning these matters. I hope, sir, you will not take amiss my reminding you that a strict attention to Indian affairs is absolutely necessary, as the peace of the frontier country depends on their being quiet; and to the country, if we should be disturbed or driven, we must then oppress the interior part, that is too much distressed already. I have sent, some time past, for George Allen, and expect him every day. As soon as he receives his present, I shall take the first opportunity to inform you and the Assembly of it.

I have just called on Mr. Gibson, and informed him of my having your authority for superseding him; and when he had done the business that he had with these Indians, (which I understood is on account of the Virginia Commissioners,) it was your directions to me to let him know he was to do no more Indian business here. He then told me he would set off to Philadelphia, and would take these despatches; but thinking he would probably be detained some days on the road, and for other reasons, I thought it most prudent to send the express, as these matters ought to be laid before you as early as possible.

Dear sir, I hope you will be so kind as to give my most respectful compliments to Doctor Franklin; and be assured that I will use my utmost endeavors for the service of the Colonies.

I am, sir, with all due respect, your most obedient, humble servant,
RICHARD BUTLER.

Agent and Interpreter.

To Colonel JAMES WILSON.

P. S. I am sorry to inform you that party spirit prevails here as much as ever; and, indeed, through the country in general. I could say much more on this subject, but as I am convinced of your friendship, I am determined to do my duty, and say nothing about these matters, as I know

how they stand in your opinion, as well the authors of the disputes as the abettors.

Kiosola talks of visiting the honorable the Congress, if agreeable, this summer. Shall be glad to know if so. R. B.

COLONEL JOHN BUTLER TO ALEXANDER M'KEE.

NIAGARA, FEBRUARY 29, 1776.

DEAR SIR: I wrote you the 20th ultimo, acquainting you I was glad of the opportunity to inform you I was appointed to the care and charge of the Indian Department, in Colonel Johnson's absence. He has desired me to write you to meet me here at this place; and it is Colonel Caldwell's orders, and mine, that you attend a meeting we propose to hold at Niagara the beginning of next May. Your knowledge in the Indian affairs; your hitherto undoubted zeal for his Majesty's service, and the duty you owe to Government, makes your presence absolutely necessary at this place on or before the time above-mentioned; and as I now understand the Indian, who was to carry the same, has not proceeded to you, have hired an Onondaga Indian to carry this on purpose; by whose return I will expect your answer; in which I expect you will be kind enough to inform of anything worth notice that you may know respecting the proceedings of the Rebels your way. We have nothing worth notice to mention to you, only the reduction of Montreal by the Rebels, the particulars of which you must, long ere now, have been informed of. Please make my compliments to Colonel Croghan.

I remain, dear sir, your most humble servant,

JOHN BUTLER.

To MR. ALEXANDER M'KEE, Deputy Agent of Indian Affairs, Fort Pitt.

P. S. I have much more to say to you than the compass of this paper will admit of; but must defer it, on account of the precariousness of the times, until I have the pleasure of seeing you; and will expect you will give an invitation to a few of the Chiefs in your neighborhood to attend the meeting at the time appointed. The bearer has orders to give notice to all the Indians he may see. J. B.

The above is a true copy, taken by RICHARD BUTLER.

[No. 1.]

SPEECH TO KIOSOLA.

BROTHER: As you are called on by your nation, and by the head-men of Niagara, we think it very right that you go to hear what they have to say, as it is highly proper that men of sense should be at such meetings; and, as you know the sense of your brethren there last fall, and their charge to you, and all the tribes that were present, to hearken to no speeches that tend to disturb the peace of the country, we hope you will not forget it; and that you will stop your ears to anything contrary from either one party or the other; and as we expect to hear from the great Council-fire at Philadelphia, we hope to see you soon back there again.

We also think it very proper that you take the great belt and speech with you, and show it to the Six Nations, and the Northern tribes that will be there, and explain to them fully, that they may know the sentiments of the United Colonies ; and that, at this return, we will be glad to know their opinion.

RICHARD BUTLER, Agent and Interpreter.

[No. 2.]

SPEECH TO KIOSOLA.

BROTHER : The Commissioners for the thirteen United Colonies, being assured of your sincerity as a friend to the public, in general, and your just intention of keeping peace amongst the different tribes of Indians, and with your brethren of these Colonies, they express a desire that you will not be prevailed upon to take any part with either one party or another, that might tend to break the bonds of friendship that now subsists between us and the Six Nations, and the tribes to the northward and westward ; and that you will use your endeavors, as a friend to both us and them, to continue in that path of peace and friendship that has been walked in so many years. Your brothers at the great Council-fire at Philadelphia have sent you, by me, this small token of their regard for you, and hope you will wear it, and remember them ; and they will expect to see you as soon as convenient again, and renew the ties of friendship between them and you, and the whole of their brethren. There will be messengers sent to the different tribes, when they want to meet them.

RICHARD BUTLER, Agent and Interpreter.

[No. 3.]

SPEECH TO THE DELAWARES.

BROTHERS : I take this opportunity to inform you that your old brothers at the great Council-fire at Philadelphia, for the Thirteen United Colonies, have appointed me to reside at Pittsburgh, to take care of the Council-fire that they made for them and you to smoke by, at this place, last fall, where you may always come in safety and peace.

I am, also, to receive your speeches, and deliver you theirs ; therefore, anything you want to relate to your old brothers at the great Council-fire, I will send it to them carefully. I am desired to inform you that they expect you will hold fast the great belt of peace and friendship that you both took hold of last fall, and that you will not let it slip out of your hands, but consider us and you as one people ; and that you will not hearken to any speech that the Commandants of either Detroit or Niagara may send amongst you by either Englishman, Frenchman, or Indians, as they only mean to deceive you ; but that you will sit still and enjoy peace.

You may depend that your old brothers will supply you with goods and ammunition plentifully, and on reasonable terms, very soon, as they have your welfare at heart as well as their own ; and when you want to hear from the great Council-fire, or to inform them of anything, your messengers shall always be treated with friendship, when they come here on any public business.

Your old brothers at the great Council-fire expect to hear how the people of your nation, that were not present, like what was said to the heads of the tribes here last fall, and hope their opinion of it is good, and that their hearts are as disposed to peace and friendship as ours.

RICHARD BUTLER.

COMMITTEE OF WEST-AUGUSTA TO PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATES.

[Read April 22, 1776.]

FORT PITT, OR WEST-AUGUSTA, APRIL 9, 1776.

Present: Major Thomas Smallman, Mr. John Campbell, Mr. John Gibson, and Mr. Joshua Wright.

Major Smallman communicated to the Committee a letter he had received from Colonel Croghan; also, a letter, dated February 29th, from Colonel Butler, at Niagara, Agent for the Indian Affairs in that department, to Alexander M'Kee, Esq., the Agent at this place; by which it appears that a treaty was intended to be held in behalf of the Ministry the beginning of next month, at Niagara; and that Colonel Butler and Colonel Caldwell ordered Captain M'Kee's attendance and assistance in that behalf:

It is, therefore, Resolved, That Mr. Alexander M'Kee be required to give his parole, in writing, that he will not transact any business with the Indians in behalf of the Crown or Ministry; that he will not, directly or indirectly, correspond with any of the Crown or Ministerial officers, nor leave the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, without the consent of the Committee of West-Augusta; and, on his refusal to do so, that he be committed a close prisoner till the General Congress be acquainted, and direct what further is to be done.

Resolved, That a copy of the above Resolve, a copy of Mr. M'Kee's Parole, and a copy of Colonel John Butler's Letter to Captain M'Kee, be sent to the Delegates of this Colony in Congress.

A true copy: THOMAS SMALLMAN, Chairman.

ALEXANDER M'KEE'S PAROLE.

WEST-AUGUSTA:

I, Alexander M'Kee, Deputy Agent for the Indian Affairs for the District of Fort Pitt, do hereby promise and engage, that I will not transact any business with the Indians on behalf of the Crown or Ministry; that I will not, directly or indirectly, correspond with any of the Crown or Ministerial officers, nor leave the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, without the consent of the Committee of West-Augusta.

Given under my hand, at Pittsburgh, this ninth day of April, 1776.

A. M'KEE, Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs.

A true copy: THOMAS SMALLMAN, Chairman.

JOHN CONNOLLY'S IMPRISONMENT:

Fredericktown, (Maryland) Committee to President of Congress.

FREDERICK, JANUARY 10, 1776.

SIR By order of the Committee for the Upper District of Frederick County, I have sent you (under guard) one Doctor Smith; he was taken sometime in November last in company with Doctor Connolly, and confined in Fredericktown from where he made his escape; since which he has been taken at the Little-Meadows, with the enclosed letters. The Committee has thought proper to send him to the Congress.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant.

SAMUEL HUGHES, President.

To the Honourable John Hancock.

P. S. The guard will expect something for their trouble.

FREDERICKTOWN, MARYLAND, November 24, 1775.

DEAR SIR: Little did I expect, when I last wrote you, that our next correspondence would be from this place, or so soon; but my unaccountable fate, still delights in leading me through numerous and perplexing labyrinths, and in adventures particularly singular and strange. I sit down to unbosom myself to my friend, as a relief to an anxiety of mind caused by confinement under guard for several nights and days, and the painful suspense of as yet not knowing my doom from the Committee of this place; but I find myself very unfit for the task, occasioned by the depression of spirits to which I am often so subject, and the number and confusion of disagreeable ideas that depression raises in my mind. I endeavour to banish them, but in vain. Confinement is death and torture to me; and, to refine on the barbarity of my fate my guard consists of Germans, whose dissonant jargon of corrupt high Dutch, is not only unintelligible to me, but also so extremely disagreeable, by its cursed noise and harshness, that it distracts my very soul. I often consider that I am in a place where you have enjoyed much satisfaction and agreeable society; but that reflection brings me no comfort, as I am deprived of every benefit of that nature. My two fellow-travellers, my only acquaintance and friends in this place are, unhappily, in the same circumstances, and we are separated one from the other, so that, as yet, we are not permitted to see or converse with each other, a circumstance which greatly adds to my pain. However, I shall endeavor to fortify my mind, so as to be able to bear whatever may be my doom. Pain, affliction, losses, misfortunes, and defamation, I am habituated to; they are become familiar; but confinement, which, to me, is more dreadful than death, I am but little able to endure; it is the last, and heaviest of all; but as it is now my destiny, I shall make use of my best efforts to submit to it with patience, and make a virtue of necessity. But it is with indeed, a mortifying reflection, that when through a crowd of misfortunes; I saw a prospect rise before me, of still doing well, and of attaining all my favorite wishes, it is, I say,

a most mortifying reflection to be then thrown down from this, and to lose every ray of hope—"a long dependance in an hour is lost."*

I have a care, an anxious, deep concern still on my mind, which ought to depend upon me, but, in my situation, am unable to. I must rely on my dear and worthy friend's protection. Your feeling heart can guess whom I mean, and must point out those whom nature itself prompts me to hold dear; remember me to them, with all the affection you can conceive, or they can merit, and assure them, that they are ever near my heart. If I live, and regain my liberty, I may still be serviceable to them; if not, oh God! how I anticipate their distress; but inform them not where I am, or my situation, for distraction itself would be ease and peace to me, compared with the sight of them in my present circumstances. You, who know the inmost recesses of my heart, will readily discover my perturba-

* After these groundless and most ridiculous suspicions were happily cleared up, the whole intention and substance of a secret expedition to the back country, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Connolly, then appointed commandant of the Queen's Royal regiment of Rangers, was disclosed to me, and I was earnestly solicited by the Colonel to accompany him, along with another gentleman named Cameron; to this I most cheerfully consented, and, in the above regiment, we all received our commissions.

On the day following I received an order to take any vessel in the harbor, and also such of the pilots on board His Majesty's sloop the Otter, as I judge proper, for the use of this expedition.

This circumstance was no small satisfaction to me, as I thereby convinced Captain Squire of my being no spy, as he had alleged; and, on going on board his ship, made choice of two of his best pilots.

When we departed from Norfolk on this expedition, I was obliged to leave behind me my servant and all the property I had been able to bring down there. My servant and horses, which were valuable, were to be sent to the plantation of Mr. Atchison, at Lord Dunmore's request; and the rest of my property I left in the house of a Mr. Pierce, in Portsmouth, but I have never since that time heard the least account of any thing belonging to me.

We embarked on board a flat-bottomed decked schooner, which I had engaged for that purpose, with our horses, and only one servant, who belonged to the Colonel.

Our small party consisted of Lieutenant Colonel Connolly, Mr. Cameron, myself, and the servant; and we intended to proceed in this vessel up the Chesapeake, into Potomac River, and land, if possible, near to my house, or Port Tobacco Creek, and afterwards to pass through the country on horseback, until we arrived at Detroit, in Canada.

It was proposed that I should pass through Pittsburgh, with despatches to Mr. M'Kee, the Indian Superintendent, and to some other friends of Government, then proceed down the river Ohio to the mouth of the Scioto, and from thence up that river, through the Shawanese, Delawares, and Wyandotts, and down Sandusky River to Sandusky Old Fort; from thence I was to cross Lake Erie, by the Rattle Snake Islands, to Detroit; while the other two gentlemen were to cross the Allegheny River, at the Kittanning, and proceed by the nearest and most direct route to Detroit. Here a very considerable force was to be collected from all the nearest posts in Canada, and transported, early in the spring, across the Lake Erie to Presque Isle, where I was to be employed during the winter with a detachment of two hundred men, in covering and conducting the building bateaus, and collecting provisions, in order to proceed by the way of French Creek, Venango, and the Allegheny River, to Pittsburgh, which we were to seize on, and establish as Head-Quarters, until the disaffected interest was entirely crushed, and the whole strength of the country collected, and formed into regular disciplined regiments.

After leaving a sufficient garrison at Pittsburgh, we were to advance across the Allegheny Mountains with our whole force upon the back of Virginia; and, after establishing a strong post at Fort Cumberland, it was proposed to fall down the river Potomac, and seize on Alexandria, where the Earl of Dunmore was to meet us with the fleet, and all the force of the lower part of the Province. Alexandria was to be strongly fortified, as a place of arms, and the communication between the southern and northern parts of the Continent thereby cut off.

If a misfortune, of such magnitude, should have happened, as to oblige us to give up this enterprise at any particular stage thereof, our retreat was then secured by these posts which we occupied in our rear; and if it should have failed in the first part of the expedition, by our finding it impracticable to seize upon Pittsburgh, we were to fall down the Ohio in our bateaus to the Mississippi, where we were to be joined by the garrison, artillery, and stores from Fort Gage of Kiskiskias, at the Illinois; and then to proceed down to the mouth of the river Mississippi, in West-Florida; where we were to embark in transports, and come round to Norfolk, in Virginia, there to join the Earl of Dunmore.

For the execution of this well formed, judicious, and vast undertaking, Lieutenant Colonel Connolly was furnished with the proper and necessary powers, both from General Gage, the Commander-in-chief, and from the Earl of Dunmore, and with ample instructions for his future conduct, as well as commissions for the formation of a complete regiment at Detroit, or Pittsburgh; all of which, containing no less than eighteen sheets of paper, we carried along with us, in a secret manner, invented by, and executed under the inspection of his Lordship. All these papers were concealed in the mail pillow-sticks on which the servant carried his portmanteau, they being made hollow, for that purpose, and covered with tin plates, and then canvas glued thereon as usual; this was so dextrously and completely executed that it could not be discovered on the strictest examination.—J. F. D. SMYTH'S TOUR.

‡ About two miles below Cedar Point.

tion and uneasiness of mind, from every sentence of this incoherent epistle, but believe me, I at present am incapable of any thing better, and must conclude, with a firm reliance on your humanity and friendship.

Dear sir, your sincere and affectionate.

JOHN, *Earl of DUNMORE, Viscount FINCASTLE, Baron MURRAY of BLAIR, [SEAL] of MONLIN and of TILLIMET, Lieutenant and Governor-General of His Majesty's Colony and Dominion of VIRGINIA, and Vice-Admiral of the same, to JOHN CONNOLLY, Esquire.*

By virtue of His Majesty's Commission and instruction, appointing me Lieutenant and Governor-General, in and over this his Colony and Dominion of Virginia, with full power and authority to appoint all officers, both civil and military, within the same, I, reposing especial trust in your loyalty, courage, and good conduct, do, by these present, constitute and appoint you, John Connolly, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Queen's Royal Rangers. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, by exercising and well disciplining both the officers and soldiers under your command; and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from his Majesty, myself, or any other, your superior officers, according to the rules and discipline of war, and in pursuance of the trust hereby reposed in you.— Given on board the Ship William, under my hand and seal at arms, this 5th day of November, and in the 16th year of his Majesty's reign, 1775.

DUNMORE.

FREDERICKTOWN, MARYLAND, NOVEMBER 24, 1775.

DEAR SIR: I have more to say to you than I will commit to paper. I mentioned you in proper terms to General Gage; and had done something to your honour and advantage could I have got up safely to Detroit.

Captain Lord who was to have acted under me, will now be in danger at the Illinois. I have therefore, desired him to push down the Mississippi, and join the Earl of Dunmore and the Fourteenth, at Norfolk. Assist the bearer with a canoe, gun, &c., which make a charge of, and send an Indian express with my letter to Captain Lernoult, at Detroit.

Pray give Mrs. Connolly any assistance she may want, and throw it into the Indian Department, for which I have authority to direct you.

God bless you, adieu, I write in bed, with two sentinels at the door, with hourly apprehensions of death.

JOHN CONNOLLY.

To Alexander Mc Kee, Pittsburgh.

*From confinement in Frederick, Maryland, }
December 16, 1775. }*

DEAR SIR: Just snatching the opportunity of pen and ink, of which I am generally debarred the use of, I write you by the bearer, Doctor Smith, who will inform you fully of every circumstance relative to what you

were to have performed. I am now a prisoner, and the whole scheme at an end. You must therefore agreeable to General Gage's order, and Lord Dunmore's, proceed down the Mississippi, and join Lord Dunmore at Norfolk, and the Fourteenth, who are now there. Lose no time, for fear the Rebels should be upon you from Pittsburgh. All the General's orders are as Doctor Smith will inform you.

Adieu, my compliments to all the gentlemen under your command. Things wear a shocking aspect in America:

Yours, &c.,

JOHN CONNOLLY.

To Captain N. Lord.

P. S. Draw upon General Howe for two hundred dollars, in favour of the bearer. J. C.

Frederick, Maryland December, 16, 1775.

SIR: From the strictest confinement, I venture to write to you, having accidentally got pen, ink and paper, of which I have been debarred for some time.

I was made prisoner on my way through this Government, to your port where I expected to have afforded you some assistance, and to have ordered Captain Lord of the Eighteenth, from the Union, to join us there also. I am now to inform you, that I much fear His Majesty's enemies may attack you early in the Spring, and as Montreal is in their hands, I dread the consequences. Let this thing . . . to give you notice of such intentions, and whether upon that account, you might not judge it expedient to evacuate the garrison, and with Captain Lord, move down the Mississippi, and join the Earl of Dunmore at Norfolk. The Fourteenth Regiment have lately had a skirmish with the Rebels, in which Captain Fordice was killed.

I can say no more, as I write every moment expecting to be surprised. Your orders, which I had from the General, are . . . they would have been satisfactory to you. You were ordered to raise all the French you could which I hope you have done.

I am sir, your most obedient servant.

JOHN CONNOLLY.

To Captain Lernout, or officer commanding at Detroit.

N. B. Take care that there is not an improper correspondence carried on between your post and Pittsburgh.

Fredericktown, Maryland, December 16, 1775.

DEAR SIR: Though your remote situation may have prevented you from hearing many particulars relative to the state of the Colonies, you yet must know enough to discover your own dangerous situation. You were to have joined me at Detroit, by the Ouabache communication, and it was expected, by your advice and assistance, that we would have been able to penetrate through the Colony of Virginia, and thus divided the Southern from the Northern Governments. You were formerly ordered by the

General to put yourself immediately under the command of General Carleton, but, for obvious reasons, you were desired to receive your directions from the Earl of Dunmore.

The orders are now———— You are therefore, as you was directed to move yourself and all garrison stores, ordnance, &c., immediately down the Mississippi to New Orleans, or wherever you can procure a conveyance for Norfolk, Virginia, where you will join his Excellency the Earl of Dunmore and the Fourteenth Regiment. You had full power to make all expenses, so that you need not be apprehensive on that score. The sooner you get down the better, as I much fear you will be attacked from Pittsburgh very soon. Draw a bill in favour of the bearer, for two hundred dollars, and, also, take him with you to Norfolk. The Fourteenth have just had a skirmish with the Virginians, in which Captain Fordice, of that regiment, was killed, and Lieutenant Batut taken prisoner. I am safely watched here, and now write in bed, with two sentinels at the door Adieu. God bless you. Remember me to Connolly, and all the gentlemen.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN CONNOLLY.

To Captain N. Lord, or officer commanding at Illinois.

Fredericktown, Maryland, December 19, 1775.

I wrote to you before, but as that letter was to pass the inspection of the Committee, I could not speak free. I am now to desire you not to write to me, for you may be assured that every word will be known before I can see it, as they will open all directed to me. I have wrote to Captain McKee to let you have what you want, and charge it in the Indian account. Make yourself easy. I don't know where I am to be sent yet. I thought to have had you here, but the Committee altered their opinion, after the man had his horses saddled, to go for you and the child. Lord Dunmore has had a skirmish lately, and had a Captain of the Fourteenth Regiment killed. Give my love to Sally. Keep this secret, for I am not allowed pen or ink.

Yours affectionately,

JOHN CONNOLLY.

To Mrs. Susanna Connolly, Pittsburgh.

Major Connolly to President Hancock.

PHILADELPHIA, February 8, 1776.

GENTLEMEN: I have for some time past been indulged with the privilege of walking in the jail, for the benefit of the air, and flattered myself that such enlargement would tend to facilitate my recovery; but, unhappily, find myself disappointed. My infirm state of health, and present condition, cannot fail to touch the humanity of every feeling individual; and, in whatever light I may appear as an enemy, yet my distress as a prisoner, aggravated by the cruel addition of pining sickness, must command the attention of every generous heart.

My difference in political opinion, and the causes instigating me to ac-

tion, however criminal they may appear, I can, with the integrity of a man of honour, assert, arose from a sense of duty and gratitude too powerful to be combatted by any contrary arguments.

I have now languished near four months in close confinement, and my physician has even given over his visits, as ineffectual towards my recovery, without exercise in the open air. I shall not presume to dictate to you, gentlemen, but cannot avoid intimating that my treatment appears particularly severe. Conscious of unblemished honour, where the security of my person is demanded, my sensibility is deeply wounded to find you prefer the strength of a jail to effect that purpose. Political reasons may urge this severity; but permit me to assure you that, whatever may be your determination with regard to me hereafter, I shall be equally ready to obey your summons, if enlarged upon parole, as immured within these walls.

If you will be good enough to allow me to attend my brother into the country, for the benefit of my health, and prescribe such bounds as you may judge proper, my honour shall inviolably determine me to pursue your directions. However different we are in sentiments, there remains no doubt of the sincerity of his political professions; and, therefore, in the hands of such a person, who will become responsible for my appearance, whenever demanded, my person will be perfectly at your disposal.

Whether I am to be admitted to the chance of recovering my health, or sentenced to drag on a miserable existence (possibly) for a few weeks longer, is what I flatter myself you will be kind enough speedily to determine upon.

I am, gentlemen, respectfully, your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN CONNOLLY.

To the Honorable President of Congress.

Monday 9th. I visited Major Connolly yesterday, and found him still so much disordered, that I fear nothing will effectually cure him, but such exercise as cannot easily be had within the enclosure of the jail. Riding on horseback, I believe, is the only remedy that will remove the cause of his disorder, which is occasioned entirely by a relaxation of his nerves.

W. RUSH.

Connolly's Application to Congress 1776.

Gentlemen: The low state of my health, added to the most rigorous confinement, urges me to write to the Committee of Safety, requesting an enlargement, on such honorable terms as they might conclude adequate to my circumstances.

A prejudice, universal as it is groundless, seems to have rendered me particularly odious to my countrymen; conceiving that I was to have been the base instrument of instigating the Savages to desolate the frontiers, to sacrifice the defenceless women and children, and to introduce the utmost scene of calamity and distress, appears to render my situation

peculiarly severe. But, when I assure you that a design so inhuman never entered my breast, and that no earthly consideration could ever induce me to promote so dishonorable and inglorious a proceeding, I flatter myself I shall gain your credit.

At the same time that justice to myself calls upon me to make this declaration, I am in honour bound, also, to acquaint you, that in discharge of the trust reposed in me, I should most ardently have exerted every ability consistent with humanity and the law of arms. The peculiarly delicate ground on which I stood at the commencement of this unhappy dispute, the infinite obligations I owed to his Excellency Lord Dunmore, and a perfect conviction of acting with becoming propriety, determined my conduct. I cannot imagine that gentlemen of your education and unconfined ideas would even wish to punish a man whose actions originated from the warmest gratitude and a sense of honour.

Sequestered from the world, and borne down with infirmity of body, I entreat you to alleviate my distress, by an enlargement from this severe confinement, so destructive to health, and my honour shall inevitably bind me to pursue such orders as you may think necessary to direct, until this calamitous contest subsides, or until I may be exchanged by mutual consent.

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN CONNOLLY.

Cameron's Application to Congress.

Philadelphia Jail, February 7, 1776.

Mr. Cameron would be glad to acquaint the gentlemen of the Congress, that he was lately brought before the Committee, who referred him to the Congress for obtaining parole; in the hope that the gentlemen of the Congress will believe he acted from principle, and grant him the same enlargement they have given others of His Majesty's officers, and on such honorable terms, he will engage to be equally bound.

Thursday February 8, 1776.

Dear Sir: I have visited Doctor Connolly, by order of the Committee of Safety, and have found that he labours under an obstinate nervous disorder, for which there is no remedy equal to fresh air and gentle exercise. As a citizen of America, I view his conduct with horror, and can foresee many dangerous consequences upon his enlargement upon his parole, but, as a physician, I should be wanting in my duty, if I did not declare that some mitigation of his sentence is absolutely necessary for the recovery of his health; this, I believe, may be effected by granting him the liberty of walking for an hour or two every day through the prison entry or yard.

You may read the above declaration, if it should be necessary, in the Congress.

I am, dear sir, yours, most affectionately,

BENJAMIN RUSH.

To Colonel Wilson, or, in his absence, to Mr. Penn, of Congress.

Wednesday, January 3, 1776.

A Letter from the Committee of Frederick, in Maryland, brought by the officer who had the charge of bringing down John Connolly, and his Associates, was laid before Congress and read.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, to carry into execution the Resolution of Congress for confining said Connolly, and his Associates, in the Jail of Philadelphia, and that they take their examination.

Adjourned to ten o'clock, to-morrow.

Friday January 5, 1776.

The Committee of Claims reported, that there is due to Adam Fisher, for expenses attending his conducting Connolly and Cameron from Frederick, in Maryland, to Philadelphia, and his charges back again for himself and men, the sum of one hundred and fifty-six Dollars.

Ordered, That the same be paid.

Thursday February, 8, 1776.

A Letter from Doctor Rush, and a Memorial from Doctor Connolly, respecting the state of said Connolly's health, was presented to Congress and read: whereupon,

Resolved, That the said J. Connolly be allowed, at suitable times, to walk in the Prison-yard, or Hall, the Jail-keeper taking especial care to prevent his escape.

GUYASUTHA.

In the annexed account of a meeting held with the Indians at Fort Pitt, this Indian, whose name so often occurs in our early history was a leading actor. He spoke about preventing either American or English troops passing through their country, in language becoming an autocrat, a few short years, however, convinced him that the power of the Six Nations was among the things that were. He is the same person whom Richard Butler in his letter, published in a preceding part of this number calls Kiosola, and who accompanied Washinton to Le Boeuf in 1754.

Fort Pitt, July 6, 1776.

At a meeting held this day at this place, present Kiashuta, a Mingo Chief, just returned from the treaty at Niagara; Capt. Pipe, a Delaware Chief, the Shade, a Shawanese Chief, with several others, Shawanese and Delewares; likewise, Major Trent, Major Ward, Captain Nevile, his officers, and a number of the inhabitants. After being seated, Kiashuta made the following speech.

“BROTHERS.

Three months ago, I left this place to attend a treaty at Niagara, to be between the commanding officer at that place, and the Six Nations, Shawanese, Delewares, &c., but I was stopped near a month at Canywagoe, as the Commander had sent word to the Indians, not to assemble

until he should hear from Detroit. While I was at Cannywagoe eight hundred Indians of the Six Nations, hearing of my intention of going to the treaty, came to meet and go with me. Just as we arrived at a small village beyond Cannywagoe, they received a message from the Commanding Officer, acquainting them, that the treaty was over; but they, notwithstanding, persisted in going. I received a message at the same time, inviting me to come, and assuring me that the Council Fire was not entirely extinguished. Upon my arrival with the rest of the Indians, I informed the Commanding Officer, I had come a great distance to hear what he had to say, and desired that he would inform me, but he told me that he was not yet prepared to speak with me, which ended our conference."

Kiashuta then produced a belt of the Wampum, which was to be sent from the Six Nations to the Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandots and Western Indians, acquainting them that they were determined to take no part in the present war between Great Britain and America, and desiring them to do the same.

N. B. Kiashuta has the belt, and is ordered by the Six Nations to send it through the Indians Country.

He then addressed himself to the Virginians and Pennsylvanians in the following manner.

"BROTHERS,

We will not suffer either the English or Americans to march an army through our country. Should either attempt it, we shall forwarn them three times from proceeding; but should they then persist, they must abide by the consequence. I am appointed by the Six Nation to take care of this country; that is, to take care of the Indians on the west side of the river Ohio; and I desire you will not think of an expedition against Detroit, for I repeat it to you again, we will not suffer an army to march through our country."

A STRING.

Kiashuta again arose, and spoke as follows.

"BROTHERS.

Should any mischief chance to be committed by any of our people, you must not blame the Six Nations, nor think it was done by the approbation of the Chiefs, for the Six Nations have strictly forbid any of their young men or tributaries, molesting any people on their waters, but if they are determined to go to war, let them go to Canada, and fight there."

A STRING.

Kiashuta then addressed himself to Captain Pipe, a Delaware Chief, desiring him to inform his nation of what he had heard, and to request them to be strong, and join with the other nations in keeping peace in this country.

A STRING.

He also recommended to the Shade, a Shawanese Chief, to do the same. He then desired the foregoing speech to be distributed through

the country, to quiet the minds of the people and convince them the Six Nations and their adherents, did not desire to live at variance with any of them.

To which, Captain Neville returned the following answer.

"BROTHER KIASHUTA.

I am much obliged to you for your good speech on the present occasion. You may depend we shall not attempt to march an army through your country, without first acquainting you with it, unless we hear of a British army coming this course, in such case we must make all possible speed to march and endeavor to stop them."

To which Kiashuta replied there was not the least danger of that, as they should make it their business to prevent either an English or an American army from passing through this country.

THE SIX NATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

The struggle of the Colonies against the attempt to impose taxes upon a people not represented, placed the Six Nations or Iroquois in a very trying situation. Previously they had been almost uniformly the faithful adherents of the British Government, and of course, had always until the peace of 1763 been found acting with the English and the Americans, against the French, but the latter people had by the treaty of 1763, been excluded from all communication with those Indians, and the new controversy was between those who had in all anterior wars acted together. The year 1775 witnessed the commencement of a family strife, those who had previously marched shoulder to shoulder, against Contrecoeur, Jumonville and Montcalm, now turned their swords against each other, and their former allies were in a position in which neutrality, honest neutrality could scarcely be expected. Between their old allies they must choose, the choice was perhaps a painful one among the wise men of the Onondaga council, but the greater wealth, the immense power of the mother country, the seeming hopelessness of the resistance of the colonies and other influences prevailed. The Six Nations united their fortunes with the Mother Country, and at the close of that contest they were left to the mercy of their enemies. We will take an opportunity hereafter to notice the stern treatment meted out to the once powerful Iroquois, by the American Commissioners at the treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1784. The annexed note from that most valuable mass of American History, Spark's Life and writings of Washington, seems very suitable as an explanation of the positions of the Americans, the English and the Indians, during our Revolution.

NOTE.—During the former wars in America between the English and French, it had been customary on each side to solicit aid from the Indians, and employ them as auxiliaries. Such had been the uniform practice from the first settlement of the country, and it was to be presumed that the same system would be pursued in the revolution. Considering the

ferocity of these people, and the wild and savage manner in which they engaged in all the enterprises of war, it is no wonder that the policy of seeking their alliance, or even permitting their aid should be regarded by every friend of humanity with unqualified reprobation. Writers of all parties have united in condemning a practice, so unjustifiable in itself, and so hostile to the principles of civilization, while at the same time belligerents of all parties have continued to follow it, even down to the late war between England and the United States,.

It has been usual in America to represent the English as much the most censurable on this score in the revolutionary war, and if we estimate the amount of deserved censure by the effects produced, this opinion is no doubt correct. But such is not the equitable mode of judging on the subject, since the principle and intention are chiefly concerned, and not the policy of the measure, nor the success of its execution. Taken on this ground historical justice must award to the Americans a due share of the blame. Before the rencounter at Lexington and Concord, the Congress of Massachusetts had enlisted in their service a company of minute-men among the Stockbridge Indians residing in that colony, and had even written the following letter to the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, a missionary to the Indians in the western parts of New York.

CONCORD, 4 April, 1775.

“SIR, The Provincial Congress have thought it necessary to address the sachem of the Mohawk tribe, with the rest of the Six Nations, upon the controversy between Great Britain and the American colonies. We are induced to take this measure, as we have been informed, that those who are inimical to us in Canada have been tampering with those nations, and endeavouring to attach them to the interest of those, who are attempting to deprive us of our inestimable rights and privileges, and to subjugate the colonies to arbitrary power. From a confidence in your attachment to the cause of liberty and your country, we now transmit to you the enclosed address, and desire you will deliver it to the sachem of the Mohawk tribe, to be communicated to the rest of the Six Nations, and that you will use your influence with them to join with us in the defence of our rights; but, if you cannot prevail with them to take an active part in this glorious cause, that you will at least engage them to stand neuter, and not by any means to aid and assist our enemies; and as we are at a loss for the name of the sachem of the Mohawk tribe, we have left it to you to direct the address to him in such way as you may think proper.”

From this paper it is evident, that the Massachusetts Congress were disposed to engage the Six Nations in the contest, which it was foreseen must soon commence. The reason for this step, however, must not be overlooked. The leaders in Massachusetts had sent emissaries into Canada, instructed to consult with a few friends to the American cause known to be in that province, and to report such information as they should obtain respecting the temper of the people, particularly the Can-

adians, and the designs and movements of the English party, as far as they could be ascertained. Letters from these emissaries, and other persons in Canada, agreed in the statement, that secret agents had been sent among the Indians of the Six Nations to gain them over and stir them up against the colonists. On the strength of this intelligence the Massachusetts Congress sent the above letter, and the address accompanying it. The Stockbridge Indians were retained in service for some time after the war began, and came down and joined the camp at Cambridge. It was likewise from apprehensions of the English influence at Quebec on the eastern Indians, that the same Congress wrote to the Penobscot tribe, May 15th, promising them protection, and proposing to enlist and take into pay a company of their young men. Captain Lane, who went on this service, sent down a chief and three other Indians to Watertown, as ambassadors from their tribe to the Congress then sitting at that place. —*MS. Journal of the provincial Congress, May 15th and June 21st.* —*Captain Lane's Letter, June 9th.*

It was rumored, and subsequent events confirmed the suspicion that Colonel Guy Johnson and Sir John Johnson, who resided on the Mohawk River, the latter as Indian Agent under the King's appointment, were instigating the Indians in that quarter, and preparing them for hostilities. But notwithstanding the attempts of persons in the British interest to engage the Indians in the quarrel, no encouragement was afforded by the Continental Congress to any efforts of this kind, on the part of the colonies, till more than a year after the contest had begun. Their first plan was that of conciliation and neutrality.

Soon after the meeting of the second Congress, in 1775, the subject of the Indians was taken into consideration, and in July three Indian departments were constituted, the northern, middle, and southern, and commissioners were appointed for each. The duty prescribed to the commissioners was to hold councils with the Indians, form treaties, and endeavour to keep them in peace. In an address sent out at the same time by the Congress to the Six Nations, it was stated ;—"We desire you will hear and receive what we have now told you, and that you will open a good ear and listen to what we are now going to say. This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We do not wish you to take up the hatchet against the King's troops. We desire you to remain at home, and not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and behalf of all our people, we ask and desire you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathize with us in our troubles ; that the path may be kept open with all our people and yours, to pass and repass without molestation." In conformity with this counsel, a treaty was made with some of the northern Indians, but to little purpose. It was not consistent with their nature or habits to be in the midst of a war, without taking a part on one side or the other. Through the influence of the Johnsons and others,

the Six Nations for the most part adhered to the British. After the sanguinary affair at the Cedars, where the savages, under the command of a British officer, but as it would seem not under his control, murdered several American prisoners, and a threat was given out, that the others should share the same fate if any attempt were made to rescue them, the Congress openly changed their system. On the 25th of May 1776, they resolved, "that it was highly expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the United Colonies," and they empowered the General to employ in Canada and elsewhere a number not exceeding two thousand, offering them a reward of one hundred dollars for every commissioned officer, and thirty dollars for every private soldier of the King's troops, that they should take prisoners in the Indian country, or on the frontiers of these colonies."—*Secret Journal, May 25th, June 3d, 17th*. The Congress also authorized General Washington to employ the Indians of Penobscot, St. John's, and Nova Scotia, who had proffered their services. They were to receive the same pay as the Continental soldiers, but whether any of them ever joined the army, or were ever embodied for that purpose, may at least be doubted.

In short, whatever scheme was pursued at any time in regard to the Indians, it may be asserted with truth, that they rendered no essential aid to the cause of the United States during the war. Their friendship was seldom sincere, and always cost more than it was worth. As the British occupied the frontiers, they had every advantage in operating upon these people, and it was to be expected, that they would understand and profit by this state of things. The Indians fought for pay and plunder. According to their custom of warring upon each other, they committed ravages and frightful cruelties on the border inhabitants, which excited the indignation of the country. The blame was laid at the door of the British ministry, who were believed to approve, if not to promote, these acts of barbarity and horror, and the impression derived from this source contributed not a little to fan the flame of animosity, which had been kindled by the original causes of the war.

LETTERS ON THE IROQUOIS.

BY SKENANDOAH.

ADDRESSED TO ALBERT GALLATIN, L. L. D., PRESIDENT N. YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

LETTER IV.

Equality of the Nations—Special Privileges Explained—National Epithets—The Tuscaroras not admitted into an alliance fully equal.

It is apparent from the examination of such evidences as can be discovered, that the several Iroquois nations occupied positions of entire equality in the League, in rights, privileges, and obligations. Such special immunities as were granted to either, must be put down to the chances of location, and to the numerical differences at the institution of the Confederacy; since they neither indicate an intention to establish an un-

equal alliance, nor exhibit the exercise of privileges, by either nation, inconsistent with the principle of political equality, on which the confederation was founded.

The source of information, from which this conclusion is drawn, are to be found in the mass of Iroquois traditions, and in the structure of the Confederacy itself. Those traditions which reach beyond the formation of the League, are vague and unreliable, while all such as refer to its establishment assume a connected and distinctive form. It follows that confidence may be reposed in such inferences as are derived from these traditions, and corroborated by the internal structure of the government, and by the institutions of the Hodonosaunee.

There were provisions apparently vesting in certain nations superior authority, which it is desirable to introduce and explain. The most prominent was the unequal distribution of sachemships, indicating an unequal distribution of power: the Onondagas, for example, having fourteen sachems, while the Mohawks were entitled to but nine. It is true, *ceteris paribus*, that a large body of sachems would exercise greater influence in general council; but it will appear, when the mode of deciding questions is considered, that it gave no increase of power, for each nation had an equal voice, and a negative upon the others.

By another organic provision, the custody of the "Council Brand," and also of the "Wampum," in which the laws of the Confederacy "had been talked," was given by hereditary grant to the Onondagas. This is sufficiently explained by their central position, which made the council-fire in the Onondaga valley, in effect, the seat of government of the League. It was equally a convenience to all, and does not necessarily involve a preference enforced by superior power.

The Tadodahôh was likewise among the Onondaga sachems. Upon this point, it has heretofore been stated, that the higher degree of consideration attached to this title resulted exclusively from the exalted estimation in which the original Tadodahôh was held, on account of his martial prowess and achievements.

An apparent inequality between the nations of the League is also observable in the award of the two highest military chieftains to the Senecas. It will be sufficient, on this difficult feature in the system of the Iroquois to note, that when they constructed their political edifice, the Long-House, with its door opening upon the west, they admitted the supposition that all hostile onsets were to be expected from that direction; and on placing the Senecas as a perpetual shield before its western portal, these war-captains were granted, as among the means needful for its protection.

The Mohawks were receivers of tribute for subjugated nations. This hereditary privilege must be placed upon the same footing with the preceding. It may, perhaps, indicate that the nations upon their borders were in subjection.

Unequal terms in a Confederacy of independent nations would not be expected. True wisdom would dictate the principle of equality, as the only certain foundation on which a durable structure could be erected. That such was the principle adopted by the legislators of the Iroquois, is evinced by the equality of rights and immunities subsisting between the sachems of the League. Their authority was not limited to their own nation, but was co-extensive with the Confederacy. The Cayuga sachem, while in the midst of the Oneidas, could enforce from them the same obedience that was due to him from his own people; and when in general council with his compeers, he had an equal voice in the disposal of all business which came before it. The special privileges enumerated, and some others which existed, were of but little moment when compared with the fact, that the nations were independent; and each had an equal participation in the administration of the government.

At the epoch of the League, the several nations occupied the territory between the Hudson and the Genesee, and were separated by much the same international boundaries, as at the period when they yielded up their sovereignty. From geographical position, or from relative importance, or yet, for the mere purpose of establishing between the nations relationships similar to those existing between the tribes, certain rules of precedence and national ties were constituted between them. The nations were divided into two classes, or divisions; and when assembled in general council were arranged upon opposite sides of the "council-fire." On the one side stood the Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas, who as nations were regarded as brothers to each other, but as *fathers* to the remainder. Upon the other side were the Oneidas and Cayugas, and at a subsequent day, the Tuscaroras; who, in like manner, were brother nations by interchange, but *sons* to the three first. These divisions were in harmony with their system of relationships, or more properly formed a part of it. They may have secured for the senior nations increased respect, but they involve no idea of dependence in the junior, or inequality in civil rights.

When the nations were enumerated, the Mohawks were placed first; but for what reason is not precisely understood. In the councils of the Confederacy they were styled *Dá-gá-e-o-gá*, which became their national epithet. It was a term of respect, and signifies "neutral;" or, as some of the nations render it, "a speech divided." Its origin is lost in obscurity.

The Onondagas were placed next in the order of precedence, and were addressed in council by the appellation, *Ho-de-san-no-ge-ta*. This term signifies "Name Bearer;" and was conferred in commemoration of the circumstance, that the Onondagas bestowed the names upon the fifty original sachems. It was a privilege of some moment, as these "names" were to descend from generation to generation, upon the successive rulers of the Hodénosaunee.

Next in order stood the Senecas, justly proud of their national designation, Ho-nan-uc-ho-ont, or "The Door Keeper." To them, as elsewhere remarked, belonged the hereditary guardianship of the door of the Long-House.

The Oneidas occupied the fourth place in the Iroquois order of precedence, and originally had no appellation by which they were distinguished. At a subsequent and quite modern period, the epithet, Ne-ar-de-on-dar-go-war, or "Great Tree," was conferred upon them by their confederators. This name was seized upon from some occurrence at a treaty with the people of Wastow, or Boston.

Of the five original nations, the Cayugas were placed last in the enumeration. They were designated in council by the appellation, So-nus-ho-gwar-to-war, signifying "Great Pipe." Tradition refers this epithet to the incident, that the leading Cayuga chief in attendance at the council, which established the Confederacy, smoked a pipe of unusual dimensions and workmanship.

The admission of the Tuscaroras having been long subsequent to the formation of the League, they were never received into an equal alliance with the other nations. After their disastrous overthrow and expulsion from North Carolina, they turned towards the country of Iroquois; and were admitted about the year 1715 as the sixth nation, into the Confederacy. But they were never allowed to have a sachem, who could sit as an equal in the council of sachems. The five nations were unwilling to enlarge the number of sachemships founded at the institution of the League. For purposes of national government, however, they were organized like the other nations, with similar tribes, relationships, laws, and institutions. They also enjoyed a nominal equality in the councils of the League, by the courtesy of the other five, and their sachems and war-chiefs were "raised up" with the same ceremonies. They were not dependent, but were admitted to as full equality as could be granted them, without enlarging the frame work of the Confederacy. In the councils of the League, they had no national designation.

LETTER V.

Councils of the Iroquois. They were in effect the Government—Influence of Public Sentiment—Oratory—Tendency of all Public and Domestic Affairs to these Councils—Of three distinct species: Civil, Mourning, and Religious.

In an oligarchy, wherein the administrative power is vested in the members of the Ruling Body jointly, a Council of the Oligarchs becomes the instrumentality through which the will of this body is ascertained and enforced. For this reason, the councils of the Iroquois are important subjects of investigation. By them were exercised all the legislative and executive authority incident to the Confederacy, and necessary for its security against outward attack and internal dissensions. When the sachems of the League were not assembled around the general council-fire, the government itself had no visible existence. Upon no point, therefore,

can an examination be better directed, to ascertain the degree of power vested in the Ruling Body ; and the manner in which their domestic administration and political relations were conducted. When the sachems were scattered, like the people, over a large territory, they exercised a local and individual authority in the matters of every-day life ; or in national council, adjusted by their joint wisdom the affairs of their respective nations. Those higher and more important concerns, which interested the race at large, were reserved to the sachems of the Confederacy in general council. In this council resided the animating principle by which their political machinery was moved. It was, in effect, the government.

The oligarchical form of government is not without its advantages, although indicative of a low state of civilization. A comparison of views, by the agency of a council, would at any time be favorable to the development of talent. It was especially the case among the Iroquois, in consequence of the greater diversity of interests, and more extended reach of affairs, incident to several nations in Confederations. Events of greater magnitude would spring up in the midst of a flourishing Confederacy, than in a nation of inconsiderable importance ; and it is demonstrated by the political history of all governments, that men develop intellect in exact proportion to the magnitude of the events with which they become identified. For these reasons, the Confederacy was favorable to the production of men, higher in capacity among the Iroquois, than those nations would bring forth, whose institutions and system of government were inferior.

The extremely liberal character of the oligarchy of the Iroquois, is manifested by the "*modus procedendi*" of these councils. It is obvious that the sachems were not set over the people as arbitrary rulers, to legislate as their own will might dictate irrespective of the popular voice ; on the contrary, there is reason to believe that a public sentiment sprung up on questions of general interest, which no council felt at liberty to disregard. By deferring all action upon such questions until a council brought together the sachems of the League, attended by a concourse of inferior chiefs and warriors, an opportunity was given to the people to judge for themselves, and to take such measures as were necessary to give expression and force to their opinions. If the band of warriors became interested in the passing questions, they held a council apart, and having given it a full consideration, appointed an orator to communicate their views to the sachems, their "*Patres Conscripti*." In like manner would the chiefs, and even the women proceed, if they entertained opinions which they wished to urge upon the consideration of the council. From the publicity with which the affairs of the Confederacy were conducted, and the indirect participation in their adjustment, thus allowed the people, a favorable indication is afforded of the democratic spirit of the government.

Oratory, from the constitutional organization of the "council," was necessarily brought into high repute. Questions involving the safety of the race, and the preservation of the League, were frequently before it. In those warlike periods, when the Confederacy was moving onward amid incessant conflicts with contiguous nations; or, perchance, resisting sudden tides of migratory population; there was no dearth of those exciting causes—of those emergencies of peril, which rouse the spirit of a people, and summon into activity their highest energies. Whenever events converged to such a crisis, the council was the first resort; and there, under the pressure of dangers, and in the glow of patriotism, the eloquence of the Iroquois flowed as pure and spontaneous as the springs of their own Mohawk, or the head-waters of Cayuga.

The Indian has a quick and enthusiastic appreciation of eloquence. Highly impulsive in his nature, and with passions untaught of restraint, he is strongly susceptible of its influence. By the cultivation and exercise of this capacity, was opened the pathway to distinction; and the chief or warrior gifted with its magical power, could elevate himself as rapidly as he who gained renown upon the war-path. With the Iroquois, as with the Romans, the two professions, oratory and arms,* could establish men in the highest degree of personal consideration, "*in amplissimo gradu dignitatis*," known to each respectively. To the ambitious Roman in the majestic days of the republic, and to the proud Hodénosaunee in his sylvan house, the two pursuits equally commended themselves; and in one or the other alone, could either expect success.

It is a singular fact, resulting from the structure of Indian institutions, that nearly every transaction, whether social or political, originated or terminated in a council. This universal and favorite mode of doing business, became interwoven with all the affairs of public and private life. Public transactions of every name and character were planned, scrutinized, and adopted in council. The succession of their rulers; their athletic games, dances, and feasts; and their social intercourse, were identified with councils. In the same manner, the mass of their religious observances were indissolubly connected with these assemblies. The Maple Dance, or "Thanks to the Maple;" the Strawberry Feast, or "Offering of first-fruits to the Great Spirit;" the Harvest Corn, and Green Corn Worship, were only observed through the instrumentality of a council. It may be said that the life of the Iroquois was either spent in the chase, or the war-path, or at the council-fire. They formed the three leading objects of his existence; and it would be difficult to determine for which he possessed the strongest predilection. Regarding them in this light, and it is believed they are not overestimated, a narrative of these councils would furnish an accurate and copious history of the Iro-

* *Duæ sunt artes quæ possunt locare homines in amplissimo gradu dignitatis; una imperatoris, altera oratoris boni. ab hoc enim pacis ornamenta retinentur; ab illo belli pericula repelluntur.*—CICERO PRO MURÆNA, § 14.

quois, both political and social. The absence of these records, now irreparable, has greatly abridged the fulness, and diminished the accuracy of our abridged history.

The councils of the League were of three distinct kinds; and they may be distinguished under the heads of civil, mourning, and religious. Their civil councils, (Ho-de-os-seh,) were such as convened to transact business, with foreign nations, and to regulate the internal administration of the Confederacy. The mourning councils, (Hen-nun-do-nuh-seh,) where those summoned to *raise up* sachems and war-chiefs to fill such vacancies as had been occasioned by death or deposition, and also to ratify the investiture of such chiefs, as the nations had raised up in reward of public services. Their religious councils, (Gá-e-we-yo-do Ho-de-os-hen-dá-ko,) as the name imports, were devoted to religious observances.

No event of any importance ever transpired without passing under the cognizance of one of these species of councils, earlier or later, for all affairs seem to have converged towards them by a natural and inevitable tendency. An exposition of the mode of summoning each, of their respective powers and jurisdiction, and of the manner of transacting business, may serve to unfold the workings of their political system, their social relations, and the range of their intellectual capacities.

LETTER VI.

The Ho-de-os-seh, or Civil Council—Each Nation had the power of Summoning—The Belt, or the Notification—Mode of proceeding; Unanimity of the Sachems; Singular method of reaching unanimity; The Decision; Powers of the Civil Council; its Dignity and order; Vigor of the League; Its Prospects at the Era of Dutch Discovery.

The name Ho-de-os-seh, by which the Iroquois designated a civil council, signifies "advising together," or "counseling;" and was bestowed upon any congress of sachems which convened to take charge of the public relations of the League, or to provide for its internal administration. Each nation had power, under established regulations, to convene such a council, and prescribe the time and place of convocation.

If the Envoy of a foreign people desired to submit a proposition to the Confederacy, and applied to the Senecas for that purpose, the sachems of the nation would first determine whether the question was of sufficient importance to authorize a council. If they arrived at an affirmative conclusion, they immediately sent out runners to the Cayugas, the nearest nation in position, with a belt of wampum. This belt announced that on a certain day thereafter, at such a place, and for such and such purposes, stating them, a council of the Confederacy would assemble. The Cayugas retained the belt as the evidence of the message, or rather as the message itself: but sent forward another to the Onondagas, with a similar purport. In turn, the Onondagas, reserving the belt of the Cayugas, sent on runners bearing one of their own, of like import, to the Oneidas. The Oneidas then notified the Mohawks. Each nation, within its own confines, spread the information far and near, and thus, in a space of time as-

tonishly brief, intelligence of the council was heralded from one extremity of the Confederacy to the other.

It produced a stir among the people in proportion to the magnitude and importance of the business to be transacted. If the subject was calculated to arouse a deep feeling of interest, one common impulse, from the Hudson to Niagara, and from the Mt. Lawrence to the Susquehannah, drew them towards the council-fire. Sachems, chiefs, and warriors, women and even children, deserted their hunting grounds, and their woodland seclusions, and putting themselves upon the trail, literally flocked to the place of council. When the day arrived, a multitude had gathered together from the most remote and toilsome distances; but yet animated by an unquenchable spirit of hardihood and endurance.

Their mode of opening a council, and of proceeding with the business before it, was extremely simple; yet dilatory, when contrasted with the modes of civilized life. Questions were usually reduced to single propositions, calling for an affirmative or negative response; and were thus either adopted or rejected. When the sachems were assembled in the midst of their people, and all were in readiness to proceed, the envoy was introduced before them. One of the sachems, by previous appointment, then arose; and having thanked the Great Spirit for his continued beneficence in permitting them to meet together, he informed the envoy that the council was prepared to hear him upon the business for which it had convened.* The council being thus opened, the representative proceeded to unfold the objects of his mission. He submitted his propositions in regular form, and sustained them by such arguments as the case required. The sachems listened with earnest and respectful attention to the end of his address, that they might clearly understand the questions to be decided and answered. After the envoy had concluded his speech he withdrew from the council, as was customary, to await at a distance the result of its deliberations. It then became the duty of the sachems to agree upon an answer; in doing which, as would be expected, they passed through the ordinary routine of speeches, consultations, and animated discussions. Such was the usual course of proceeding in an Iroquois council. Variations might be introduced by circumstances.

At this place another peculiar institution of the Hodenosaunee is presented. All the sachems of the league, in whom originally was vested the entire civil power, were required to be of "one mind," to give efficacy to their legislation. Unanimity was a fundamental law. The idea of majorities and minorities was entirely unknown to our Indian predecessors in their day of political prosperity; and not until this principle was

*The following speech of a Seneca chief, (Go-ne-ska-sa-ah) at the opening of a council, will furnish an illustration. Addressing the sachems and people around him, he said, "It is proper, in compliance with our customs at the opening of councils, that we should thank the Great Spirit that we are still in health, and able to meet together." Then turning to the individual whom they had assembled to meet, he continued, "Brother; it was appointed that we should meet here this day, to listen to your words. We therefore, thank the Great Spirit that he has spared our lives, and permitted us to do so. We are ready to listen."

thrust upon them by our government, when they had become dependent, did they relinquish the more congenial principle of unanimity.

To hasten their deliberations to a conclusion, and ascertain the result, they adopted an expedient which dispensed entirely with the necessity of casting votes. The founders of the confederacy, seeking to obviate as far as possible, altercation in council, and to facilitate their progress to unanimity, divided the sachems of each nation into classes, usually of two and three each, as will be seen by referring to the table of sachemships. Each sachem was forbid to express an opinion in council, until he had agreed with the other sachem or sachems of his class, upon the opinion to be expressed, and had received an appointment to act as speaker for the class. Thus the eight Seneca sachems, being in four classes, could have but four opinions; the ten Cayuga sachems but four. In this manner each class was brought to unanimity with itself. A cross consultation was then held between the four sachems who represented the four classes, and when they had agreed, they appointed one of their number to express their resulting opinion, which was the answer of the nation. The several nations having by this ingenious method become of "one mind" separately, it only remained to compare their several opinions to arrive at the final sentiment of all the sachems of the league. This was effected by a cross conference between the individual representatives of the several nations; and when they had arrived at unanimity, the answer of the Confederacy was determined.†

The sovereignty of the nations, by this mode of giving assent, was not only preserved, but made subservient to the effort itself to secure unanimity. If any sachem was obdurate or unreasonable, influences were brought to bear upon him which he could not well resist; and it was seldom that inconvenience resulted from their inflexible adherence to the rule. When, however, all efforts to produce unanimity failed of success, the whole matter was laid aside. Farther action became at once impossible. In the manner stated a result, either favorable or adverse, having

†The Senate of the United States, by a resolution passed June 11th, 1838, committed a great act of injustice upon the Seneca Indians, unintentionally, no doubt; and prepared the way for their total extirpation. This resolution abrogated their unanimity principle, by authorising a majority of their chiefs to make a treaty with the Ogden Land Company, for the sale of their lands in Western New York. In December of that year, this vigilant company forced a treaty upon the Senecas, under very questionable circumstances. It was well known that 15-16ths of the people, almost the entire nation, were unwilling to sell; yet the company, having a resolution of the Senate under which to shelter themselves procured by their own efforts, now resorted to the quick and only expedient of purchasing the votes of a majority of the chiefs. The proceedings, by which this end was finally accomplished, were utterly objectionable, as is abundantly proved by printed documents, now before the Senate. There were eighty-one chiefs, placing the three classes of chiefs upon a level; and but forty-one needed to the treaty. It is represented that 200,000 dollars were set apart as the means of negotiation; that to ten chiefs they paid 30,000 dollars in bribes; that others were plied with rum until intoxicated, and then made to sign; that still others were made chiefs by a sham election, and their signatures then taken; while yet others signed the treaty as chiefs who were not so in fact. Several days were consumed in perfecting the work, and the desired majority was obtained. After a long and angry controversy, in which the red-men struggled in vain for justice, the Senate finally ratified it by the casting vote of the Vice President. The Indians refused to own the treaty, and the government were unwilling to execute it. A compromise, in 1842, was effected, by which two reservations were released from the operation of the treaty, on conditions that the Indians would sacrifice the other two. The Tonawanda and Buffalo reserves were thus sold a second time. The Tonawanda Band, never having signed either treaty, still refuse to deliver possession; and it is a question yet to be decided, whether the Tonawanda Senecas shall be deprived of their homes, without their consent, or without an equivalent paid. The land is worth on an average 16 dollars per acre, and the treaty allows them 1 dollar and 67 cts.

been reached, it was communicated to the envoy by a speaker selected for the purpose. This orator was always chosen from the nation with whom the council originated; and it was usual for him to review the whole subject presented to the council in a formal speech; and at the same time to announce the conclusions to which the sachems of the confederacy had arrived. This concluding speech terminated the business of the council, and the Indian diplomatist took his departure.

Among the general powers residing in the civil council may be enumerated those of declaring war and making peace, of admitting new nations into the league, or of incorporating fragments of nations into those existing, of extending jurisdiction over subjugated territory, of levying tribute, of sending and receiving embassies, of forming alliances, and of enacting and executing laws. The national sovereignties were silent under the central administration of all those affairs which pertained to the league.

The war against the Eries (*Sag-a-neh-gi*), which resulted in the extermination or expulsion of that nation from the western part of this State, about the year 1653, was declared by the sachems of the Iroquois in general council. The French war, also, which they waged with such indomitable courage and perseverance so many years, was resolved upon in the same manner. Their traditions record other struggles with Indian nations, some of which were engaged in by the Confederacy, and others either commenced or assumed by a nation separately. At the beginning of the American Revolution, the Iroquois could not agree in council to make war as a confederacy upon our confederacy. A number of the Oneida sachems firmly resisted the assumption of hostilities, and thus defeated the measure as an act of the league, for the want of unanimity. Some of the nations, however, especially the Mohawks, were so interlinked with the British, that neutrality was impossible. Under this pressure of circumstances it was resolved in council to suspend the rule, and leave each nation to engage in the war upon its own responsibility.

In the councils of the Iroquois, the dignity and order, ever preserved, have become proverbial. The gravity of Nestor was exemplified by their sages; and more than the harmony of the Grecian chiefs existing among their sachems. In their elevation to the highest degree of political distinction ever reached by any Indian race, except the Aztecs, the clearest evidence is presented of the wisdom and prudence with which these councils watched over the public welfare. Establishing the seat of government, or the council brand, in the central valley of Onondaga, the dignitaries of the league were wont to gather around it as their usual place of convocation, and legislate over the affairs of nearly half of the present Republic. Pennsylvania, Western Virginia, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and a part of the peninsula of Michigan, with a portion of the Canadas, constituted the circuit of their possessions. At Onondaga they matured their plans of conquest, and kindled the fires of patriotism. In the execution of an enterprise projected by the council, or in the natural ex-

ercise of that warlike spirit which resulted from their growing prosperity, a band of Mohawks, perchance, would be seen upon the hills of New England; while at the same moment the war-shout of the Senecas would be heard in the valleys of the Cherokees; or among the Sioux upon the Mississippi. Their activity was unbounded; their hardihood knew no exhaustion; their fortitude no submission. Adjacent nations beheld their rising empire with terror and alarm, as they encountered the Iroquois upon every war-path, from the Hudson to the Mississippi, and from the St. Lawrence to the Tennessee.

Before the white man had planted his footsteps upon the red-man's trail; or the Old World had knowledge of the New, these boundless territories had been the scene of human conflicts; and of the rise and fall of Indian sovereignties. Isolated nations, by some superiority of institutions or casual advantage of location, spring up with an energetic growth; and for a season spread their dominion far and wide. After a brief period of prosperity they were borne back by adverse fortune into their original obscurity. The reason must be sought in the unsubstantial nature of their political structures. It was the merit of the Iroquois, to rest themselves upon a more durable foundation, by the establishment of a confederacy. This alliance between their nations, they cemented by the stronger and more imperishable bands of the Tribal League. At the epoch of Saxon occupation, they were rapidly building up an empire, which threatened the absorption or extermination of the whole Indian race, between the chain of lakes on the north, and the Gulf of Mexico on the south. Their power had become sufficient to set at defiance all hostile invasions from contiguous nations; and to preclude the idea of subjugation. A nationality of character, and unity of interest, had resulted from the relationships by which they were blended together; and above all the Confederacy, while it suffered no loss of numbers by emigrating bands, was endued with a capacity for indefinite expansion. At the period of the discovery, the Aztecs on the South, and Iroquois in the North, were the only Indian races upon the Continent whose institutions promised at maturity, to ripen into civilization. Such was the condition and prospects of the Indian League, when Hendrick Hudson, more than two centuries since (1609), sailed up the river which constituted their eastern boundary. This silent voyage of the navigator may be regarded as the opening event, in the series, which resulted in reversing the political prospects of the Hodenosaunee, and in introducing into their Long-House an invader, more relentless in his purposes, and more invincible in arms than the red-man against whose assaults it had been erected.

LETTER VII.

Succession of the Sachems of the Confederacy—The Hen-nun-do-nu-seh, or Mourning Council—Convened by the Nation which had lost a Sachem—Attendance of the People—Its numerous Ceremonies—Wampum, and its uses—The Succession of Rulers free from Strife—Degree of Social Intercourse—Festivities.

The succession of the Ruling Body, whether secured by election, or

by laws of inheritance, is an event of deep importance to the people, whose personal security and welfare are to a large extent under the guardianship of their rulers. It seems to have been the aim of the Hodenasaunee to avoid the dangers of an hereditary transmission of power, without fully adopting the opposite principle of a free election, founded upon merit and capacity. Their system was a modification of the two opposite rules; and claims the merit of originality, as well as of adaptation to their social and political condition.

It is in accordance with the principles, and necessary to the existence of an oligarchy, that the ruling body should possess a general if, not absolute, authority over the admission of new members into its number; and over the successions where the vacancies are occasioned by death. In some respects the oligarchy of the Iroquois was wider than those of antiquity. The tribes retained the power of designating successors, independent of the oligarchs; while, for the security of the latter, the number was limited by the fundamental law. It was the province of the ruling body to "raise up" the sachems selected by the tribes, and to invest them with office. In the ancient oligarchies, which were less liberal and much less systematic in their construction, the whole power of making rulers appears to have been appropriated by the rulers themselves.

To perform the ceremony adverted to, of "raising up" sachems and war-chiefs, and of confirming the investiture of such chiefs as had previously been raised up by a nation, the Mourning Council was instituted. Its name, *Hen-nun-do-nu-seh*, signifies, with singular propriety, "a Mourning Council;" as it embraced the two-fold object, of lamenting the deceased with suitable solemnities, and of establishing a successor in the sachemship, made vacant by his demise.

Upon the death of a sachem or war-chief, the nation in which the loss had occurred, had power to summon a council, and designate the day and place. If the Oneidas, for example, had lost a ruler, they sent out runners at the earliest convenient day, with "belts of invitation" to the sachems of the league, and to the people at large, to assemble around their national council-fire at Ko-no-a-lo-ha-la.* The invitation was circulated with the same celerity, and with the same forms as in convoking a civil council. These belts, or the strings of wampum, sent out on such occasions, conveyed a laconic message: "the name" of the deceased (mentioning it) "calls for a council." It also announced the place and the time.

The name and the appeal fell not in vain upon the ear of the Iroquois. There was a potency in the name itself which none could resist. It penetrated every seclusion of the forest; and reached every canneshoot upon the hill side, on the margin of the lakes, or in the deep solitudes of the wood. No warrior wise man, or chief, failed to hear or could withstand the call. A principle within was addressed, which ever

* Oneida Castle.

responded—respect and veneration for the sachems of the Confederacy.

For these councils, and the festivities with which they were concluded, the Hodenosaunee ever retained a passionate fondness. No inclemency of season, nor remoteness of residence, nor frailties of age or sex, offered impassable obstructions. To that hardy spirit which led the Iroquois to traverse the war-paths of the distant south and west, and to leave their hunting trails upon the Cohongorontont and Oheeyo,‡ the distance to a council within their immediate territories would present inconsiderable hindrances. From Icanderago§ and Koláneká,|| among the Mohawks, to to Gá-nun-dá-gwa,¶ and Gá-no-wau-ges,** in the territory of the Senecas, they forsook their hunting-grounds, and their encampments, and put themselves upon the trail for the council-fire. Old men with gray hairs and tottering step; young men in the vigor of youth; warriors, inured to the hardships of incessant strife; children looking out for the first time, upon life, and women, with their infants encased in the *gaonseh*, all performed the journey with singular rapidity and endurance. From every side they bent their footsteps towards the council; and when the day arrived, a large concourse of warriors, chiefs, wise men, and sachems, from the most remote as well as subjacent parts of the Confederacy greeted each other beside the council-fire of the Oneidas.

This council, although entirely of a domestic character, was conducted with many ceremonies. Before the day, announced by the belt, arrived, the several nations entered the country of the Oneidas in separate bands, and encamped at a distance from the council-house. To advance at once would have been a violation of Iroquois usages. Runners were sent on by the approaching nation to announce its arrival; and it remained thus encamped until the Oneidas had signified their readiness for its reception. On the day appointed, if the necessary arrangements had been perfected, a rude reception ceremony opened the proceedings. The several nations in separate trains, each one preceded by its civil and military dignitaries, drew simultaneously towards the council-fire, and were received and welcomed by the Oneidas in a stately manner. Upon the completion of this ceremony, the people arrayed themselves in two divisions. The Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas, who, as elsewhere stated, were brother nations to each other, and fathers to the other three, seated themselves upon one side of the fire. On the other side were arranged the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras, who in like manner, were brothers to each other, but sons to the three first. By their peculiar customs, if the deceased sachem belonged to either of the three elder nations, he was lamented as a father by the three junior; and it became the duty of the latter to perform the ceremony of lamentation prescribed by their usages, for the deceased, and after that, the ceremony of raising up his successor.

† Potomac.
|| Johnstown.

‡ Ohio.
¶ Canandaigua.

§ Fort Hunter, or Lower Mohawk Castle.
** Avon

If on the contrary, the departed ruler belonged to either of the junior nations, as in the case supposed, it cast upon the elder nations the duty of lamenting his death as a son, in the customary form, and of installing a successor in the vacant sachemship.

These observances were performed with the accustomed gravity and earnestness of the red-man: and were in themselves, neither devoid of interest, nor unadapted to impress the mind. The lament was a tribute to the virtues, and to the memory of the departed chief;—the mourning scene, in which, not only the tribe and nation of the deceased, but the Confederacy itself participated. Surely, a more delicate testimonial of affection than our predecessors are usually supposed to have manifested. The ceremony of raising up a successor, which followed, was a succession of musical chants, with choruses, intermingled with speeches and responses. Upon the whole scene, rendered wild and picturesque by the variety of costumes, there rested a spirit of silence and solemnity which invested it with singular interest.

A prominent part of the ceremonial consisted in the repetition of their ancient laws and usages; and in an exposition of the structure and principles of the League, for the instruction of the newly-inducted rulers. In the midst of each division, the chief personages of the elder and junior nation were grouped together. Between the two groups of sachems the wise-man, who conducted the observances, walked to and fro repeating those traditionary lessons, and unfolding those regulations, which had been handed down from the foundation of the Confederacy. Some of them were salutary and instructive; while the most were indicative of wisdom and forethought. Among the injunctions left by Dágánowedá, the founder of the League, there was one designed to impress upon their minds the necessity of union and harmony. It was clothed in a figurative dress, as is the custom of the red-man when he would produce a vivid impression. He enjoined them to plant a tree with four roots, branching severally to north, south, east and west. Beneath its shade the sachems of the Confederacy must sit down together in perpetual unity, if they would preserve the stability of the League or secure the advantages it was calculated to bestow. If they did so, the power of the Hodenosaunee would be planted as firmly as the oak, and the blasts of adverse fortune would beat upon it in vain.

The laws explained at different stages of the ceremonial, were repeated from strings of wampum* into which they "had been talked" at the time of their enactment. In the Indian method of expressing the idea, the string, or the belt, can tell, by means of an interpreter the exact law or transaction of which it was made, at the time, the sole evidence. It operates upon the principle of associations, and thus seeks to give fidelity to

* Wampum is made of various colored sea shells, which are cut into small, well-finished beads. Some of the strings were three feet in length and contained fifteen or twenty straws. Those now in the possession of the Onondagas and Senecas are regarded as sacred. They pretend to be ignorant of their origin and manufacture.

the memory. These strings and belts were the only visible records of the Iroquois; and were of no use except by the aid of those special personages who could draw forth the secret records locked up in their remembrance.

It is worthy of note that but little importance was attached to a promise or assurance of a foreign power, unless belts or strings were given to preserve it in recollection. Verbal propositions, or those not confirmed by wampum, were not considered worthy of special preservation.† As the laws and usages of the Confederacy were entrusted to the guardianship of such strings one of the Onondaga sachems (Honowenâto) was constituted "Keeper of the Wampum," and was required to be versed in its interpretation.

On these occasions the wise-man, who officiated, interpreted strings from time to time, and carried them from one division of sachems to the other. In reply, as many others were subsequently returned with similar forms and explanations. In this manner with a multitude of forms and ceremonies, were their sachems raised up, consuming the greater part of a day in their repetition. The proceedings were closed with a presentation of the newly-invested rulers to the people under the names of their respective sachemships, which, from that day forth, they were permitted to assume.

Up to this stage of the Council, neither gaiety nor mirthfulness were exhibited by the old or young. The people were in mourning for the deceased, and rendering the last acts of public respect. When however, these offices had been performed, and the places left vacant among the rulers had been filled, the seasons for lamentation disappeared, and, with them, the outward signs. The evening was given up to feasting, and to their religious and domestic dances. It was not uncommon to spend several days in these festivities; devoting the days in succession to athletic games, and the evenings to the feast and to the social dance.

The succession, under these simple regulations, was rendered entirely free from turmoil and strife; and became not only an easy transaction, but an imposing, and, to them, instructive ceremonial. Upon the sachems was bestowed sufficient control over the transmission of the sachemships for their own protection; while the still more important power of naming those to be raised up, and of deposing the unfaithful, (which was retained by the tribes,) secured the people from oppression and misgovernment.

A wider dissimilarity than subsists between the institutions of our Indian predecessors and our own, cannot be easily conceived. They are as unlike as the races themselves in their essential characteristics. If, however, a correct impression is desired of the state of society, political and social, in which the Iroquois have existed, and in which they have developed whatever of character they possessed, it must be sought in their

† The English always gave belts to confirm their words. The Americans were seldom in the habit of doing it.

customs and institutions; it must be furnished by the practical operation of that stupendous system of inter-relationships by which they were bound together, and from which every act in their social intercourse received a tinge.

The degree of social intercourse between the nations of the Confederacy was much greater than would at first be suggested. In the pursuits of the chase and of conquest, and in attendance upon Councils, they traversed the whole territory far and near. The distance and rapidity of their expeditions almost exceed belief. A practiced runner would traverse a hundred miles per day, and war parties move one half the distance. Their trails penetrated the forest in every direction, and their main thoroughfares were as well beaten as the highways now passing over the same lines. With their habits of traveling over the whole area of the State, they were doubtless more familiar than ourselves with its hills and plains, rivers and lakes; its wild retreats and forest concealments. Much of their social intercourse, especially between the nations, was around their council-fires. The Councils themselves formed a bond of union, and drew them together instinctively. They furnished the excitements and the recreations of Indian life, as well as relieved the monotony of peace. It was here they recounted their exploits upon the war-path, or listened to the eloquence of favorite chiefs. Here they offered tributes of respect to those deceased sachems who had rendered themselves illustrious by public services; or listened to the laws and regulations of their ancestors, which were explained by their sages in the ceremonial of raising up successors. It was here, also, that they celebrated their athletic games with Olympic zeal; and joined in those national dances, some of which were indescribably beautiful and animated.

Custom required the particular tribe in which sachems had been raised up, to furnish a daily entertainment to the multitude during the continuance of the council. The pursuits of the day were suspended as the shades of evening began to fall, and they all sat down to a common repast, which the matrons of the tribe had prepared. After the business, upon which the council convened, had been consummated, each day in succession was devoted to the simple but diversified amusements of Indian life; the twilight to the feast; and the evening to the social dance. The wild notes of their various tunes, accompanied by the turtle-shell rattle and the drum; the bells, which entered into the costumes of the warriors, and the noise of the moving throng; all united, sent forth a "sound of revelry" which fell with strange accents in the hours of night, upon the solemn stillness of the woods. This sound of pleasure and amusement was continued from day to day, until pleasure itself became satiety, and amusement had lost its power to please.

When the spirit of festivity had become exhausted, the fire of the Hennundonuseh was raked together; and the several nations, separately, bent their way homeward through the forest. Silence once more resu-

med her sway over the deserted scene; resolving into stillness the lingering hum of the dissolving council, and the subsiding notes of merriment. Obscurity next advanced with stealthy mien, and quickly folding the incidents of this sylvan pageant in her dusky mantle, she bore them, with their associations, their teachings, and their remembrances, into the dark realm of Oblivion; from whence their recall would be as hopeless as would the last shout which rung along the valley.

LETTER VIII.

Original ideas of Divinity—Ha-wen-nee-yu, the Great Spirit—The Ga-e-we-yo-do Ho-deos-hen-da-ko or Religious Council—Summoned by either Nation—Mode of proceeding—Religious Discourses—Beautiful Benedictions—Dancing, a mode of Worship—The Religious Dance—Passion for Amusements—Nothing progressive in Indian Society—Quere, Whether the Institutions of the Iroquois would ever have elevated them from the Hunter State?

The Greeks discovered divinity in every object of external nature; in the elements of earth and air—in the rivulet, the mountain and the sea. Wherever the mind could penetrate the mysteries of Nature and of Creation, divinity was the end of all research—the terminus of all meditation. Following, as they did, the spontaneous suggestions of a vivid imagination, they ascended from the divided elements and features of nature, up to their several supposed divinities. Herein was the first great error of civilized man; originating, too, in the earliest buddings of his intellect. The first suggestions of an unfolding and reflecting mind led it to grasp at Deity in a multitude of fragments, as shadowed forth by the works of creation; rather than to ascend through these evidences up to the real Presence—the indivisible and eternal God.

While in another hemisphere, shut out from the teachings of the former, the Indian, without the aid of knowledge or revelation, ascended from united nature up to the Great Spirit—its sole original and source. His vision did not rest upon Olympus, or other earthly habitations of imaginary deities, but looked above it, towards the realm of the supreme intelligence. The mind of the Iroquois was strongly imbued with religious tendencies. A reverential regard for Há-wen-nee-yu* was observable in their social proceedings as a race; manifesting itself in their rules of intercourse. Their knowledge of the attributes of the Deity, as the creator and preserver of nature, was vague and imperfect; and their understanding of his moral perfections still more indefinite. But in the existence of one Supreme Intelligence—an invisible yet ever present being of power and might—the universal Red race believed. His existence became a first principle, an intuitive belief, which neither the lapse of centuries could efface, nor contrivance of man could eradicate. By the diffusion of this great truth, if the Indian did not escape the spell of superstition, which resulted from his imperfect knowledge of the Deity, and his ignorance of natural phenomena, yet was he saved from the deepest of all barbarism, the most dementing of all despotism—an idolatrous worship.

* Great Spirit. The a pronounced like ah, as if Hahuennee-ye.

Resting upon this "luminous principle," the Iroquois admits of a favorable comparison with any of the religions of antiquity not founded upon revelation; although extremely limited in its range, and simple in its worship. The most obvious relations of man to the Great Spirit were alone understood; yet they recognized his superintending care, and were in the habit of acknowledging his beneficence, and of rendering thanks for individual and national blessings. The reciprocal duties consequent upon the family relations, and the obligation subsisting between them individually, as a race, were to a considerable degree, recognized and enforced. The manifestations of these religious impressions, and the observance of such simple rites as they suggested, were very naturally through the instrumentality of a council. Indeed, all of their civil, religious, and social affairs tended thitherward, and earlier or later passed through this universal Indian ordeal.

In addition to the religious festivals observed by each nation separately in their seasons, as the Maple Dance, the Strawberry Feast, the Green-corn and Harvest-corn Worship, and the annual Sacrifice of the White Dog, in mid-winter—each of which required a council, and all of which might properly be called religious—the Hodenosaunee were accustomed to summon religious councils, in which the whole Confederacy participated. Such were not of frequent occurrence, but were held in great estimation. After a period of general prosperity, or a sudden tide of good fortune, or an escape from pressing difficulties, it was customary to summon one of these general religious councils, that the confederate nations might in unison render their homage to the Great Spirit for his favoring care and protection. The name by which it was designated, Ga-we-yo-do Ho-de-os-hen-da-ko, is merely significant of its religious character.

Each nation had power to summon, and to make the requisite preparation for its observance. The attendance of the people, as in other cases, was entirely voluntary; and the numbers were in proportion to the interest aroused by the circumstances in which it had its origin. Its initiatory proceedings were much the same as in the civil and mourning councils; so, also were the concluding exercises of each day and evening—a repast in common, succeeded by a variety of dances.

After the people of the several nations had gathered together, and the council had been opened, an exhortation from one of their highest religious functionaries was substituted for all other business. To hear their religious instructors was the prominent object of their assembling; and the early part of each day was devoted to a discourse in which their moral obligations were unfolded, and the precepts of their simple religion were enforced.

By presenting, from an unpublished manuscript, a few selections from a discourse delivered before a religious council, a general idea may be given of the nature and value of their religious tenets, and of their prin-

ciples of morality, as expounded by one of their most distinguished teachers.

"The Onondagas, the Senecas, (the Mohawks were not present,) and our children, (meaning the Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras,) have assembled this day to listen to the repetition of the will of the Great Spirit as communicated to us from heaven through his great prophet Gá-ne-o-di-yoh. * * * * In the morning, give thanks to the Great Spirit for the return of day, and the light of sun; at night, renew your thanks to him, that his ruling power has preserved you from harm during the day, and that night has again come in which you may rest your wearied body." This lesson of an untutored Indian, and professed opponent of the Christian faith, evinces not only a devotional spirit, but also a recognition of human dependence, and of the obligation of thankfulness, which would scarcely have been expected. Some of the precepts put forth on such occasions, clothed, it may be, in figurative language, were mostly of universal acceptance. "We were once in great darkness, but now have received the light. * * If you tie up the clothes of an orphan child, the Great Spirit will notice it, and reward you for it. * *

To adopt orphans, and bring them up in virtuous ways is pleasing to the Great Spirit. * * Love each other, for you are brothers and sisters of one family. If a stranger wander about your abode, welcome him to your home, be hospitable towards him, speak to him with kind words, and forget not always to mention the Great Spirit. * * Be firm and resolute in doing that which is good. * * Parents,

teach your children virtuous principles. Children, if you do not willingly submit to the requirements of your parents, you will cause them to feel very bad, and to shed many tears. * * It is wrong for a father and mother to hold disputes and contentions over a child. * *

It is the will of the Great Spirit that the young shall reverence the aged, even though they be as helpless as infants."

The vices were also arraigned, especially that of intemperance; against which their wisest men made incessant and earnest exhortations. The magnitude of the evil was introduced by a figure. He, looked, towards the east and saw the smoke of a thousand distilleries, rising and shutting out the light of the sun. * *

The great prevailing sin among the Indians is intemperance. Taste not the fire-waters of the white people. * *

Rum-sellers have no flesh on their hands; they are nothing but bones. We entreat you that none of you sell or taste the fire-water. * *

Women should never talk ill concerning their neighbors. * * To be a talebearer is very wrong; it causes great evil. * *

It is wrong to whip children with the rod. If you wish to correct a child use cold water."

It will be observed that the mode of punishment, to which this last injunction refers, rests upon a philosophical principle; and it is known to have long prevailed among the Iroquois. There act of plunging in water

allayed the passions which refused to yield to milder applications, "the plunge" thus served the double purpose of holding the wayward *in terrorem*," and if not effective to intimidate, it then served to assuage the "infant fervor" which had swelled beyond the bounds of maternal restraint and the fear of punishment.

An examination of the sentiments contained in the preceding selection, and of their probable origin, is here unnecessary. In the discourses delivered to the people at their religious councils, all the precepts of their slender ethical code, and the peculiar tenets of their faith, would be presented for their renewed acceptance. A portion were doubtless derived from the Bible, while an equally important part were of original discovery and application. Some of these precepts inculcated the highest sentiments of morality and the purest principles of natural religion,

The particular discourse from which extracts have been given, closed with this remarkable benediction, which should be sufficient to preserve the name of its author, Sox-ha-wah, a Seneca, from forgetfulness. "May the Great Spirit bless you all, and bestow upon you the blessings of life, health, peace, and prosperity, and in turn, may you appreciate his great goodness." It will be found, on analysis, to be perfect in its kind; regarding the Deity, or Hâwennêeyu, as One Person, as he is by the universal Red Race.

Dancing was regarded, by the Hodénosaunee, as an appropriate mode of worship, and at their religious as well as at their civil and mourning councils, the evenings were given up to this amusement. A belief prevailed among them that the custom was of divine origin. "The Great Spirit knew the Indian could not live without some amusements, therefore he originated the idea of dancing, which he gave to them." In consequence of this universal opinion, the most spirited, intricate and beautiful, of their numerous figures, was styled, "The Grand Religious Dance," (O-sto-weh-go-wá,) and it was never performed except in full costume, and at religious councils. Perhaps it would be unsafe to add, with reference to it, that it was the most majestic and graceful dance ever invented; at least, it would be difficult to surpass it, as all assert by whom it has been witnessed in later times. There is a popular belief among the Iroquois, that this favorite dance will be enjoyed by them, in after life, in the realm of the Great Spirit. Order and decorum were manifested on these occasions. Each dance was introduced or announced by a chief in a short address, containing appropriate observations upon its origin, character, and objects. The leader then commenced, followed by others in succession; and it was not uncommon for two or three hundred of both sexes, to be engaged at once in the same figure.

Their passion for such an amusement is not in the least surprising, when it is remembered that it furnished the chief occasion for social intercourse between the sexes. Their customs in this particular were extremely singular. Conversation, or familiar acquaintance before mar-

riage, were almost entirely unknown; even in the dance, in which the women select whoever they please, of those engaged in it, there was scarcely a word of conversation. The council, however, was with them a carnival; a season of successive spectacles and entertainments, in which association, at least, was enjoyed, and much more of actual intercourse than in private life. It was looked for always with eager anticipation, as a season of life and motion.

A religious council usually lasted three or four days, and the order of proceedings each day was but little varied. The early part of each was spent in listening to religious teachings, and the after part was devoted to some of those sports or games to which the Iroquois, like the red race at large, were extravagantly addicted. At twilight they partook of a repast in common, as was the custom at all councils. Over this evening banquet they never omitted to say grace, which, in their manner, was a prolonged exclamation on a high key, by a solitary voice, followed instantly by a swelling chorus from the multitude, upon a lower note; a deep-toned, and not unmusical, anthem of praise to Hawenneeyu, for his continued beneficence. After the people had allayed their appetites, preparations were immediately made for the dance, the universal evening amusement of the Iroquois, in the season of councils. The passion for this recreation was universal, and unbounded by sex or age; and here was gratified by a full indulgence. On such occasions, the hours of the night passed by unheeded; for with the Iroquois in their festivities, as with more polished society, although

*Et jam nox humida cœlo
Præcipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos."*

Yet neither the admonition of the "setting stars," nor of the fallen dew were there in the least regarded. Not, perhaps, until the faint light of approaching day illumined the east, did the spirit of enjoyment decline, and the last murmur of the dispersing council finally subside.

This circle of employments and of pleasures was continued from day to day until several nations had given full indulgence to their social and convivial feelings, and also had rendered thanks and homage to the Great Spirit for the blessings which He had bestowed, and for the acknowledgment of which they had assembled. The council-fire therefore, was once more covered over by the sachems of the Hodenosaunee, and the Mohawk, and the Oneida, the Seneca and the Cayuga, separated at once upon different trails. In a few days, the multitude were again dispersed in hunting parties, far and wide, between the Hudson and the Genesee, the Mohawk and the Susquehannah.

The influence of the civil, mourning, and religious councils upon the people, would of itself furnish an extensive subject of inquiry. These councils changed but little from age to age, like the pursuits of Indian life; and were alike in their essential characteristics, in their mode of transacting

business, in their festivities, and in the spirit by which they were animated. From the frequency of their occurrence, and the deep interest with which they were regarded, it is evident that they exercised a vast influence upon the race. The intercourse and society which they afforded were well calculated to humanize, and soften down the asperities of character which their isolated mode of life was designed to produce.

There was however, a fatal deficiency in Indian Society, in the non-existence of a progressive spirit. The same rounds of amusement, of business, of warfare, of the chase, and of domestic intercourse, continued from generation to generation; there was neither progress nor invention, nor increase of political wisdom. Old forms were preserved, old customs adhered to. Whatever they gained upon one point, they lost upon another, leaving the second generation but little wiser than the first. The Iroquois, in some respects, were in advance of their red neighbors. They had attempted the establishment of their institutions upon a broader basis, and already men of high capacity had sprung up among them as their political system unfolded. If their Indian empire had been suffered to work out its own results, it is still problematical whether the vast power they would have accumulated, and the intellect which would have been developed by their diversified affairs, would, together, have been sufficiently potent to draw the people from the Hunter, into the Agricultural State. The Hunter State is the zero of human society, and while the red-man was bound by its spell, there was no hope of its elevation. In a speculative point of view, the institutions of the Iroquois assume an interesting aspect. Would they, at maturity, have emancipated the people from their strange infatuation for a hunter life: as those of the Toltecs and Aztecs had before effected the disenthralment of those races in the latitudes of Mexico? It cannot be denied that there are some grounds for the belief that their institutions would eventually have ripened into civilization. The Iroquois, at all times, have manifested sufficient intellect to promise a high degree of improvement, if it had once become awakened and directed to right pursuits. Centuries might have been requisite to effect the change. How far these councils, by the spirit which they engendered and the intercourse which they secured were calculated to promote such an end, it would be difficult to determine.

With us, however, their institutions have a real, a present value, for what they were irrespective of what they might have become. The Iroquois must ever figure upon the opening pages of our territorial history. They were our predecessors in the sovereignty. Our country they once called their country, our rivers and lakes were their rivers and lakes, our hills and intervalles were also theirs. Before us, they enjoyed the beautiful scenery spread out between the Hudson and Niagara, its wonderful diversity from the pleasing to the sublime. Before us, were they invigorated by our climate and nourished by the bounties of the earth, forest and the stream. The tie by which we are thus con-

nected, carries with it the duty of doing justice to their memory, by preserving their name and deeds, their customs and their institutions, lest they fall into forgetfulness and perish from remembrance. We cannot wish to tread ignorantly upon those extinguished council-fires, whose light, in the days of aboriginal dominion, were visible over half the continent.

MONTOUR'S ISLAND.

In the letter of Richard Butler published in the former part of this number of the "Olden Time," he mentions a survey made by Col. William Crawford of this island for John Harvie, John Neville and Charles Simms, and intimates that it was a violation of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. He also fears that the survey may be used by the officers of the Crown, to excite the Indians against the colonies. Mr. Butler, was evidently not acquainted with the history of the title to the Island, and in justice to Crawford, Simms, Neville and Harvie, all of whom were whigs, we will here briefly state, that Douglass was a field officer in the British service during the war of 1755, that at the peace in 1763, he became entitled under the proclamation of the King to five thousand acres of land that he laid a warrant for a part of it upon Montour's Island, that he subsequently conveyed his title to Simms, from whom Neville and Harvie purchased shares. After the Revolution this Commonwealth granted the Island to Gen. William Irvine, against whom an ejectment was instituted by Simms, which was decided in favor of the latter by the Supreme Court of the United States. Subsequently the State granted to General Irvine the fine property now held by his grandson on the Allegheny river.

PITTSBURGH AND STAUNTON—A REMINISCENCE.

In the Virginia Convention, August 22, 1777, Whereas the quiet of this Colony will greatly depend upon the County Courts, attending particularly to the suppression of all irregularities in their respective Counties, and whereas the Courts held at Pittsburgh are by writs of adjournment, which renders it impossible to hold Courts for suppression of irregularities or trial of criminals at Staunton in East Augusta, when the adjournment is to Pittsburgh and so *vice versa*.

Resolved, That the Courts at Staunton and Pittsburgh, do proceed in all matters relating to keeping the peace and good behavior in all criminal matters, as if they were distinct counties.

SHANNOPIN'S TOWN.

Mr. J. C. G. Kennedy of Meadville, Pa., has very kindly lent us a large number of old maps, orderly books, letter books and other documents giving much information in relation to the early history of this country, of which we shall hereafter make free use; among these papers is a draught or map of Forbes' march to this place, and on it, Shannopin's Town is placed near the Allegheny River, and just below the mouth of the Two Mile Run.

A VERY RARE BOOK.

In the 2nd Volume of Mr. Sparks' excellent edition of the Life and Writings of Washington, at page 21, there is a note containing an extract from the Journal as published by the French Government. This extract relates the exploration of the Youghiogany by Washington in May 1754, and the authority quoted is "*Memoire contenant le Precis des faits &c.*" page 121.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE NOTE.

"The full title of the book, which is here quoted, is as follows: "*MEMOIRE contenant le Precis des Faits, avec leurs Pieces Justificatives, pour servir de Reponse aux OBSERVATIONS envoyees, par les Ministres d'Angleterre dans les Cours de l'Europe. A Paris; de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1756.*" Four or five years had been consumed in unavailing attempts at a negotiation between England and France, with the ostensible design on both sides to effect a reconciliation of difficulties, but neither party in reality was solicitous to avoid a war. At length hostilities were commenced in time of peace, and each nation charged the other with being the aggressor. Two French vessels on their way to Canada were taken by the British Admiral Boscawen, and to justify this procedure, the "*Observations*" above mentioned were published, in which the position was maintained, that the French had actually begun the war, by their encroachments with a military force on the Ohio frontiers. To repel this charge, the French government circulated among the courts of Europe the *Memoire*, whose title is here given, the object of which was to prove, that the British had been the first to transgress.

This *Memoire* is curious, as containing many official and other documents relating to the question at issue which are nowhere else to be found, and particularly selections from the manuscripts of General Braddock and of Washington, which the French had captured at the disastrous battle of the Monongahela. Among other things are Braddock's instructions, several of his letters to the ministry, and extracts purporting to be from a journal kept by Washington during his preceding campaign. With what fidelity these were published cannot now be known, but as it was the object of the *Memoire* to prove a contested point, it may be presumed, that such parts of the papers only were brought forward, as would make for that end. Coming out as they did, however, under the name and sanction of the government, there can be no room for doubt, that the official papers at least were given with accuracy.

These papers were originally published by the French government in a duodecimo volume. A copy was soon afterwards found in a French prize that was brought to New York. It was there translated into English and printed the year after its appearance in Paris. The translation was hastily executed, and is worthy of little credit, being equally uncouth in its style, and faulty in its attempts to convey the sense of the original."

A defective copy of the English translation was some time since very kindly sent to us by our esteemed friend James Veech, Esq. of Fayette County Pa. The introduction and the first four pages, several pages at the end and a number of pages in different parts of the body of the work were missing, but still we felt that we had obtained a great prize, and determined to spare no exertion to procure the missing portions. Our first application was to the Library at Washington City, where we had been informed there were several complete copies. Upon inquiry, however, it turned out that our informant was mistaken. We next applied to a very intelligent literary friend in Philadelphia, and received a similar reply. Our only resource was an application to Jared Sparks, Esq. of Salem, Massachusetts, who informed us that a copy existed in the Library of the University at Cambridge, to which he could have access, and would furnish the missing portions, upon our giving him a list in some intelligible shape, of what we wanted.

We immediately furnished him the list referring to the pages of our copy. In that list we mentioned as one missing portion, "all after page 328." This surprised him and led him to suspect that our book could not be the "Memoire &c." as his copy contained only 190 pages. He, however, very kindly sent us eighteen closely written pages of large sized letter paper, embracing all the missing pages which we had named prior to page 190 in the Cambridge copy. These, of course, did not all correspond with the pages in the edition which we possess, but proved satisfactorily that it was the same work, and that notwithstanding its present scarcity there were, at least, two English editions of the book.

A second application was, with great reluctance, made to Mr. Sparks by a letter indicating, not as before, the page of our book, but the words immediately before and after the missing portions in our copy.

In reply, we received sixteen pages, which makes the work complete.

We have concluded to republish the whole book, although it does not all relate to "the country around the head of Ohio," because it contains many documents not to be found in any other work, because it relates to the war which commenced at this place, because it gives the French account of the causes of that war, and finally, because, we could not give the spirit of the "Memoire, &c." as well in any other way. The work is, however, rare and of general historical interest, and we have even been urged by one gentleman, whose opinion on such subjects is high authority, to republish the whole of our defective copy, if we failed in our efforts to perfect it.

We cannot leave the subject, without expressing our grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Sparks for his kindness in furnishing us so much assistance, for which he declined receiving any return.

A Memorial containing a summary view of facts, with their authorities, in answer to the observations sent by the English Ministry to the Courts of Europe. Translated from the French, New York, printed and sold by H. Gaine, at the Printing Office at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover Square, 1757.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.—The public have been already informed, that the three French Volumes, of which the following is a translation, were found in a French Prize taken and brought into New York. Their authenticity cannot be suspected, as they were published at the Royal Office, and consequently, by order of the French King.

It is thought that a publication of them might be of service, as well to discover the vile misrepresentation of facts, of which the French have been guilty, as to make known the falsity of their pretensions to countries to which they have not the least shadow of right or claim.

As to the translation itself, it is as literal as the different idioms of the two languages would permit. In a work of this nature, correctness rather than elegance ought to be studied, and the reader would be willing to dispense with the beauties of expression, provided he has but a just and clear account of facts.

The translator begs leave to make use of this opportunity, publicly to acknowledge the obligations he is under to those *young gentlemen*, who so generously favored him with their assistance in this work, and to assure them, that he will ever entertain the most grateful sense of the favours they have conferred upon him.

A MEMORIAL, &c.

His Britanic Majesty hath caused to be sent to most of the Courts of Europe, a Pamphlet, entitled, “Observations on the Memorial of France, with an intention to confute the reasons upon which the King hath founded his requisition of the 21st of December last, and thereby to justify the refusal made by England, of restoring to France her vessels taken in full peace.”

A refusal so inconsistent both with that natural justice which constitutes the law of nations, as well as those pacific views to which his Britanic Majesty hath always professed an invariable adherence, could admit of no colour, but the imputation of hostilities to France, antecedent to those captures. To weaken the impression, which the outrages committed by the English Navy for a year past, must make on the powers abroad, it was necessary to be proved, or at least maintained, that the French were the aggressors; such accordingly is the principal fact advanced in these observations. They are intended to evince, that the French have committed hostilities in America, which have obliged the Court of London, to seek redress by just reprisals.

To these imputations, the Court of France will only oppose the most simple view of what has passed between the two nations, whether in Europe or America, since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The sovereigns

have for judges, the age in which they live, and posterity: it is the province of impartial history alone, to arraign their conduct, as it alone can defend them.

To put the recital of such important facts beyond the power of censure, nothing shall be advanced which is not either confessed by both Courts, or proved by authentic and incontestible pieces. [documents.] Those which were found in the Cabinet of General Braddock, after the engagement which cost him his life, have given such lights into the plan of the Court of London, as were not intended for public view, till after having tried all possible ways, sparing the English Ministry the mortification of seeing their system unavailed.

By the treaty of Utrecht, France had added to England, Nova Scotia, or Acadia, according to its ancient limits, as also the town of Port Royal. It is probable, that at that time, the Ministry of Great Britain had nearly the same idea of Acadia, properly so called, as had ever been entertained in France; but certain it is, that at that time they had never dreamed of extending this Province as far as the southern banks of the river St. Lawrence.

Accordingly the French settled upon the River St. John, all along the coast of the Etchemins, and from that coast as far as the River St. Lawrence; even the inhabitants of Minas, in the neighborhood of the Isthmus, and the other countries nearest to that which had been ceded to Great Britain, found no change in their condition, or in their possessions. The English neither attempted to drive them out of the country nor oblige them to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England.

These inhabitants continued peaceably to enjoy their estates under the protection of the King, whom they had never ceased to regard as their lawful Sovereign.

From the year 1744 until 1748, the scene of war was opened in America, as it had already been in Europe; but the object of it there was no other than that which had already divided the powers on the old continent,

There was then no question about the limits of the respective states, nor about the interpretation of the Treaty of Utrecht; the sense of which, clear in itself, seemed the more fixed by the peaceable possessions of both nations. Thus by the fifth article of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, (1748,) it was thought sufficient to stipulate a restitution of all, that one nation might have gained by conquest upon any of its neighbors since the beginning of the war. No body thought of going as far back as the Treaty of Utrecht; and by the ninth article, it was agreed, that all things should be restored to the same state as they were, or ought to have been in, not in 1713, but before the present war.

It was immediately upon the back of this peace, that the Court of London formed the plan of several new settlements, in which they consulted

rather the interest of their own commerce, than the articles of those treaties, which were renewed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle. The settlements were proclaimed in all their Gazettes. It was then proposed to carry as far as the River St. Lawrence, such settlements as should have been formed on the coast of Acadia, and those projected towards Hudson's Bay, were not to be confined by any limits.

The rumor of these preparations, and the importance of the project which they threatened, roused the attention of the King. He set forth his claims in a memorial, which he caused to be sent to the Court of London, in the month of June 1749, and proposed the nomination of Commissaries in behalf of both nations, who should fix in an amicable way, the boundaries of their respective colonies. This proposal was accepted, and in the memorial of the month of July 1749, by which his Britannic Majesty consented to the nomination of these Commissaries; he declared:

1st. That there was no design of any project on the side of Hudson's Bay. 2nd. That he had sent effectual orders forbidding any attempt either towards Nova Scotia, or Hudson's Bay, against the possessions or commerce of the subjects of his most Christian Majesty. 3dly. That he had not given any orders for forming settlements in that part of Nova Scotia to which France had formed any pretensions.

The settlement of Halifax, which had engaged the attention of England at that time, seemed in some measure, to avouch the sincerity of this declaration. The government of France could take no alarms from supplies which seemed only destined for this rising city. It is built on the coast of Acadia, at the mouth of the bay of Chiboucton.

One of the principal stipulations which accompanied the nomination of Commissaries, was, that the countries upon which they were to decide should suffer no alteration in the mean time. This stipulation was a consequence of the declaration expressed in the memorial of the Court of London. Thus the French continued to possess all the land which they had constantly inhabited ever since the treaty of Utrecht, whether between French Bay, (Bay of Funda,) and the River St. Lawrence, or in the Peninsula itself, from Minas, as far as the Isthmus, and from the Isthmus to the Bay of Chedaboucton. As to the banks of Belle Riviere (Ohio,) and the countries situated to the west of the Apalachian Mountains, the English had never any Forts or Trading Houses there. The Court of London had not even conceived any project of an establishment on that side, and there was no mention of that country, neither in the negotiations which preceded the Treaty of Utrecht, nor in those which paved the way for the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

APRIL, 1847.

NO. 4.

A MEMORIAL, &c., (CONTINUED FROM PAGE 144.)

The appointment of commissaries, and the mutual engagement which had preceded the appointment, gave room to think, that the Court of London would send to the Governors of the English Colonies in America, orders conformable to the measures taken in Europe. Nothing more nearly concerned the tranquility of the two nations, than to put an early stop to those little dissensions which might, in the sequel, occasion differences of most serious import. We shall pass over lightly, those broils which happened before the nomination of commissaries.

Mr. Mascarens, English Commandant, had intended to force the French inhabitants of St. John's river, to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England. Intimidated by his threats, they applied to Count de la Galissoniere, who to remove their fright, sent them an Officer with a small Detachment of Soldiers and Canadian Militia. M. De la Galissoniere afterwards writ to Mr. Mascarens, not only to complain of the attempt, but also to engage him to forbear those Hostilities, which the English had continued against the Abenakis, notwithstanding their having laid down their arms by order of the French their Allies, from the very first intelligence of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. These complaints laid the foundation of a very spirited Correspondence, which lasted for some time between the Marquis de la Jonquiere and M. Cornwallis, the former of whom had replaced the Count De la Galissoniere, and the latter Mr. Mascarens in 1749. It was taken for granted in Europe, that an end had been put to these altercations, by the order which the court of London declared in the strongest terms had been sent to the Governors of the English Colonies, in consequence of the appointment of Commissaries.

But the troubles were renewed as soon as Governor Cornwallis thought himself in a capacity to act without reserve. There were sent

him from England some troops, new Colonists, arms and ammunition ; whereupon he immediately attempted to drive the French out of that country, against which his Britannic Majesty had given assurance nothing should be enterprised until the Commissaries had come to a determination.

The first outrages were committed against the King's subjects settled along the north side of the Peninsula. The design of the English Governor was to force them to withdraw, in order to make room for his new Colonists. The most of the French families accordingly were obliged to abandon their possessions in the Peninsula, and flee to seek refuge in other parts of New France.

Encouraged by this success, Mr. Cornwallis had a mind to treat in the same manner the French that were settled without the Peninsula, on the rivers that empty themselves either into the * French-Bay, or into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Those being continually exposed to the most cruel treatment, having already suffered wrongs and outrages innumerable, thought they had a right to demand of the Marquis de la Jonquiere that protection which his Majesty owes to all his subjects. The Marquis de la Jonquiere sent them a small detachment of soldiers and militia under the command of an officer, to whom he gave particular orders, not to attempt any thing against the English ; but only to prevent their making any settlement on the lands in the possession of France ; and, above all, not to erect any sort of fortification himself. Nay further, the Marquis de la Jonquiere took care to acquaint Mr. Cornwallis of the step he had taken, his reasons for so doing, and the orders he had given to that detachment.

Mr. Cornwallis complained of that as an encroachment ; but as the orders of the governors of New-France were strictly observed, the dispute went no further.

A little after this, two things happened which occasioned mutual complaints ; and in which the two courts warmly interested themselves.

Mr. Cornwallis complained of the cruelty with which the Abenakis savages treated the English that fell into their hands. These outrages he imputed to the suggestions of the French, and the orders of the Marquis de la Jonquiere. The Marquis fully justified himself from that reproach ; and indeed the Abenakis had only gratified their private resentment. After the treaty of Aix la Chapelle the Indians, at the request of the French Governor, had ceased all hostilities, but the English would never look on them as comprehended in the general peace, but still continued to pursue them. Provoked at this, the Indians revenged their private injuries ; and so far was the Marquis de la Jonquiere from encouraging them, that he only sought how to calm their fury. The Court of London seemed satisfied with the explications of the matter that were sent to it, and nothing further was moved in that affair.

* The Bay of Fundy.

The other affair was more important in itself, and more dangerous in its consequences. Some months ago the English intercepted all the French vessels which were carrying provisions from Quebec either for the support of the troops posted on the frontiers of Canada, or for customary presents, which the French every year made the Indians in their alliance. They seized opposite to the Island of St. John, a vessel from Quebec, called the London, which having carried ammunition to *Chedai** was returning empty. Some time after, they attacked, and took in the mouth of the French Bay, a sloop of war called the Saint Francois, commanded by a King's officer, and having under its convoy a schooner laden with provisions and ammunition for the detachments on the river St. John. These captures and the plundering of some other vessels, were the subjects of complaints addressed to the Court of London. And as no satisfaction was made to France, the Marquis de la Jonquiere thought he had a right to make reprisals, and accordingly ordered three or four English vessels to be seized and confiscated.

These hostilities on the Sea, in which you will please to observe, the English were always the aggressors, were accompanied with several enterprises against those countries, in which, according to agreement, no innovations were to have been made. In the month of April, 1750, Gen. Cornwallis sent Major Lawrence on an expedition against the French forts on the Continent, which were commanded by Chevalier Lacorne. The design of that armament was inserted in the Boston Gazette in New England, and was looked on as an act of hostility on the part of the Governor. The same year in London, in the month of August, there were letters printed to this effect: Gen. Cornwallis hath not confined himself to his orders; but having built a fort at Minas, hath endeavored to penetrate into the continent, and to secure success to his designs, hath ordered a considerable fortification to be raised at a place called Chignictou, or Beau Bassin, situated on the Isthmus, and at the head of the French Bay. These places were certainly in the number of those, the property of which was the subject of arbitration,

The French officers, in order to protect the countries they were in possession of, against an invasion so openly avowed, were obliged to erect in their turn, two little forts, one opposite to Beau Bassin, at a place called Beau Sejour, the other at Gaspereaux, on the Bay of Verte, to serve as a magazine for the first, and to secure provisions for the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

What passed at the building of Beau Bassin, showed the necessity of these two forts, which were designed for a security to the Continent; for Gen. Cornwallis had marched some troops, with some pieces of cannon against the inhabitants of the Isthmus, who being terrified, set fire to their habitations, and betook themselves to flight. What is very singular, the English general, who had reduced the French and their Indian

* See No. 3.

allies to that cruel extremity, had the assurance to complain of an hostility on their part; an hostility indeed of a new kind, and which, as it appears, consisted only in abandoning their own country upon being invaded* by powerful strangers. These complaints therefore of Mr. Cornwallis, only produced a clearing up of the matter, which ought to convince the King of England of the regular proceedings of the Court of France, and the earnest desire it had to preserve peace.

The consequence of that explication was a formal declaration, in which his Britannic Majesty assured the King, that he had sent new orders to attempt nothing. The King on his part, repeated the orders he had already sent to the Marquis de la Jonquiere.

Whether the Court of London actually took any measures to prevent Gen. Cornwallis from going any farther, or whether the vigilance with which the Marquis de la Jonquiere provided against a surprise, put a stop to the proceedings of the English, they made no more attempts on that side, but kept themselves within their forts at Minas and Beau Bassin: The French remained quiet in those of Beau-Sejour and Gaspareaux.

From the year 1751, to the expedition in 1755, of which we shall give an account in the sequel, that part of New France suffered nothing from the neighborhood of the English Colonies.

A good understanding seemed again to be re-established, so that to put an end to the frequent desertions on that frontier, the Marquis du Quesne, the successor of the Marquis de la Jonquiere, and Mr. Hobson, who succeeded Gen. Cornwallis, agreed to a Cartel, which was strictly observed, from 1752, till last year.

But if tranquility seemed to be re-established on the side of Acadia, enterprizes and hostilities were multiplied on another side, in which the preservation of Canada was not less concerned. To fix the origin and date of these troubles, it is necessary to go back a little farther than the treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

The Ohio, or La belle Riviere, as it is sometimes called, forms a natural communication between Canada and Louisiana, by the Lake Erie, the French being concerned both to discover and preserve that communication, were the first that traced out the whole course of that river, part of which was visited by M. de la Salle, a gentleman of Normandy, in the year 1679. In 1712, the King in his Letters Patent for the settling of Louisiana, comprehended the river Wabash, which empties itself into the Ohio, and in general, all the rivers that fall into the Mississippi. Since that time, the Ohio has never been frequented by any but the French: nor did the English ever make any pretensions to the lands watered by it. The Apalachian mountains have always been looked on as the bounds of their Colonies.

* See No. 4.

The English Ministry, who neglected no means of lessening the trade of France, had for some time past envied it that advantageous communication. In 1749 some English traders began a contraband trade on that river; and it was discovered that they privately stirred up the Indians to a war with the French.

Whereupon the Count de la Galissoniere sent thither M. Celeron, an officer from Canada, with orders not to use any violence against these strange traders, but only to enjoin them to withdraw, and, in case of their obstinate continuance, to seize their goods. That enjoinment had all the effects that could be desired: The English traders were obliged to remove, and were strictly charged never to return thither. M. Celeron also, upon some of the traders producing their commissions from the Governor of Pennsylvania, gave them a letter for him; and in it he acquainted the Governor of what had passed, and prayed him not only not to grant any such commissions for the future, but also to put a stop to that contraband trade which was carried on by the English of his Government, on the lands of the King.

M. Celeron was no sooner gone from la Belle Riviere, than the English traders returned in crowds. They had orders from the Government to excite the Indians to take up arms against France, nay they even, brought them arms and Ammunition. In 1750 the Marquis de la Jonquiere was obliged again to send different detachment, always with the same orders not to use any violence against the English, and to keep in awe the Indians that had revolted. Accordingly they were used with all gentleness: however to prevent the progress of that contraband trade, it was thought necessary to seize four English traders, who in spite of the prohibition continued the trade, and who heretofore had been very much suspected of having endeavored to make the Indians revolt. They were conducted to Canada; The Marquis de la Jonquiere himself questioned them and their answers convinced him of the certainty of the advices he had received. It was proved that the Governor of Pennsylvania had actually sent arms ammunition and other presents to the Indians to excite them to a war. Hereupon the Marquis de la Jonquiere without hesitation sent these four Englishmen to France, and they were kept some time prisoners at Rochelle. My lord Albemarle, who was then English ambassador, and to whom they applied for protection, solicited their liberty, without complaining of the reason for which they were deprived of it. The King ordered them to be discharged, and some money to be given them: for which my Lord Albermarle thanked the superintendent of the Marine, as for a personal favor.

The moderation with which the French had conducted themselves, served to embolden the Indians on the Ohio, insomuch that there was room to fear a general conspiracy of those people, to whom the English

had promised all kinds of succor. Nevertheless, the Marquis de la Jonquiere did no more in 1751 than he had in 1750, but the detachments that were sent discovered that things were in a very great ferment, the ill effects of which it was absolutely necessary to prevent with all expedition. The Governor of Canada convinced that the colony was threatened with the invasion of Indians, was preparing to march a more considerable body of troops in order to keep them in awe, when he died in the month of March, 1752.

The Marquis du Quesne his successor, arrived at Quebec some months after. Finding the colony in the greatest alarm, he made all haste to carry into execution the designs of the Marquis de la Jonquiere; but several things having retarded the march of the detachments, all that M. de Saint Pierre, who had the command of it, could do, was to erect at a small distance from Lake Erie a block house, in which he passed the winter, from 1753 to 1754.

There he remained quiet till the month of October 1753, when he received a letter from the Governor of Virginia, summoning him to withdraw. To this he only answered, that he was on French ground, and by the order of his General, to whom he was going to dispatch that summons *

The Marquis Du Quesne, at the same time that he was informed of this plot of the Governor of Virginia, received advice from all parts of the preparations the English colonies were making to attack the French, under pretence of succouring the Indians. These preparations were approved of by the Court of London, inasmuch as they were published in all the English Gazettes since that time, even to the harangues by which the Governors of New England and Virginia labored to engage the Indians to a war with the French.

The English had already passed the Apalachian Mountains, with an army and some pieces of cannon, when M. de Contrecoeur, who had taken the command of that detachment, which formerly belonged to M. de Saint Pierre, advanced in the spring of the year 1754, with five or six hundred men towards the Ohio. He found the English actually entrenched in a little fort which they had built between the Ohio and Riviere le Beuf. (French Creek.) They did not exceed fifty in number, and were commanded by Capt. Trent.† They were summoned to depart immediately out of the Lands belonging to France. They obeyed, and quietly evacuated their fort; they also prayed M. de Contrecoeur to give

* The Governor's letter, and M. de Saint Pierre's answer, were some time ago inserted in the public newspapers in London. As to the rest of his conduct, he treated with all politeness the English officer who brought him the letter.

† We need scarcely tell our readers that the events here referred to took place at this point.

them some provisions, which they were in want of: he ordered them a plentiful supply, and destroyed their fort.

Having continued his march to the Ohio, he found on its banks the traces of a fort which the English intended to build, but which they had no doubt abandoned, at the news of his approach; there he settled and fortified himself. As they were working at the entrenchments of that fortification, which they called Fort du Quesne, M. de Contrecoeur was informed that a considerable body of forces was marching towards him. Hereupon he charged M. de Jumonville, with a written summons, in form of a letter, directed to the first English officer he should meet* It was dated the 23d of May 1754, and was almost of the same tenor with the summons before sent to Capt. Trent. He assured the English that no violence would be offered them, and furthermore, desired the English commander to return his answer by M. de Jumonville, and to treat that officer with that distinction and respect which he deserved.

That deputy set out with an escort of thirty men, and the next morning found himself surrounded by a number of English and Indians: The English quickly fired two volleys which killed some soldiers. M. de Jumonville made a sign that he had a letter from his commander; hereupon the fire ceased, and they surrounded the French officer, in order to hear it. He immediately ordered the summons to be read, and, as it was reading the second time, the English assassinated him. The rest of the French that escorted him, were, upon the spot, made prisoners of war, The only one who escaped, and who gave M. de Contrecoeur a circumstantial account of that affair, assured him, that the Indians who were with the English, had not fired a gun; and that at the instant M. de Jumonville was assassinated, they threw themselves in between the French and their enemies.

That murder produced an effect in the minds of the Indians which Major Washington, who was at the head of that English detachment, did not in the least expect. Even those, who, by the suggestions of the English, had been most animated against the French, came and offered to go themselves and revenge that crime.

The Marquis du Quesne would not accept the offer of a nation always cruel in their vengeance. He imagined at first, that the English would disavow the fact, and throw it upon the fierceness of some traders; but it has been since proved that nothing was done but by the orders of the Governors of the English Colonies. We have the original journal † of Major Washington, from which it is apparent that what he did, was by virtue of express orders which he had received. It was a thing before agreed upon, to attack the French wherever they could be met with.

As the English made no satisfaction to M. Contrecoeur, he, upon receiving instruction from the Marquis du Quesne, endeavored to discover the place where the murderers had retired to. He was informed that

* See No. 7.

† See No. 5.

Major Washington, with his detachment, was in a little fort, which the English had built, and called Fort Necessity, where he awaited the arrival of some new troops that were destined to come and attack Fort du Quesne. He thereupon sent out a detachment to recover, if possible, the French prisoners, or at least to oblige the English to withdraw from the lands belonging to the French. M. de Villiers, the brother of M. de Jumonville, was charged with that commission, and the instructions given him were entirely confined to that. He was also expressly commanded not to use any violence, if the English would withdraw.

He left Fort Du Quesne the 28th of June, and having passed the place where the murder was committed, and where the bodies of the French still lay, he arrived the 3d of July, in sight of Fort Necessity. The English who were without the fort, fired a volley, and retired into it. The fort was immediately invested, and attacked: The fire was very hot, but M. Villiers put a stop to it about eight o'clock at night, in order to propose to the English a surrender, to avoid an assault, which would have exposed them to all the cruelties of the Indians, even in spite of the French. The proposal was accepted, and the capitulation drawn up. The French would not make them prisoners, because they did not look on themselves as at war. They only demanded that those who escorted M. Jumonville should be returned. Major Washington engaged to send them to fort Du Quesne, and gave hostages for the performance of his promise. In fine, the English were suffered to depart with one piece of cannon, and all their effects.* They themselves acknowledged, in the first article of that capitulation, that the design of the French was only to revenge the assassination of a French officer, the carrier of a summons: The capitulation being signed, and the fort evacuated, the French destroyed it and returned to fort Du Quesne, with the two hostages.

But that agreement, to which seven or eight hundred Englishmen owed their lives, was by no means executed on their part. The prisoners were never sent back to fort Du Quesne: Out of twenty that were taken, seven have been sent to England, where they arrived separately, after having suffered the most unworthy treatment. Upon their arrival, they implored the assistance of the Duke de Mirepoix, who sent them over to France at the expense of the King. What is become of the rest we are altogether ignorant?

Perhaps the motive which induced the English to detain the prisoners, was a piece of cunning on their part. The French would have made no hesitation in sending back the hostages immediately; but these had their orders, and their stay at Fort Du Quesne was too advantageous for the English to think of having them removed. These hostages named, the one Jacob Ambrane, and the other Robert Stobo, were two very crafty spies, and found means to carry on a correspondence with the English Generals. These were found among the papers which fell into the hands

* See No. 9.

of the French after the battle of the 9th of July, 1775, the letters which Robert Stobo, one of the hostages had written to Major Washington.* That of the 28th of July, to which is annexed an exact plan of fort Du Quesne, which he had himself drawn, deserves above all a careful perusal. In it that spy gives a very just account of the situation the French were then in, their number and their forces: He shows both the time when the English might attack the fort, and the surest way to make themselves masters of it; but what is particularly to be remarked in that letter, is, that notwithstanding that Englishman seemed to be animated with fury against the French, yet he is obliged to do justice to their peaceable dispositions.

The English were quite of a different temper: Major Washington did not dare to attempt any thing, because he had not forces enough; but from that time all the English colonies were in motion to execute the plan of a general invasion, formed and sent from London, at a time when the Commissaries of the English nation at Paris seemed to have nothing more at heart, than to concur with those of the King in settling a plan of agreement.

The facts which I am now going to relate, deserve a very serious attention. It is with regret they are published, but the interest of truth requires it. Besides, it is necessary that Europe, which is threatened with a bloody war, should at length know the true authors of a rupture, the consequences of which cannot but be fatal.

On the 28th of August, 1753, the King of Great Britain sent the several Governors of the English Colonies orders respecting the manner in which they ought to conduct themselves with regard to the French. As we have not the orders, we can only judge of their contents by the behaviour of the English. From the instructions of his Britannic Majesty, found among the papers of General Braddock, we learn, that he exhorted the Governors to unite their endeavors for carrying into execution a studied and preconcerted plan.

On the 3d of July, 1754, his Brittannic Majesty gave new orders, for the execution of which, he sent the Governor of Virginia ten thousand pound sterling, with liberty to draw on England for ten thousand pounds more

On the 25th and 26th of October 1754, and on the 4th of November of the same year, the King of England wrote to the Governors of the English Colonies other letters, which contained schemes of military operations, since one of the instructions given the 25th of November 1754 to General Braddock, is to consult those letters and to act agreeable thereto.

All this could not be the effect or consequence of the quarrels that happened at the Ohio: For it was impossible that the news of them could have yet reached London.

* See No. 10.

Here then is plan formed, and operations commanded but what those operations were, it is of importance to examine.

In the month of September, 1754, Colonel Braddock was nominated by his Britannic Majesty, General of all the forces that were or that should be sent to North America. Immediately the troops prepared to embark in Ireland, which alarmed France. We shall see presently whether there was any foundation for mistrust.

Commodore Keppel was appointed to command the fleet, which was to favor the attempts they had determined to make by land; when the vessels were just ready to set sail, the King caused to be drawn up and signed at St. James', on the 25th November, an instruction, containing thirty articles.

As it referred to the orders which had been before given to the Governors of the Colonies, it does not contain a circumstantial account of the operations intrusted to the General. There we see that he was commanded to execute a plan, for doing which, he was to act in concert both with Mr. Keppel, and the Governors of the Colonies; that, that plan contained a train of military expeditions, of which he was to render an account to the Minister who was charged with sending him fuller orders from time to time

The Duke of Cumberland, to whom, as it appears, his Britannic Majesty committed the arrangement of the general plan, caused to be drawn up more particular instructions for General Braddock. They were contained in a long letter which was written to him by Colonel Napier, in the name of his Royal Highness, and which was dated the same 25th day of November, 1754. That letter,* which deserves a particular attention, contains the order and succession of those operations, which had been concerted long before at the Court of London. I say long before: For indeed Colonel Napier begins with informing General Braddock, who was then in Ireland, that the instructions he was going to give him in writing, were only the result of those which his Royal Highness had himself given the General in the several conversations he had with him.

I shall not here enter upon detail of all that is contained in that letter of instructions. It does more honour to the abilities of the General of an army, than to the intentions of the prince in whose name it was written. From that authentic piece, it is apparent, that for certain in the month of November, 1754, and very likely many months before, it was resolved on in England to attack Canada on all sides, and that the method of doing it, was settled and made known to the several Commanders, whose united endeavours were all to be directed to the same object. We see that General Braddock was to make himself Master of Fort du Quesne, thence proceed to Niagara, and to reduce that place; that Fort Frederic was to be attacked, and carried by the provincial Troops; and,

* See No. 12.

finally, that Colonel Lawrence was charged with reducing Fort Beau-sejour in the isthmus, and that all these expeditions were to be seconded by the motion of the fleet. The conquered Countries were afterwards to be protected by some Forts which they intended to build, and the Troops after a campaign, the operations of which were so well settled, were to be quartered in places where they could assist each other to execute, no doubt the sequel of the general plan, and those fuller orders which were promised the General.

While the ministers of Great Britain endeavoured to amuse the Court of France, and in the negotiation that was then carrying on, seemed to shew the most earnest desire to preserve peace, General Braddock, in concert with Commodore Keppel, Colonel Shirley, and the Governors of the English Colonies, laboured vigorously in America to hasten the preparations for war. What I am going to mention of these preparations, is taken from the General's own letters. They form a very singular contrast with the memorials which were some time ago delivered to the French ambassador at London, and which I shall not take notice of, till I have first given a full account of what passed in America, after the arrival of General Braddock.

He landed at Williamsburg, the Capital of Virginia, in the month of February, 1755* all the Governors of the several English provinces had already received their orders, which principally concerned the raising of troops and money. A common fund was to be established, for defraying the expenses of so important a campaign. As to the rest they were ordered to execute whatever was prescribed them by the General whose abilities for war, deserved to have been employed in a better cause.

He found at Williamsburg Sir John St Clair, who gave him an account of the disposition of the Colonies, and situation of the Troops. The independent companies of New York, were in a very bad condition, and among the provinces, Pennsylvania and Maryland were far from furnishing their quota. They had no occasion to complain of their neighbors the French, and they were not willing to interrupt an harmony that was advantageous to their trade and commerce. The orders of the court of London, and the letters which the General wrote upon his arrival, had a greater effect upon the other Colonies. In order to hasten the raising of money, the General engaged to make himself accountable for the manner in which it should be expended. Mr. Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, had found means to raise 20,000 pounds sterling. His example kindled an emulation in the other Governors; accordingly the assemblies of the Colonies were called to meet the month of May next ensuing.

General Braddock appointed Alexandria for the rendezvous of the Virginia and Maryland Troops; and, instead of quartering those he had

* See No. 13.

brought from Europe, as he at first intended, he ordered the transport vessels to sail up the river Potomac, and to land them at Alexandria, in order to form a camp there. In the mean time he took care to establish posts, that he might maintain a sure Correspondence between the army and the cities of Philadelphia, Annapolis, and Williamsburg. But as it was impossible to find forage beyond the mountains, before the latter end of April, he resolved not to begin his expedition till that time.

In the interim no time was lost. The General had begun with shutting up the ports, in order, says he, that no provisions may be carried to the enemy. To this was added another advantage, of keeping all things seeret, while they raised recruits, transported the artillery, and formed magazines of all necessary provisions and munitions. General Braddock and Commodore Keppel continually communicated to each other their views and projects; the latter furnished some cannon, of which the land army had not a sufficient number. These two principal men, were divided in one single point, which was how they should treat the French, whom they were quite sure of taking. The King of England had ordered them to be put on board the fleet and sent to France. Mr. Keppel, who had not been apprized, but by General Braddock, of that resolution, found it a very nice affair for him. Hitherto he had followed simply the directions of the Court, yet he was well assured of the desire of the Nation. He wanted however, to have it in his power to justify himself, in case the Nation should one day disapprove of these violences, so contrary to the law of Nations, and, therefore, he demanded of the General to send him positive orders.

As the number of the forces could not be too great with which they intended to fall upon Canada, on the one hand the Governors had orders to receive all French deserters to treat them well, and to furnish them with every thing that they wanted: on the the other hand, pains were taken to acquaint the Indians on Ohio, that the English had no other design, but to defend them against the encroachments of the French. And the Governors of the provinces did not fail to press them to repair to Wills Creek, on the frontiers of Virginia. However, we can say, in general, the English had very little assistance from those people. The Iroquois [the five Nations] did not in the least assist them. By Mr. Braddock's letters we see, that of the five Nations, none but the Aniez [Mohawks] seemed to show any attachment to them.

What means should be used in order to engage the Indians to take up arms against the French, and to ravage their Colonies, was one of those things which were debated in a grand Council held at Alexandria about the middle of April. On the 13th, Colonel Shirley, Governor of New England, arrived in that town. He was accompanied with all the other

Governors, and with Colonel Johnson, who, of all the English Officers, was the best acquainted with the genius of the Indian, and the manner of treating with them. Mr. Shirley, if we believe Colonel Napier's instructions, was fitter for Council, than for Command. However, he had with an armed force built a fort in the French country, up the river Nourentsouac [Kennebec] about thirty leagues from Quebec; that expedition, no doubt, gained him the friendship of the General, who had always a particular regard for him, and who, as we shall see, trusted him with one of the most important commands. He had already had an interview with him at Annapolis, in Maryland, and very likely they had settled between themselves part of those things which were the subject of deliberation in the general council at Alexandria. A copy of the resolutions there taken, was sent to Mr. Robinson, Secretary of State, in a letter which the General wrote to him the 19th of April. That letter informs us, that the plan of operations for the campaign was there finished. They seemed so well connected together, that Mr. Braddock is not afraid to say, that the success of one, assured him of the happy issue of all the rest.* And there might be reason for his writing so; for the ill success of one, has made all the rest to miscarry. Here then are the different parts of the plan, as they were settled at that Congress.

1st. It was agreed that in pursuance of the plan concerted between Mr. Shirley and Mr. Lawrence, Governor of Acadia, and formerly sent to the Court of London, Colonel Monckton should, without delay, attack the French forts on the side of Acadia. His orders for that expedition were immediately dispatched to him.

2d. It was agreed that Mr. Johnson, with a body of about four thousand four hundred men, raised in the Northern Provinces, should attack Fort Frederic [Crown Point] and make himself Master of it.

3d. That Mr. Shirley, with his own and Pepperell's regiments, should attack Fort Niagara, that he should be supplied with a sufficient number of Battoes to transport his troops and artillery thither by Lake Ontario, and that the garrison of Oswego should be reinforced, which was to assist him in case of need, and to favor his retreat, if he should be pursued.

4th. Besides the attack of Fort Frederic, Col. Johnson was charged with a important Treaty with the Iroquois [Indians of the Six Nations] whom they wanted by all means to engage in the war. General Braddock was not ignorant what formidable enemies these Indians are. He gave Mr. Johnson harangues ready made,† and two thousand pounds to be laid out in presents for them.

5th. The remaining Expedition, which the General reserved for himself, is but too well known by its ill success. It was resolved, that he should set out for Fredericktown the 20th of April, and to reach the Moun-

* See his letter of the 19th of April in No. 13. † See Nos. 13 & 14.

tains by the first of May, that he might be in a capacity to finish in the month of June, all that he proposed to execute on the Ohio.

Such exactly was the plan, which tended to open all the gates of Canada to the English, and to make them masters of the river St. Lawrence. Every commander knew his particular destination, and the connection his commission had with all those that ought to be executed at the same time. They thought, by hastening the invasion, to surprise the French. General Braddock having spent at Fredericktown the last of April and beginning of May, arrived the 10th of May at fort Cumberland, which place the army reached on the 17th, after a very painful march of twenty-seven days. This army consisted only of two thousand effective men, and so was only designed to reduce fort Du Quesne, and then to join at Niagara that body of troops commanded by Mr. Shirley.

It appears that Mr. Braddock had not given himself time to reflect seriously on the difficulties attending his enterprise. You see his disquietude and uneasiness painted in the letter he wrote the 5th of June to Mr. Robinson. He there complains of the little zeal with which the colonies had seconded him, of the dangers he had undergone, and the charges he had been at, in order to transport the artillery and munitions in a country as yet uninhabited, unknown, and unpassable, even for the inhabitants themselves.* He was yet at Fort Cumberland when he wrote that letter. He left that about the latter end of June, and all know what was the issue of the engagement on the 9th of July, which was unhappy for him, and which put an end to his life and projects.

Col. Johnson had set out immediately after the Congress at Alexandria, in order to execute on his part, the commission which was intrusted to him. He spent part of the month of May among the Five Nations, in order to animate them to the war. Nothing was spared to render the French odious. But neither calumnies nor presents had the desired effect. In vain did he endeavor to persuade the Mohawks, that the French had taken possession of different countries which belonged, not to the English (for he durst not go so far) but to the Indians, their allies. Those people, who have more sense than is commonly imagined, were not to be taken in that snare. They returned an answer full of compliments; but they refused coming to any conclusion, under pretence that it could not be done, but in a general council of all the nations. In fine, the speeches both of Colonel Johnson, and of the Indian Sachems, prove, that the latter did not think the English had any right to prescribe laws to them. Both nations treat with each other on a foot of equality. The Iroquois, who were then something inclined to make a treaty of alliance with the English, are become their mortal enemies, since the proclamations, by which the English commanders were so imprudent as to offer a reward for their scalps.

* How do these terms agree with that possession, which according to the English, secures to them the property of the countries West of the Apalachian mountains.

While that important treaty was carrying on, Colonel Johnson did not lose sight of the attack of fort Frederick. On the 5th of May he wrote to the Governors, who were to furnish him with men and artillery.* On the one hand that letter proves that he had resolved to bombard the Fort; and, on the other, that he flattered himself, he should be able to appear before the place, before the French had any intimation of his design. All things, says he, must be hastened, that nothing may retard our march, which might confirm the enemy in their suspicions of an attack, if unhappily they have any intelligence of it.

On the side of Acadia, Colonel Monckton, ready to execute the attack of the forts on the Isthmus, began with publishing a proclamation on the third of May, in the name of Governor Lawrence, by which all the inhabitants of the French lands beyond the Isthmus, are commanded to surrender themselves immediately to the English, and to deliver up all their arms.† That was certainly the country, in respect to which, his Britannic Majesty had, after the building of the English and French forts in the Isthmus, formerly promised, that no innovations should be made, till the commissaries had come to a determination. On the 16th and 17th of June following, Colonel Monckton bombarded and took the French forts of Beau Sejour and Gaspereaux.

We are now come to the time when the rupture between the two Courts became notorious; it would have been sooner, if the Court of France could have been sooner, informed of the resolutions of his Britannic Majesty: but at the very time that they executed in America the plan of invasion that had been concerted before the year 1754, the ministers of Great Britain sought to amuse the Court of France with negociations. They carried on a war beyond sea, and in Europe seemed wholly taken up with a system of pacification, and the means to prevent that rupture which England had resolved on.

That negociation, which Europe ought to be informed of, was only intended, on the part of England, to gain as much time as would be necessary to carry into execution all the parts of the plan. So we shall see, that the more condescending France showed itself, the more the British ministers invented new difficulties, to prevent the coming to an agreement, till, at length, General Braddock's letters having given the Court of London full assurance of success, his Britannic Majesty gave express orders to make open war by sea, and to attack, without distinction, all the vessels of the King.

The designs of the Court of London will be laid open, by a particular account of the Negociation, which engaged the most serious attention of the French minister, and which seemed to engage the attention of the minister of Great Britain, for the first six months of the year 1755.

In the Month of January of that Year, his Majesty, willing to prevent the ill effect of the accidental difference between the French and English

* See No. 15. † See No. 16.

on the banks of Ohio (the cause of which, as you have seen above, cannot be imputed to the French) sent to the Court of London, by the Duke de Mirepoix, a memorial, which had a tendency to prevent the effect of those troubles.*

In that memorial, which was dated the 15th of January, the King proposed to his Britannic Majesty, that, before they examined into the grounds and circumstances of that quarrel, they should first send positive orders to the respective Governors, to make them cease from all enterprises and violences; and command them, with respect to the territory on the side of OHIO, or LA BELLE RIVIERE, to put all things without delay, in the same condition in which they were, or ought to have been before the last war.

The King demanded, at the same time, that the claims respecting that country, should be amicably referred to the commissaries; and, that to remove all grounds of uneasiness his BRITANNIC Majesty, would explain himself fully, as to the destination and motives of that armament which was made in Ireland.

Had that proposal been accepted, Fort du Quesne, which General Braddock was commanded to attack, would have been destroyed by the French themselves, and the commissaries of the two Nations, would have examined in an amicable manner, the titles and possession of each Crown.

The answer to that memorial, was sent to the Duke de Mirepoix the 22d of January, 1755. That answer† has two parts; and if the first appeared captious, the second, however, contained nothing equivocal, and ought to have been sufficient to assure the French of the destination of the armament in Ireland.

1st, His Britannic Majesty demands, that the possession of that Territory on the side of Ohio, be put in the same condition, in which it was at the time of the Conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht; and, agreeable to the stipulations of that same treaty he would have the same done in all the other possession of North America; and agrees, when that is done, to treat about the instructions of the respective Governors, and making them cease from all violences, and to refer the pretensions of both to be quickly and finally discussed and adjusted, in an amicable manner, between the two courts.

2d, He declares, that the defence of his rights and possessions, and the protection of his subjects, had been the sole motives of that armament which had been sent to North America; which was done without intention to offend any Power whatever, or to do any thing which could infringe the general peace.

It was difficult to conceive, how the treaty of Utrecht could be made use of, to settle the rights of each nation on the Ohio; or how it was possible to demand, as previous to all negotiation, that the other lands in

* See No. 1.

† See No. 2.

dispute, should be restored to the condition in which they were at the conclusion of that treaty, and agreeable to the stipulations which are therein contained. At the time of the treaty of Utrecht, the possession was in favor of France, since it was France that ceded it. And the extent of that cession, and the meaning of the stipulations in that treaty, were the things, which it was agreed should be referred to commissaries; and the King of England had promised, that no innovations should be made, till they had come to a determination.

The Court of France, therefore, urged, [and at the same time that it assured his Britannic Majesty of the confidence it had in the sincerity of his declaration, it made it appear, in a reply, which was sent to the Court of London, the 6th of February] that the proposal made by his Majesty was the only one, which could effectually prevent trouble and uneasiness. It asserted, that that method was agreeable to the engagements of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, to the measures taken since that time, and to the conditions demanded by England itself, in 1750, and 1751. And indeed, as the design of that commission, to which the Court of London had agreed, was to determine the meaning of the 12th and 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht, the execution of those articles, could not be looked on as the basis of a negociation. That would have been to give up, as an undoubted principle and rule of action, the very thing that was submitted to the decision of commissaries.

His Majesty therefore proposed, 1st, that both Kings should command their respective Governors, to abstain from all violence, and all enterprises.

2d, That in all North-America, things should be restored to the condition in which they were, or ought to have been before the last war agreeable to the 9th article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

3d, That agreeable to the 18th article of the same treaty, his Britannic Majesty inform the commission established at Paris of his pretensions and the foundation on which they were built.

Finally, in answer to the enquiry of the Court of London in the last memorial respecting the design of those armaments which his Majesty had made, it was not dissembled, that those armaments, which the Court of London had published to all Europe, and which it had, in part, carried into execution; had made these precautions necessary, on the side of France.

At length, France was even willing to the difficulties raised by the Court of London. It consented to take for a provisional rule the condition in which things were immediately after the treaty of Utrecht; and the Duke de Mirepoix sent the English ministers, the plan of a preliminary agreement; the terms of which, it was believed, would be accepted.* The two sovereigns therein agreed to send orders to put a stop to all violences on both sides: it was moreover stipulated, that the French and

* See No. 4.

English should by agreement, evacuate all that country situate between the Ohio and the Apalachian mountains ; and that the French should retire beyond the river, and the English on this side the mountains : that all that country, during the time agreed on, should be looked on as neutral ; that neither nation should be at liberty to frequent it ; that all things should be restored to the same condition, in which they were, or ought to have been after the treaty of Utrecht, and that the forts, which had been built since that time, on the lands contended for, should on both sides be destroyed. Furthermore, their Majesties agreed, that in the space of two years, they would cause every matter in dispute to be examined and regulated, by commissaries nominated for that purpose.

This as you see, was to concur with the proposal, contained in the memorial of the Court of London, dated the 22d of January, 1755. The Court of France negotiated with much more sincerity than the ministers of his Britannic Majesty acted, when they assured the Duke de Mirepoix, that the armaments made in Ireland, and the fleet which had sailed from thence, were principally intended to preserve a subordination and good order in the English Colonies.

These very ministers, who feared nothing so much as an accommodation, and who knew that Mr. Braddock, and all the English commanders, were then on their march, were extremely surprised to see France comply, in some measure, with their first demands. They thereupon immediately changed the plan, which they themselves had proposed ; and on the 7th of March, sent to the Duke de Mirepoix, another plan of agreement, which they would never have devised, but because they well knew it could not possibly be agreed to*

The two Kings therein agreed to send orders to put a stop to all violences : but these were not to take place, until France had submitted to the following conditions. 1st, To destroy not only the forts situate between the Apalachian Mountains and the Ohio, but also to destroy all the settlements which lie between the Ohio and the Wabash, or the river St Jerome. 2d, To demolish Fort Niagara, and Fort Frederic, situate on Lake Champlain ; and, with regard to the Lakes Ontario, Erie. and Champlain, they were to belong neither to one nor the other, but should be equally frequented by the subjects of both crowns, who should have an equal right to trade there. 3d, To grant definitively to England, not only that part of the peninsula to the North of Acadia, which was then in dispute, but also the space of twenty leagues, from South to North, in all that country which reaches from the river Pentagoet, as far as the Gulf of St. Lawrence. 4th, and lastly, that all the southern bank of the river St. Lawrence, should belong to no body, but should remain uninhabited.

On these conditions his Britannic Majesty was willing to commit the decision of his other claims to the commissaries of the two crowns.

* See No. 5.

By that means the Court of London rendered the preliminary negotiation as long, and subject to as many difficulties, as the principal one, which was all that it desired. The Court of France, sensible that proposals so different from those first made, only tended to prevent the conclusion of a preliminary agreement, insisted on the necessity of beginning, before all things, with giving orders to prevent all hostilities, and to put a stop to all violences. It was also proposed, that the two Courts should mutually communicate to each other the orders they gave; but with this proposal,* so just and equitable, the British ministers absolutely refused to comply, in the answer they sent to the Duke de Mirepoix, the 5th of April, 1755.

There was therefore a necessity to return and combat that plan of agreement, on which the English ministry so much insisted. It was easy to prove, that the preliminary agreement which England demanded, began with absolutely deciding, to the prejudice of France, that controversy, which his Britannic Majesty had formerly promised to refer to commissaries. By that plan, the French irretrievably lost all trade with Canada by the River St. John, the King was stripped of the property of the three Lakes, which had always been looked on as part of New France, and the river St. Lawrence, which is the centre of Canada, became the boundary of that Colony. All these things were discussed in a letter of the 13th of April, 1755,† by which the French minister informed the Duke de Mirepoix of his Majesty's intentions, and his answer to the plan proposed by England, which was an absolute refusal to agree thereto.

On the 24th of April, 1755, the British Minister sent the Ambassador of France, a sort of an answer to that letter. They had not yet received advice of the last disposition of affairs in America, nor were they sure in England, that the operations, which they took so much care to conceal, could all be executed at the same time. It was therefore necessary still to prolong the negotiation. So we see, that in that answer,‡ the Court of London complains of the little attention that the French Minister had given to their reflections; and, they also add, that they are ready to enter upon an examination of all the points in dispute, and in the course of that examination, they will be able to discover wherein the principal differences consist.

His Majesty, even then, would have very willingly consented to enter upon the examination and discussion of those points which prevented the conclusion of a preliminary treaty. Of this, the Duke de Mirepoix assured the Ministers of Great Britain, on the 6th of May, 1755:§ And in the memorial which the Court of London ordered to be sent to him, on the 9th of the same month, they affect to testify the greatest satisfaction on that account. In these terms they express themselves.**

“The Court of Great Britain sees, with the greatest satisfaction, by the answer which his excellency the Duke de Mirepoix has sent to Mr. Rob-

* See No. 6. † See No. 7. ‡ See No. 8. || See No. 9. § See No. 10. ** See No. 11.

inson, the 6th of this month, not only that the Court of France continues in its resolution to maintain the peace, but that its dispositions are the same as those of England always have been, and that it is still ready to enter, without delay, upon the examination and amicable discussion of all the points in dispute. The court of London, in the whole course of this examination, has proceeded with so much candor and sincerity," &c.

It is not necessary to remark the date of that memorial. Every body may compare it with those of General Braddock's letters, which I have spoken of above, and may, if they please, reconcile that candor and sincerity with the hostilities which were then committed in America. At the very time that the ministers of Great Britain were giving such repeated and strong assurances to his Majesty's Ambassador, the people in London began to publish, that a rupture was resolved on, and that Admiral Boscawen, who had just set sail, had orders to attack the French vessels wherever he should find them. No longer did they assign the pretended encroachments of France as motives of the war; but the necessity there was to embrace this opportunity to ruin her commerce, and put it out of her power to re-establish her marine.

These reports were so current and uniform, that the Duke de Mirepoix thought it his duty to inform his court thereof. Which he did, notwithstanding the most formal and repeated assurances, which the Ministers of Great Britain gave him of their pacific intentions. They told him again and again, that he ought to give no credit, either to common reports or to the public newspapers. Nay, these Ministers went even farther: The Duke de Mirepoix having about the latter end of April manifested some uneasiness about the destination of Admiral Boscawen's fleet, and the orders that were given him, they positively assured him, that the English would certainly not attack first.

Considering the confidence due to so many appearances of sincerity, it is no wonder that France thought the negotiation ought to be continued. The English ministers had never made a proposal, but at the same time they gave sufficient room to believe that it was not their last. Therefore on the 12th of May, the Duke de Mirepoix sent them a memorial much more regular than the former,* and in which the rights and interests of both nations were examined, with relation to articles of a preliminary agreement, in which they could not yet concur.

The English Ministry made him wait an answer, till the end of May, and some days in June. On the 7th they sent it. Now if any one will reflect, that on the 8th Admiral Boscawen gave the signal of an open rupture by Sea, he must be convinced that the delay of that answer, made a part of that plan of action, which the Court of London had formed.

In that answer, which was deferred with so much address, the British Ministry repeated anew the grounds of all their claims in America. In it they found the right which England has to that dominion it exercises

* See No. 12.

over the Iroquois, on a pretended sale which the Indians have made to the English. In fine, they renew all the disputes about Acadia, the decision of which had been referred to the commissaries of the two nations. This was no longer to treat about a preliminary agreement, which might prevent hostilities, and put the two courts in a condition to treat in an amicable manner. It was to examine the very foundation of the controversy. But it then little concerned England, which had only sought to gain time, and now approached the period, when all their enterprises must become notorious.

On the 15th of July, the news came to London, of the capture of two French Men of War, the Alcide and the Lys. They had been attacked on the banks of Newfoundland by the Admiral Boscawen, who had talked of nothing but peace, till the moment he had brought his guns to bear, and was ready to pour a broadside into them.

If his Majesty's Ambassador at London, had room to be surprised at that news, he had much more reason afterwards, at the insinuation of one of the English Ministers, who would have him attribute such open hostilities to a mistake. The Secretary of State went so far as to endeavor to persuade him, that what had happened, ought by no means to break off the negociation. Doubtless, it would have been more advantageous for the British Ministry, that France had negociated till they could have had certain advice, that the general plan of invasion, the success of which was then looked on certain, was carried into execution.

From what is said, it is easy to judge, whether the departure of the French Ambassador from London was too precipitate, as the Court of Great Britain asserts, in the memorial which I have answered, only by a detail of facts.

What has passed since his departure, either in Europe or America, is too public, and too well known, to need a relation here. The account I have given, both of the military operations, and political negotiations of England, is sufficient to give a just idea of the causes of the rupture, and of the views which have influenced both powers.

Such are the facts. England cannot deny one of them. Let Europe now pronounce.

END OF FIRST VOLUME.

A COLLECTION OF PAPERS,

TENDING TO VINDICATE THE CONDUCT OF THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN ANSWER TO THE OBSERVATIONS SENT BY THE ENGLISH MINISTRY TO THE SEVERAL COURTS OF EUROPE.

PART FIRST.—NO. 1.

An extract of a Memorial from the British Court, delivered to the French Ambassador the 24th of July, 1749, in answer to that which was sent from the French King, relating to the settlements projected by England.

His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, having considered the memorial which was presented to the Duke of Bedford the 7th of last month, concerning Nova Scotia, by M. Durand, one of the Ministers of his most Christian Majesty at the Court of England, ordered, that the different observations which appear necessary to be made on the said memorial, be represented in the following manner to the said M. Durand.

The two points concerning which the most Christian King demands an explanation; to wit, the settlement of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and the project attributed to Gov. Dobbs, are in themselves so little liable to any objection from any power whatsoever, that it will be easy to remove the bad opinions the court of France may have conceived, by the false reports which may have been suggested to him on that account.

The only thing which might in justice give umbrage to the Court of France, would be an apprehension founded on reason, that the King had given orders to extend the settlements in Nova Scotia, farther than his Majesty had a right to do, by the 12th article of the treaty of Utrecht.

But such an apprehension falls of itself, since the King of Great Britain, in conformity to the French King's desire, agrees to submit the regulation of the limits of Nova Scotia to commissioners, according to its ancient bounds, and also the limits and the right of possession of the several islands and countries in America, which have been in dispute between the two nations: nor can it be supposed the King would extend settlements, which must of necessity be attended with vast expense, in a part of the province he has not a clear and undoubted right to.

As the limits, therefore, of Nova-Scotia are to be submitted to the examination of commissioners, it is needless to answer here all the assertions contained in the memorial of M. Durand upon that head. M. Durand has also lightly touched in his memorial, on the plan projected by Governor Dobbs, as tending to encroach upon the trade which the French have with the Indians towards the North of Canada, and to extend the British settlements in those parts, to the prejudice of the rights of his most Christian Majesty; he did not enter into particulars thereupon, the objects of the said plan not being sufficiently known in France.

But it would be very easy to give the Court of France an entire satisfaction on that article, assuring them that this plan, which was debated in parliament, had absolutely no other intention than to open an exclusive commerce to the whole Nation, which had been practised a long time by a privileged company, under a private patent, and that only with an intent to extend a general trade in those parts, and not to enlarge the possessions of the Nation, at the expense of any other.

But as this plan was not approved of in parliament, it is now laid aside, and consequently out of the question ; nevertheless, had it been put in execution, it cannot be conceived, how it could have given the Court of France the least grounds of complaint, as it had only a relation to an affair that concerned the subjects of the Kingdom alone ; that is to say, whether a trade long time practised at Hudson Bay, should be continued by a private company, exclusively, or should be open to all his Majesty's subjects in general.

His Majesty, having thus explain'd his sentiments, makes no difficulty to declare, in answer to the demands made by the Court of France.

1st, That effectual orders have already been given not to commit any attempt, either on the side of Nova Scotia, or on that of Hudson's Bay, against the possessions of his most christian majesty's subjects, or that might, in any respect, derogate from the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, or from any former engagements actually existing between the two Crowns.

2d, That his Majesty consents to nominate forthwith two commissioners, to confer at Paris, with those who shall be appointed by his most Christian Majesty, concerning the respective limits, which are actually in dispute between the two crowns ; not only those which concern Nova Scotia and Acadia, but also the limits in other parts of that continent, where-soever the settlements of the two nations border one upon another ; as also to determine (according to a proposal made in a former memorial) which are the islands belonging to each crown, and which are to remain neutral

Before his Majesty approved of any settlements raised by his subjects in that part of Nova Scotia, to which (though undoubtedly belonging to the King) France has laid claim, he consented to submit his pretensions to the decision of Commissioners, as a convincing proof of his desire to preserve the union and harmony so happily restored between the two crowns.

NUMBER II.

A letter from my Lord Albermarle, to M. the Marquis de Puyzieulx, complaining of a detachment sent by M. de la Jonquiere, to protect the inhabitants of Chiboudi.

Paris, March 25th, 1750.

I have this moment received a letter from the Duke of Bedford, wherein I have orders from his majesty, to represent to your Excellency the

causes of complaint, which the Governors of his most Christian Majesty in America have occasioned, by encroaching upon the territories of his Majesty in Nova Scotia. It is with the greatest reluctance, that his Majesty finds himself under a necessity of making representations against any of the subjects of his most Christian Majesty; and more so, having entertained some hopes, that after those which I had made, by his Majesty's orders in September last, and the answer of your Excellency, concerning the settlement which M. de la Galissoniere had undertaken at the River St. John, positive orders had been sent to the French Governors, not only to terminate every cause of dispute, but also to avoid for the future, with the greatest care, all proceedings which might give rise to new debates. Nevertheless, his Majesty has now received letters from Governor Cornwallis, of Nova Scotia, wherein he complains, that M. de la Jonquiere sent troops to Chiboudi, which is one of those districts that had sent deputies to the said Governor, at his arrival in that province, in order to submit themselves to him, and to receive the orders of his Majesty. There can be no stronger proof, that those inhabitants looked upon themselves as subjects of Great Britain, since the province of Nova Scotia was annexed to that Crown.

It is needless to repeat here the reasons which authorize his Majesty to demand that Justice which is due to him on the account of the new proceedings of M. de la Jonquiere; his most Christian Majesty cannot be ignorant of them. After the express orders his Majesty sent to all his Governors, to bear continually in mind to adjust all those disputes in an amicable manner, and consequently to avoid with care all manner of hostilities,* unless a just defence of the honor, and of the rights of the Crown, should indispensably require them. Without mentioning his Majesty's incontestable right, there is a reason of mutual obligation, to determine his most Christian Majesty to give the like orders to M. de la Jonquiere, that it belongs to him to restore all things in their former state, until the commissioners who are empowered to decide on the limits in America, have settled the decision thereof, and have directed the rights of the two crowns, and that he desist from every attempt which might give the least interruption to the union so happily restored between both Nations. The King of Great Britain is persuaded that his most Christian Majesty will be so much the more inclined to make use of such friendly and wholesome measures, as small contests of this kind draw after them much greater, unless timely prevented.

I am, &c.

Signed,

ALBEMARLE.

* This is what Governor Cornwallis has not done, since it is certain, that the fort at Mines, and that at Beau Bassin, were built before the French raised those of Beau Sejour and Gasparcaux, and that the latter were built only after the violent measures taken by Governor Cornwallis, against the inhabitants of the Isthmus, which had obliged them to retire to the inner part of the lands. This is a fact which the English cannot deny, as the era of the building of those forts is well known to both nations.

An answer from the Marquis de Puyzieulx, to the foregoing letter.

Versailles, March 31st, 1750.

SIR:—I received the letter your excellency was pleased to honor me with, dated the 25th of this instant, containing the complaints your court makes against the Marquis de la Jonquiere, Governor of New France, for sending a detachment of troops to Chiboudi, as the Count de la Galissoniere, his predecessor, had done heretofore to the river St. John.

The British Court has no doubt seen the reasons, which have authorized the conduct of these two Governors in a memorial delivered to them in June last, wherein it was demonstrated, that the river St. John and Chiboudi are on the continent of Canada.

As to the submissions which some of the inhabitants of Chiboudi are said to have made to the English Governor of Nova Scotia, before the arrival of the detachment from Canada, the said inhabitants being intimidated by that Governor, those submissions would not acquire any right to Great Britain, nor prevent their being settled on French ground; they would only prove* that if there was any commotion upon that frontier, it was occasioned by some innovations brought about by the English Governor, and certain it is, that the precautions which the French Governors thought it their duty to take, were with no other view than to remove from the said inhabitants the fear of those innovations.

But there are to be no more debates on that head amongst the respective Governors, by virtue of the orders they have received to make no alterations until the limits are settled, which is to be done by commissioners; orders, which M. de la Jonquiere could not have received when he sent the detachment to Chiboudi, since they could not be sent over to him before the latter part of the winter, as 'tis well known in England.

Lastly, this ought to make us the more sensible of the necessity there is to endeavor to forward the business of the Commissioners who are to regulate the limits of the two crowns in America; and the King orders me to renew his instances on that head, with his Majesty the King of Great Britain; his Majesty insists thereon with so much the more earnestness, as this work tends to keep up that good harmony, so happily restored between the two crowns, and the subjects thereof; and his Majesty has nothing more at heart, than to procure the support and preservation thereof.

I am, &c.

Signed,

PUYZIEULX.

NUMBER III.

A Memorial delivered by order of his most Christian Majesty to my Lord Albermarle, the 5th of January 1751, and sent the same day to M. the Duke of Mirepoix in England; containing the complaints which France makes concerning the hostilities committed and allowed of by the English.

* These submissions forced from some inhabitants, were in effect a sequel of the threats of the English Governor, and prove a recent attempt. How came it to pass, since the treaty of Utrecht, that England has had no thought of making that country acknowledge the authority of its government? We are yet in doubt as to the submissions of the inhabitants; but certain it is, the major part of them implored the protection of the Marquis de la Jonquiere against violence

The public newspapers have made known, some months since several attempts which the English have made against some French vessels in the Bay of St. Lawrence, and upon the coast of New France, but this news seemed so contrary to the right of nations, and the friendly disposition of which the British Court has given so many marks since the restoration of peace, that no credit could be given to them : but now to our greatest surprise, we hear, by letters from Canada, and Cape Breton, that English vessels act in those Seas as in the time of an open war. During the whole summer last, those vessels were spread about, even to the utmost part of the Bay of Saint Lawrence, stopping and insulting all the French Sloops they came across. They attempted to take away a brigantine which was at anchor in the river St. John, to which place she had been sent by the intendant of Canada, to carry provisions to the detachments of the King's troops which are in those parts ; and, finding it could not be done, an English captain took some sailors out of the brig, who have since been sent by Governor Cornwallis to Cape Breton. But, without entering into particulars concerning all the violences and irregularities of which the English have been guilty, we shall only mention here two facts.

The first is, the taking of a French Sloop called the *London*, capt. Jalin, by two *Snows* of war. This Sloop was sent by the intendant of Canada to Chedaick, in the Bay of St. Lawrence, there to carry provisions to the King's Troops, as also the annual presents, which it was customary for his Majesty to make to certain Indians belonging to a French mission ; the said presents consisted in ammunition, different sorts of goods, and provisions. This said sloop returning from Chedaick, where she had landed cargo, was taken, towards the end of the Month of August, between the coast of Canada and the Island St. John. She was afterwards sent to Chibouctou, where she was condemned.

The second, is the taking of a French brigantine, by a frigate belonging to the King of Great-Britain, the circumstances whereof, will undoubtedly, appear to his Britannic Majesty more aggravating than the first. The Marquis de la Jonquiere, being informed of the conduct of the English vessels had often sent complaints thereof to Governor Cornwallis though to no purpose ; and having occasion to send the necessary succours to the detachments of the troops which are towards the river St. John thought it necessary, in September last, to fit out a Brigantine at Quebec, called the *Saint Francis*, in order to convoy a schooner laden with the succours afore-mentioned. He gave to Mr. Vergor, Captain of the troops, the command of the brig aforesaid, carrying ten small guns, and sixty men, including thirty soldiers. Captain Vergor was positively forbidden in the instructions which were given him, to undertake any thing against any of the English vessels he should chance to meet ; and in case he found any one that would oppose him in his passage, his orders were not to fire until the English had begun, and to let them know first, that

he was commander of a vessel belonging to the King of France fitted out to carry provisions to his troops.

On the 16th of October, the Brigantine and schooner being two leagues to the westward of the Isles of Seal, capt. Vergor discovered at eleven in the forenoon, an English frigate making towards him, and crowding sails, being right before the wind presently came up to him. In about half an hour after, the frigate fired a ball a-stern of the Brigantine, and hoisted her flag. Whereupon capt. Vergor ordered his streamer and flag to be hoisted, and fired one gun, without slacking sail. The frigate, still continued her pursuit, came in half an hour's time within reach of a six pounder, then fired a second gun, and hoisted her streamer. Soon after which a third gun was fired, the bullet whereof went through his fore-top sail. Then he prepared for an engagement, in case of a fresh insult: however, the English frigate coming close up, again, fired a fourth gun, with ball, into captain Vergor's sails. According to the orders the Marquis de la Jonquiere had given him, he hailed the vessel in French telling them he was commander of a vessel belonging to the King of France, and that he was carrying provisions and ammunition to the troops of his Majesty. Whereupon the English commander made no further answer, than to tell him to bring to, or he would sink him. To which the French captain ordered the same words to be repeated in English, which had before been spoken in French. But all the answer he could get, was a whole broadside, and a volley of musket-shot. The fight lasted near five hours; but the French Brigantine was at last so torn and shattered in its sails, and rigging, that capt. Vergor was obliged to strike, after having had several men killed and wounded. His long-boat being also in a shattered condition, the English captain sent his own to take him on board, when Capt. Vergor discovered that it was the Albany frigate, carrying fourteen guns, twenty eight swivels, and one hundred and twenty men, commanded by captain Rous. This captain took also the crew on board, as also the soldiers belonging to the Brigantine; and left none but the wounded, then sailed immediately for Chibouctou, leading the brig aforesaid in tow. They arrived at Chibouctou the 19th of October. The next day, Governor Cornwallis sent for capt. Vergor, who was immediately conducted from on board the frigate to his house, in one of whose chambers he was confined. Governor Cornwallis came to him half an hour after, and having given his people orders to lock him in with the said Vergor, told him he was sorry for what had happened, that capt. Rous had lost a great many men. He answered, that he was very sorry for it himself, that it was altogether owing to capt. Rous whose conduct he immediately related. Governor Cornwallis answered, that if things were as he said, Capt. Rous was in the wrong, and, furthermore, would call his council the next day to decide thereon, which he accordingly did. Capt. Rous, his mate, and some of the company belonging to the Brigantine, were called to it: capt. Vergor was also called, who declared, the

facts in the same manner as related heretofore : capt. Rous could not but own, he had first fired a gun with ball in the fore-mast of the Brigantine. Whereupon the Governor arose, and having ordered all the officers belonging to the Brigantine, who were in a room adjacent, to come into the council chamber, they were asked who had fired the first gun? and they all replied that capt. Rous had fired two volleys. Immediately the declaration of capt. Vergor was read before them and they all affirmed it true in every circumstance. Nevertheless nothing was determined, either at that sitting, nor at five or six others which were since assembled. But two or three days after the first sitting, Governor Cornwallis asked captain Vergor what he would require to repair the brig fit for sea service, offering to provide him with all that was necessary for that purpose ; he answered, he could not do without the main-mast, and four pieces of cordage. The Governor promised he should have them, and accordingly ordered one to be cut down, which the crew belonging to the Brigantine, drew out of the woods, and told capt Vergor to see that his sails, his rigging, and every thing else he had occasion for, were mended. Whilst this captain was about repairing his vessel, capt. Rous applied to the admiralty, where the Brigantine was condemned. In a letter which Governor Cornwallis wrote to M. Desherbiers, a commander at Cape Breton, as he was sending him back M. Vergor, and the men belonging to the brig, as also their arms, he saith ; that the Admiralty pronounced it a lawful prize, for having carried on an illicit trade within the Province of his Britannic Majesty. These are the terms he makes use of.

There is no necessity of any *pro* or *con* in an affair of this kind. Here is a vessel fitted out for the service of his Majesty, commanded by one of his Majesty's officers, attacked as in a time of war. So good an opinion we have of the integrity of his Majesty the King of Great Britain's intentions, that we cannot attribute an attempt so contrary to all manner of laws, to any order from his said Majesty ; but, on the contrary, that as soon as he is acquainted with the truth of these facts, we may rely entirely on his equity, concerning that Justice and satisfaction these captures call for, as also orders to be given to prevent hereafter the like abuse.

*An extract of a letter from Capt. Rous, Commander of his Majesty's frigate Albany. Dated, Chibouctou, Nova Scotia, Oct. 31st, 1750.**

The day after having left the river St. John, as I passed Cape Sable about noon, I discovered a Brigantine and a Schooner, turning the Cape, about two miles from the Coast, steering North West ; and as I had before been informed of a Brigantine which was a pirate on that coast ;† I immediately gave her chase in order to speak to her. As soon as she found out who we were, she made a signal to the schooner which was with her, who thereupon altered her course, west south-west, coming

* That extract was given to his Majesty's minister by the English Ambassador, in order to excuse the conduct of the English. Capt. Rous suppresses several essential circumstances therein, and alters the facts ; nevertheless he is obliged to own that he was the aggressor.

† By this bad excuse the English always cloak their hostilities at sea.

pretty near gun-shot of the brig, which was steering W. N. W. I fired one gun at the forepart of the brig, to bring her to, while the schooner was making off with all speed. The Brigantine put up French colors, and fired also one gun; the schooner did the same, but put up no colors. When I came within gun-shot, I fired another right ahead of her, which she returned, and furled her main sail to make room for her small arms to play, and prepare to us. We hailed them when we were near enough to them, but they returned no answer. I ordered a six pounder to be fired upon them, and continued hailing. Soon after coming up close to her, she presented her head right upon our starboard, made one-half turn to the southward, in order to present us her larboard, and gave us her whole broadside, besides small arms, while we continued hailing without answer. I returned immediately a broadside, and the fight lasted two hours and a half, after which some of them hailed us in English that they would not fire any longer. I ordered them to strike, and sent my Lieutenant on board, who brought me the Captain of the Brigantine, and his papers, whereby I presently discovered it to be the *St. Francis*; Brigantine, of about one hundred and twenty tons, mounting ten guns, and four swivels, having sixty men on board, including thirty soldiers; that she had been laden at Quebec with arms, ammunition, clothing and provisions for the Indians, and had been fitted out to convoy the schooner aforesaid, which had made her escape during the engagement, and was also laden with like effects.

I have brought the brigantine to this port, where she has been condemned by a Court of Admiralty, for carrying on a prohibited trade. Here is annexed a copy of the sentence pronounced by the said Court; your Excellencies will be pleased to peruse it.

We had two men killed and one wounded, during the fight. On board the Brigantine were six killed and seven wounded. The commander of the Brigantine, saith she is a King's ship. Though he has no commission from the Crown, only an order from the Governor of Canada, to command the said vessel, and to convoy the schooner to the river St. John; where, after having unladen the ammunition, and the presents destined for the Indians, she was to return to Quebec, there to be disarmed.

I must inform your honors, that when I came here last, I saw his Majesty's frigate the *Tryal* returning from a cruize in Bay Vert, where, upon the 8th of August last, she had taken a French sloop called the *London*, from Canada, *Le Gras*, Master; and having examined his papers, found that the business of this vessel was to carry ammunition, provisions, and other goods to the Indians, who are in a province belonging to his Majesty; Whereupon the *Tryal* took her, and brought her to this port, where she was condemned by his Majesty's Court of Admiralty, for having carried on an illicit trade.

NUMBER IV.

An Extract of a letter written by M. de la Jonquiere, Governor of Canada, to Governor Cornwallis, of Nova Scotia, dated Quebec, April 2d, 1750.

The King my master is already acquainted with the orders which I have given to the several officers that were sent by me to command the forts aforesaid, to wit, to allow nobody to settle near them, and even oppose such by force of arms as would offer to molest them, after my orders were made known to them: However, I shall give them no orders to raise any fortifications, until the commissioners, who are undoubtedly nominated, have regulated the true boundaries of Nova Scotia, and which are to belong to New France. Those limits have never been regulated, since you acknowledge that commissioners are nominated for that purpose; and that is the very reason which engages me to send troops to keep the said stations, until matters are adjusted between the two crowns.

I hope you will seriously observe this letter which I send you. You have no doubt acquainted the King your master of all that is done; and as you have given me to understand, that you will do your duty whilst you are waiting for his Majesty's order, I also give you notice, that I shall not fail to do mine.

A report prevails here, that Mr. Goram has arrested M. Girard the abbot, who is the curate of Capeguil; I know not the reasons for such a proceeding; but as he is a subject of the King, my master, I desire you would send him home forthwith.

A Memorial containing the complaints of England, and delivered to M. the Marquis de Puyzieulz, the 7th of July, 1750, by my Lord Albemarle.

Be it known, that the subscriber hereof, an Ambassador Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary, of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, has received orders from the King his master, dated at Hanover the 26th of last month, to represent to the court of France, the extreme surprise his Majesty is in, to learn the rash proceedings of the French in America, under the direction and authority of M. de la Jonquiere, who has made no scruple to avow them.

Governor Cornwallis, of Nova Scotia, acquaints the Duke of Bedford, in a letter of the first of May, this present year, that the French have taken possession of all that part of Nova Scotia, on the other side of the Bay of Fundi,* from the river Chignecto, to the river St. John, fixing the first for the limits of that province,

They have reduced Beau Bassin to ashes, and transported all the inhabitants and their effects beyond the river,† have forced them to take up

* How could they take possession thereof, seeing the English own themselves, that the French were possessors of it ever since the treaty of Utrecht. But M. de la Jonquiere sent a detachment to prevent the English from executing a project which they themselves had formed to take possession thereof.

† By Beau-bassin is here meant a French settlement at Chignecto, which the French were obliged to quit. Setting fire to ones own habitation, upon being frightened by the news of an invasion, cannot be called committing a hostility.

arms, and have formed them into companies; so that Mr. Lacorne, (a French officer) has there a body of two thousand five hundred men, composed of regulars, Canadians, and Indians.

M. de la Corne, and Father Loutre (a French missionary) have often threatened the inhabitants of that province, and as often promised them presents, in order to persuade them to leave the country.*

The inhabitants do not scruple to declare, that these proceedings are contrary to their inclinations; but that Messrs. Lacorne and Loutre, threaten to set the Indians on to murder them, if they tarry in the province.

They protect and support, in open view, all those Indians who are willing to side with them, although our most inveterate enemies. They detain the subjects of the King of Great Britain,† make his officers and soldiers prisoners. They stir up the French subjects of his Majesty to rebellion, and threaten to cut off all those who remain true. They send the Indians who are their slaves, all over the province, who commit all manner of cruelties.

They have set fire to some towns, which they themselves acknowledge were belonging to his Majesty.‡

Gov. Cornwallis sent Major Lawrence, with a detachment to Chignecto, who arrived there the 20th of last April; they saw the town of Chignecto burnt to ashes, the French colours planted on the bank, and M. de la Corne at the head of his detachment, daring Major Lawrence, and declaring he would defend that country to the very last, as a place belonging to France.

M. de la Corne having desired a conference with || Maj. Lawrence, the latter went to him, accompanied by two captains, and having asked said Lacorne by what orders he thus invaded the territories of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and there committed such outrages; he answered, that what he did was by virtue of the orders of M. de la Jonquiere, who had commanded him to take possession of Chiboudi, the river St John, Maren Cook, Pitcodiack, and all that part of the country, as belonging to his most Christian Majesty, and would at least keep and defend it, § until the limits were settled by the commissioners appointed for that purpose.

Although the detachment of regular troops, commanded by Major Lawrence, was little inferior to that which M. de la Corne headed, yet the ¶ orders of his Majesty detained him from committing any act of hostility.

* How shall we reconcile the leaving of a country which is possessed by the French, with an invasion laid to their charge.

† The Ambassador ought to have named some of them. But that was out of his power.

‡ There was not a town in the Isthmus; all that were burnt were a few cabins, which were built at Chignecto, to which the Indians set fire themselves, when they and the French were obliged to fly at the attack of Governor Cornwallis.

|| M. de la Corne could not come with any design to attack, seeing his design was to come to a parley. Governor Cornwallis was there before him, what could his business be at that place? which was possessed by the French at least till then.

§ Keeping and defending cannot be called an invading; that is true.

¶ How came it to pass that those very orders did not keep him from advancing so far with his troops? He acknowledges that the detachment of M. de la Corne was superior to his; that detachment was no doubt a disappointment to his designs; it was therefore very well done in the Marquis de la Jonquiere, to send troops to oppose the invasion.

His Majesty cannot imagine that the Court of France has any knowledge of such outrages, nay, he is so convinced of the equity of his most Christian Majesty, and of his desire to maintain a good understanding between the two crowns, that he will make no scruple to disapprove of them.

Governor Cornwallis never had the least intention to form any settlement beyond the limits of the Peninsula,* or in such parts of the country, as France did not look upon to belong to him; nor was it ever the design of his Majesty in settling his province of Nova Scotia, to encroach upon the rights of his most Christian Majesty, or to take possession by force of arms of any country, whose right and property his Majesty had before agreed should be determined by Commissioners nominated for that purpose, until the regulation of the limits be effectually decided.

The Ambassador is ordered to require a disapprobation of M. de la Jonquiere's conduct; and that positive orders be sent him forthwith to withdraw his troops, as also the Indians who are under his command, from off those places belonging to Great Britain; that satisfaction be given for injuries committed, and for the wrongs which the subjects of his majesty have suffered. His Majesty is fully persuaded, that the Court of France will readily consent to deliver the said Ambassador, a duplicate of whatever orders may be sent to the Governor of Canada, that he may send it to his Court. Compeigne, July 7th, 1750.

Signed, ALBERMARLE.

A letter from the Marquis de Puyzieulx, to my Lord Albemarle, as a preliminary answer to the complaints aforementioned, until his most Christian Majesty should receive from Canada, an exact account of the facts which had occasioned them.

Compeigne, June 23, 1750.

SIR—The memorial which your excellency sent me, concerning the complaints made by Governor Cornwallis, of Nova Scotia, contains several facts, so contrary to that equity which is due to his Majesty, and to the instructions which M. de la Jonquiere has received, that if they are such as the memorial represents them to be; the king will order that satisfaction be made to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and will send new instructions in order to prevent all manner of disputes between the two nations, not doubting, his Britannic Majesty will give the like orders on his part. Permit me, sir, to tell you, that I cannot help thinking the declaration of facts much exaggerated; and as I know M. de la Jonquiere, is a Gentleman of wisdom, and know also his instructions, I am sorry Governor Cornwallis did not apply to him, before he sent complaints to his court; I sent immediately your memorial to M. Rouille, desiring him to enquire with all speed how affairs were transacted in

* That is positive, and the English acknowledge it themselves, at least they had no liberty to form schemes in the continent, before the determination made by commissioners. But did they wait till then,

Canada, and to let me know them, that I may be able to answer your excellency in a more positive manner.

I have the Honor to be, &c., Signed, PUYZIEULX.

P. S.—Perhaps Governor Cornwallis may have formed settlements on some lands contended for, or on the King's Territories.

A letter sent by M. Rouille to M. de la Jonquiere, a copy of which was sent on the 15th of July, 1750, to my Lord Albemarle.

Versailles, July 11th, 1750.

SIR—I send you a copy of a memorial, directed to the Marquis de Puyzieulx, from the Ambassador of Great Britain; wherein you will see the complaints made by the British Court, concerning certain transactions on the Frontiers of Canada and Nova Scotia. If any of the French inhabitants in those parts, be guilty of the outrages there complained of, they would deserve punishment, and the King would make an example of them. His Majesty therefore desires you would send me, by the first opportunity, a faithful and true account of the facts, that I may acquaint him with the particulars thereof.

The King also commands me to put you in mind of the several orders which his Majesty has already given you, concerning the manner in which you are to conduct yourself towards the English, especially in every thing that regards the limits of the respective Colonies, till they are regulated; in supporting his just rights against every attempt which might tend to invade them: you are also to attempt nothing against the rights of the English, but to treat them in such a respectful manner, as may be consistent with the honor of the nation, and the preservation of its possessions; you are also to take care that those officers, who shall be sent by you, from time to time, to such block-houses as are adjacent to the English Colonies, behave likewise in the same manner: in a word, prevent every thing which might occasion any just cause of complaint against you. His Britannic Majesty, as I have already acquainted you, has prescribed to the Governors of his Colonies, the like conduct respecting you. There is reason to hope that all things will be carried on between both parties, in a manner agreeable to the views of their Majesties, for the union of both nations. Once more, his Majesty charges you to undertake nothing that might cause any disorder.

I am, &c.

Signed,

ROUILLE.

*A Memorial in answer to the complaints made by England, and sent the 15th of September, to my Lord Albemarle.**

Two essential observations have been made in answer to the memorial sent by the Earl of Albemarle to the Marquis de Puyzieulx, concerning the complaints of Governor Cornwallis, of Nova-Scotia.

1st, That it is not reasonable, that those outrages, which the said Governor imputes to the French officers, should be left to his declaration

* Exact news of what had passed in America had then been received.

only ; that his Majesty would get an account of what had passed ; and if the facts he complained of were founded on reason, his Majesty would not hesitate to punish them accordingly.

2d, That his Majesty was about renewing his orders to the Marquis de la Jonquiere, on the chief subject relating to limits in the most positive terms, that the French within his Government should behave in a manner agreeable to that good correspondence existing between the two nations, and to the intention of his Majesty, for strengthening thereof ; being confident that his Britannic Majesty would give the like orders to the Governors of his Colonies, to act according to the same principles.

We have not yet been able to know certainly whether his Majesty sent any order. However, by letters from the Marquis de la Jonquiere, and M. Desherbiers, commander of Cape Breton, which are just come to hand, we are now enabled to convince the English ministry, that the two forementioned observations were well grounded. Governor Cornwallis began in the month of March to raise considerable forces, and sent even to Boston to demand military succors from that colony to that end.

Towards the latter end of August, several troops, and some field pieces, under the command of Major Lawrence, were put on board several vessels, under convoy of the Albany Frigate of eighteen guns, in order to attack M. de la Corne, Captain of the Canadian troops, in the posts which he possessed, and to make himself master of them ; also to force the French inhabitants and the Indians to submit to whatever conditions he thought proper to lay on them.

The fitting out of these troops, as also the threats of Gov. Cornwallis, who made no mystery of his projects, exasperated the Indians, and alarmed the inhabitants even of some parts of Acadia, who terrified at the attempts and proposals of that Government, and seeing the vessels at anchor in an harbor belonging to the French Bay, called Le Grand Maringouin, or great Musketto Harbor ; and one of the vessels making towards Beau-bassin, the inhabitants of that place betook themselves to flight, and the Indians immediately set it on fire. This happened, May the 2d.

The same day, Major Lawrence landed his English troops on the Continent, upon a point of land called Beau-sejour. The Captain of that place having with him a white flag, spoke to them and gave them to understand, that those lands belonged to France, and that his orders were to bid them depart.

Whereupon the English desired to speak with the French General.— M. de la Corne having had intelligence of their march, also came there, desiring himself to have a conference with the English General. After some short discourse between the subalterns, Major Lawrence agreed to the conference, and M. de la Corne met half way.

The English commander told M. de la Corne that he was surprised at their setting fire to Beau-bassin, and to find the French on English

territories; that General Cornwallis had given him orders to bid him withdraw, that it was contrary to the law of nations, and contrary to justice to take possession of those territories, and to encourage the Indians to a war against the English.

The French General answered Major Lawrence, that he ought not to be surprised to find him in the Forts which he possessed, and that M. de la Jonquiere had acquainted Gov. Cornwallis thereof before; that it was without any foundation that he reproached him with the commotions of the Acadians, that he had no part therein, nor in setting Beau-bassin on fire, that the Indians were the sole authors thereof; moreover, that his orders were to allow no English to make any descent upon that coast, which belonged to France, and to repel force by force. Hereupon, the two commanders parted, and Major Lawrence made a signal for his troops to embark, which was immediately done.

This is a particular account of what happened in that adventure, in consequence of which, Governor Cornwallis thought proper to be the first in sending complaints; what he said himself as to the march of his troops is right; but from thence it follows, that the French did not enter the Peninsula of Acadia, as was set forth; they had no hand in those outrages committed by the Indians, nor in the commotions of the Acadians; it is therefore with the greatest injustice that Gov. Cornwallis attributes the causes thereof to the French, his own conduct towards those people being the sole occasion thereof. What is here advanced, concerning the conduct of that Governor, is well known, having been publicly related at London.

The preparations which the said Governor was making for war, and the occasion thereof, were inserted in the Gazette at Boston, in New England, and were looked upon as an act of hostility on his part.

The 26th of last August, letters from Halifax were printed in London, containing, not only a particular account of all the preparations of that expedition, but also an affair which had preceeded it, in the peninsula aforesaid, between the English troops and the Indians.

According to the testimonies of those very letters, Governor Cornwallis acted against those Indians as in a time of open War. The inhabitants of his own Government, and even these French themselves who are the King's subjects, were no better used.

We have accounts from elsewhere, that it was currently reported in that country, that the same Governor had laid a scheme for other attempts, and by a letter which he wrote to the Marquis de la Jonquiere, dated the 5th of May, O. S. a copy of which is here annexed, it is apparent how little he was inclined to a peace.

The King has reason to hope for justice from his Britannic Majesty, that he will give Governor Cornwallis orders to observe a conduct more moderate, and more agreeable to the intentions of the two courts for the establishment of peace, and that he will not allow the said Governor to

take measures so contrary to the stipulations of the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle; and to the design of that commission which is settled at Paris.

The King is pleased to repeat here, that should any of his officers make any attempt of that kind, when there is no necessity to repel force by force, his Majesty would not hesitate to make a public example of them. He has renewed his orders to them on that head in such a manner, that they will not infringe them: It may be also depended upon, that in their correspondence with the British officers, they will never make use of such declamations, as could not be approved of, even in the smartest war. The style of the letter which Governor Cornwallis sent to M. de la Jonquiere, dated Halifax, May the 5th, O. S., we leave to his Majesty to judge of.

We shall conclude with this observation: When M. de la Jonquiere had received orders from his most Christian Majesty, for an exchange of prisoners last winter, he sent, without delay, all those who were in his custody, to an English officer belonging to the province of New York; and gave the strictest orders throughout his government, that the readiest methods might be taken for the redemption of such English prisoners as were in the custody of the Indian nations. This he did, without waiting for securities, which he had a right to demand from the English Governors. By this the English Ministry may see the good dispositions of the French Governor, as also what orders were given him, relating to every thing that might tend to a union between the two nations.

The English Governors, it is to be hoped, have been as diligent and faithful in sending home the French prisoners; the English Court, no doubt, will be ready, whatever happens, to renew their orders to the said Governors, to prevent all future complaints on that head.

NUMBER V.

*An extract of the examination of four English traders, who were arrested on the territories of France.**

On the 19th day of June, 1751, in the forenoon, before us the Marquis de la Jonquiere, Knight of the Royal and Military order of Saint Lewis, Admiral and Lieutenant Governor of all New France, Isle Royal, and the territories of Louisiana; as also in the presence of Baron de Lonquell, Governor of the city and province of Montreal, and M. Varin, a director of affairs in the city aforesaid, at a council held in the castle of Vaudreuil, the place of our abode, in Montreal aforesaid,

Personally appeared four Englishmen, &c., having with us Daniel Joseph Maddox, an English interpreter, duly sworn, and in the King's pay, to serve us in the said quality, to interpret whatever questions and answers might be made between us and the Englishmen aforesaid, who we examined separately, as follows:

* Those examinations will prove that English traders could obtain a licence from the Governor of Pennsylvania, in order to trade on French territories, and that he had a spy, whose business it was to give presents to Indians there residing, to stir them up to a war.

One of the four appearing, we gave him to understand, by the interpretation of said Maddox, that he must be qualified to answer us truly, whatever questions we should ask him; to which he readily agreed, and laying his hand upon his breast, according to the laws and customs of Great Britain, he in that manner promised and swore, that he would tell us the truth.

We required of him to tell us his name, surname, age and profession, as also where he was born, the place of his residence, and in what kingdom or government.

To all which he answered, that his name was Luke Arowin,* aged 28 years, that he was a travelling trader, an Irishman by birth, and an inhabitant of Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania.

Ques. 1st. Being asked how long he had left Pennsylvania, where he had been since, and how far he proposed to travel? He answered, that he did not positively remember the day of his departure, but it was in August last, that he went strait way to a village belonging to the Shawanese on the Ohio.

Ques. 2d. Being asked in whose company he was when he left Pennsylvania, and what was his design, &c.

He answered, that he was in company with two English traders, and six servants of the same nation, and that his design was to trade among the Indians, having, for that purpose, goods that suited them, which they proposed to sell soon, in order to return home laden with skins. That James Hamilton, Esq., Governor of Pennsylvania, had granted him a printed license to trade everywhere, with all friendly Indians in general, for which he had paid the said Governor, the sum of fifty shillings, &c.

Quest. 3d. Being asked whether he had not sold the goods aforesaid, to those Indians who are settled on the Ohio, Rock River, and round about there, at a low rate, endeavoring to persuade them, that his goods were much cheaper and better than those sold by the French, and how long he had been in that trade with them?

He answered, that he had sold his goods to these Indians who are settled on the Ohio, Rock River, and wherever he could see them, and that he had sold them very cheap, in exchange for their skins; but that he had never undervalued the French goods; but the Indians themselves made a vast difference between them.

Quest. 4th. Being asked if it was not true that some years before, as well as this, he had, by order of the Governor of Pennsylvania, and at the expense of that province, carried messages, wampum, English ducks for tents, and hatchets to the said Indians, as also considerable presents, and abundance of rum, in order to induce them to acknowledge no other than the English, and to animate them against the French, and to engage them to destroy the French, promising them for that purpose, a sum of money for every French scalp? If he could not speak the Shawanese

* We think it probable this name should be Irwin.—Ed. O. T.

language, or any of the languages spoken by the Indians who are settled on River Blanch, or elsewhere; and if the said Governor had not sent him on that account to the river Ohio, Rock River, and to other parts, in order to accomplish his views?

He answered, that he had carried wampum, hatchets and rum, in order to trade with those Indians; but that from or by order of the Governor, he had never carried them either messages or any thing else; that the Governor employed for that purpose, one George Croghan, a trader, whom he sent with all his messages to those Indians, and who had continually a native of Canada with him, named Andrew Montour (as he had been informed) who understood the Indian languages perfectly well; that he could not tell whether the said Croghan was then at that time among those Indians, but he knew he had orders from the Governor to depart soon after him, in quality of an express to the Miamis Indians, and to several other nations, and that for the following reason, to wit;* the Miamis Indians aforesaid, came last spring to pay the said Croghan a visit at Veskak, or Oghwick, (where he and sixteen other traders are settled) to intreat him to receive them; whereupon the said Montour went to those Indians, to assure them, in the name of the said Governor, that the English would receive them well; but he could not tell if the Governor had given orders to stir up those nations to destroy the French, for the Miamis Indians were not arrived at Philadelphia when he left it, and nothing had transpired; he acknowledged that he could speak Shawanese, and several other Indian languages, but the Governor had never made choice of him as an express to the Indians.

Quest. 5th, &c.

Quest 6th. Being asked whether he was not at the Ohio in the year 1749, with a number of English traders, when M. de Celeron, a Major, and commander of the fort Detroit was there, who had orders from the Marquis de la Galissonniere, commander in chief of all New France, and the territories thereon depending, to summon them to withdraw forthwith from the territories of the King our master? and whether they were not strictly forbidden to return there any more? and whether the said M. de Celeron had not written to the Governor of Pennsylvania to acquaint him thereof, and to give him notice, that if any more English traders ever appeared on the territories of his Majesty, he would not be answerable to him, for what might happen.

He answered, that he had heard of M. de Celeron's expedition to the Ohio, and of the injunction he had laid upon the English traders, and of the letter he wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania; but he thought that the license he had from the Governor was sufficient to indemnify him, without regarding any orders to the contrary.

Then was read before the said Luke Arowin, the whole examination, &c.

* The deposition of the fourth Englishman proves the falsehood of this excuse.

The second Englishman appearing before us, we gave him to understand, by the interpretation of the said Maddox, that he must be qualified to answer us truly, whatever questions we should ask him, to which he readily agreed, and laying his hand upon his breast, according to the laws and customs of Great Britain, he in that manner promised and swore that he would speak the truth.

We required of him to tell us his name, sir-name, age, and profession, as also where he was born, the place of his residence, and in what Kingdom or government?

To which he answered; that his name was Joseph Fortiner, aged twenty-six years, an hired servant, a traveller, born in the Jerseys, a place belonging to the province of New York.

He was examined on the first question, which was read to him word for word.

To which he answered; that he had been four years absent from the Jerseys, and lived the most part of that time in the woods, but in the winter he commonly retired to a village in the province of Pennsylvania, called Scanaris; that he had traded with the Shawanese at the Ohio, and wherever he could see any Indians.

He was examined on the second question, which was read to him word for word.

To which he answered; that he set out with Michael Teaf, on purpose to trade with the Indians; that he was hired to the said Teaf, in order to help him with his horses and goods; that himself, and the other Englishmen who were taken, had burnt their invoice, and that consequently they could not tell us the value of what goods he had; that they had been bought from the same person Luke Arowin had bought his; that he had a license from the Governor of Pennsylvania, but had left it in his cabin, at an Indian town, called by the English, Vendack, adjoining the Shawanese.

Being examined on the third question, which was read to him word for word.

He answered, that he had sold his goods to those nations settled on the Ohio, and adjacent parts; that he had never despised the French goods, but the Indians themselves had told him, that they rather choose to trade with the English, knowing their goods to be better and cheaper than those which the French sold them; that he had traded with those Indians only four years, as aforesaid.

He was examined on the eighth question, which was read to him word for word.

To which he answered, that in the year 1749, he was at the Susquehanna, in the province of Pennsylvania, where he had heard that M. de Celeron was at the Ohio, but further said not.

Then was read before the said Joseph Fortiner, the whole examination and his answers, &c.

The third Englishman appearing before us, we gave him to understand by the interpretation of said Maddox, that he must be qualified to answer us truly, whatever questions we should ask him, to which he readily agreed, &c.

Being asked his name, &c.

He answered, that his name was Thomas Burk, aged twenty three, a traveller, a native of Cork, in Ireland, and now an inhabitant of Lancaster, in the province of Pennsylvania.

He was examined on the first question, which was read to him word for word.

To which he answered, that he had left Ireland almost eight years, that it was scarce ten months since he left the Susquehanna, that he was hired by John Martin, an Englishman, who traded at the Ohio, that he set out with two other hired servants, in order to trade near Otsandosket, and from thence intended to return to Lancaster.

He was examined on the third question, which was read to him word for word.

To which he answered he had no other company with him than the two aforesaid Englishmen; that his effects, including his horses, might be valued at fifteen hundred livres, but he had left them all at a small river, about two leagues from where the Rev. Father de la Richardie had wintered, in the care of two Englishmen, who as soon as they had heard that warrants were issued out to take them, had left all and fled; that the aforesaid goods were the property of the said Martin, he having bought them of two different merchants of Philadelphia, the name of one he remembered was Shippen; that he had a license from the Governor of Pennsylvania, but had left it at said river with his effects.

He was examined on the eighth question, &c.

To which he answered, that he had heard of M. de Celeron being at the Ohio, as also of the letter he had written to the Governor of Pennsylvania; that it was intrusted to the hired servants belonging to George Croghan, the chief interpreter, but he could not tell if it had ever been delivered.

Then was read before the said Thomas Burk, the whole examination, and his answers. &c.

The fourth Englishman then appeared before us, who being qualified, &c.

We required of him to tell us his name, sir-name, his age &c.

He answered, that his name was John Patten, aged twenty-six years, an Indian trader, a native and inhabitant of Wilmington, in the province of Pennsylvania.

He was examined on the first question, which was read to him word for word.

To which he answered, that he had left Wilmington, the 24th of last August, O. S., that he set out in order to trade with some Miami Indians

who are settled on Rock River, about thirty leagues, as near as he could guess from the Miamis fort.

He was examined on the second question, which was read to him word for word.

To which he answered, that he had with him two hired servants, and that he was in company with an English trader who had five more; that they all came together to Rock River, at which place they found upwards of fifty traders, including servants, lodging in cabins belonging to the Miamis Indians, that the name of their chief was La Demoiselle; that those cabins were in a fort; that the value of his goods amounted to about seven thousand livres; that he had provided himself at setting out, with a license from the Governor of Pennsylvania,* for which he had paid a pistole, which license he had left with the abovesaid Miamis Indians, shut up in a little box of his in his cabin.

He was examined on the third question, which was read to him word for word.

To which he answered, that he had sold some goods to the Indians who are settled on the Ohio, Rock River, and other adjacent parts; that it was the first time of his coming to Rock River; and the only way he used to trade with the Indians, was by shewing them his goods, and agreeing with them as to the price; but that he had never undervalued the French goods.

He was examined on the fourth Question which was read to him word for word.

To which he answered; he had only heard that the Governor of Pennsylvania had intrusted George Croghan, the head Indian Interpreter, with goods to the value of a thousand pistoles; and that he went up and down the woods with the said Montour, a French Canadian, in order to distribute the said goods among the Indians who are settled on the Ohio, Rock River, and particularly the Miamis Indians, and further saith not; he denied knowing any Indian language.

He was asked if he had not been arrested in the Miamis fort, by order of M. de Villiers, commander of the said fort, and was it not with intention to trade, that he went there?

To which he answered, that the Indians telling him the French were desirous to see him, was the reason of his going to that fort; that he was greatly surprised to see himself arrested therein; that he had occasion to buy in said fort, muskets and some tobacco, and had taken with him five silk caps, one piece of coarse holland, and twelve silk handkerchiefs, for that purpose, and that all had been seized by the said M. de Villiers, as

* It is necessary to say something here concerning those licenses; they are criminal against the laws of trade founded on treaties. The Indians having no territories of their own, can freely trade throughout every part of the country, whether belonging to the English or to the French. As to the European nations, none can trade with any Indians, except those who are on their own territories. Therefore these letters of license granted to traders by English Governors, in order to permit them to trade on lands possessed by the French, are so many enterprizes and usurpations. Those English traders, properly speaking, kept up a contraband trade, with their Governor's permission.

also his horse ; that his boots and portmanteau, wherein his clothes were had been left in an Indian cabin, and were to have been sent to him at Detroit but he never had any tidings of them since ; that another horse had also been taken from him, whereon was an Indian who was his guide.

He was asked whether (at the time he had proposed to go to the French fort at Miamis) presents had not been made either by him or any other person, to the Indians who are settled on the Ohio, and Rock River, in order to obtain their assistance against the French, in case they should attack them.

He answered entirely in the negative to every thing contained in the aforesaid question.

He was asked, if those goods which had been seized at *La Croix, twenty leagues from the fort at Miamis, were not his, and if they were not the same, which were mentioned in the verbal process of M. de Montigny, an officer, dated December the 2d 1750, which had been read to him.

To which he answered, that he had left his goods at la Croix, and was satisfied that those goods mentioned in the verbal process, were the same sort as his, but in much less quantity ; that he could not tell what was become of the rest ; it might be, his servants had carried them away when they fled.

He was examined on the eighth question, which was read to him word for word.

To which he answered, that he was not at the Ohio in the year 1749, that he was told of M. le Celeron's being there at that time, and of what orders he had enjoined the English traders ; that he had also been told of the letter which M. Celeron had written to the Governor of Pennsylvania on that account, but was informed he had never received it ; Croghan, the chief interpreter aforesaid, having torn it, that the Governor might not know the contents thereof, lest he should act agreeable to it.

Then was read before the said Patten, the whole examination, and his answers, and he was asked if he was inclined to add to, or extenuate his answers, to which he answered, that all he had said was true, and stood to it, and furthermore said, that the aforementioned Croghan, the head interpreter, had at all times persuaded the Indians to destroy the French and had so far prevailed on them, by the presents he had made them, that five French had been killed by said Indians, in the upper part of the country ; that self-interest was his sole motive in every thing he did, that his views were to engross the whole trade, and to scare the French from dealing with the Indians ; and as to the letters which M. de Celeron had written to the Governor of Pennsylvania, three of them had been intercepted by the said Croghan, lest the said Governor, being acquainted

* La Croix is the name of a place, signifying in English the Cross.

with his deeds,* should forbid him ever to go amongst them again.

Said Patten hath set his hand to every page, as also the Baron de Longueuil, M. Varin, the said Maddox, the Interpreter, and our Secretary; thus, signed John Patten, D. J. Maddox, La Jonquiere, Longueuil, Varin, and Saint Sauveur, Secretary.

NUMBER VI.

A memorial sent by order of M. de Contrecoeur, captain of one of the independent companies of the detachment of Marines, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's troops at the Ohio, to the Commander of those troops belonging to the King of Great Britain, whereof M. le Mercier was bearer, the 16th day of April, 1754.

Nothing can surprise me more than to see you thus attempt to settle on the territories of the King my master; it is that which obliges me, this day, to send you M. le Mercier, captain of the cannonniers, and commander of the artillery in Canada, that he may know, Sir, from yourself, by virtue of what orders you are erecting forts on the territories of the King my master. This motion appears to me so contrary to the last treaty of peace, concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, between his most Christian Majesty, and his Majesty the King of Great Britain, that I know not to whom I shall impute such usurpation; since those lands which are situated along the river Ohio, beyond all dispute, belong to the most Christian King.

I am certainly informed, sir, that your schemes are contrived only by a company, who hath the interest of trade more in view, than to maintain the union and harmony existing between the crowns of Great Britain and France; though, sir, the maintainance thereof, may be as advantageous to your nation as ours.

However, Sir, if you are come vested with any orders to this place, I summons you from the King my master, by virtue of the orders which I have from my general, peaceably to withdraw yourself, and your troops from the King's territories, if not, I shall be under a necessity, for the performance of my duty, to oblige you thereto. I hope, sir, you will not prolong the time, and thereby force me to extremes: You may, sir, in that case, be fully persuaded, I shall give such orders to my detachment, that you shall receive no damage thereby.

Sir, I give you notice now, that it will be to no purpose to demand one hour's delay, or to expect I shall consent to your stay, until you receive orders from your Governor, for none he can give upon the lands of the King my master. The orders I have received from my General, are a law to me, therefore, sir, I cannot go from them.

But if, on the contrary, you have no orders, if you are only come here to trade; I am sorry to inform you, that I am obliged to seize your per-

* This is added to justify the Governor. You have read before, how he had given Croghan some goods to the value of 1000 pistoles, to be distributed among the Indians.

son, and to confiscate your effects to the use of the Indians, who are our children, our allies, and our friends, as you are not permitted to follow any illicit trade.

It was for that very reason, sir, that two Englishmen were by us arrested last year, for trading on our lands. Furthermore, the King, my master, demands only what is his right; his intentions are not to interrupt that good harmony and friendship subsisting between his Majesty and the King of Great Britain.

The General of Canada can give proofs in what manner he concurrcth to keep up the union existing between the two princes; for, having been informed that some Indians of the six nations, in company with some Nepissingues, from the lake of the two mountains, had fallen upon, and destroyed an English family towards Carolina, he stopped their passage, and obliged them to deliver him up a little boy belonging to that family, and who was the only one left alive; he was brought back to Boston, by Mr. Ulerich, who was then upon some negotiation at Montreal.

Moreover, he has strictly forbidden all Indians to exercise their usual cruelties on those English who are our friends. I could complain, sir, of the many solicitations you have made last year to the Indians, to take up the hatchet against us, whilst we were busy in maintaining peace.

Sir, I am persuaded you will receive M. le Mercier, in a polite manner, on account of his commission, as also of his distinction and personal merit; and I expect you will send him back to me with one of your officers, who will give me an exact answer signed by yourself. As you have Indians with you, I send an interpreter with M. le Mercier, that he may acquaint them with my intentions on their account.

I am &c. Signed, CONTRECŒUR,

Done at our Camp, the 16th of April, 1754.

NUMBER VII.

A copy of those orders which M. de Contrecoeur gave M. de Jumonville, the 23d of May, 1754.

Be it known, that the captain of a company belonging to the detachment of Marines, Commander in Chief at the Ohio, Fort du Quesne, the Peninsula, and River Beef, hath given orders to M. de Jumonville, an ensign of the troops, to depart immediately with one officer, three cadets, one volunteer, one English interpreter, and twenty-eight men, to go up as far as the High Lands, and to make what discovery he can; he shall keep along the river Monongahela, in Pettiaguers as far as the Hangar;* after which he shall march along, until he finds the road which leads to that said to have been cleared by the English. As the Indians give out that the English are on their march to attack us (which we cannot believe since we are at peace) should M. de Jumonville, contrary to our expect-

* Hangar, in English, storehouse.

tation, hear of any attempt intended to be made by the English, on the lands belonging to the French King, he shall immediately go to them, and deliver them the summons we have given him.

We further charge him, to dispatch a speedy messenger to us, before the summons be read, to acquaint us of all the discoveries he hath made ; of the day he intends to read them the summons ; and also to bring us an answer from them, with all possible diligence, after it is read.

If M. de Jumonville should hear that the English intend to go on the other side of the Great Mountain,* he shall not pass the High Lands, for we would not disturb them in the least, being desirous to keep up that union which exists between the two crowns.

We charge M. de Jumonville to stand upon his guard against every attempt, either from the English or Indians. If he should meet any Indians, he shall tell them, he is travelling about to see what is transacting on the King's territories, and to take notice of every road, and shall show them friendship. Done at the camp at Fort Du Quesne, the 23d of May, 1754.

Signed,

CONTRECEUR.

A copy of the summons whereof M. de Jumonville was the bearer. A summons which M. de Jumonville shall read. From an officer of the troops of the most Christian King, to the Commander of the English troops, if any he should find on the territories of the French King

SIR:—The Indians have already acquainted me, you were coming armed, on the territories of the King my master, though I cannot believe it ; but as it is my duty to leave no stone unturned, to discover exactly the truth thereof, I have sent out M. de Jumonville on that account ; and in case he should see you, to summons you in the King's name, and by virtue of the orders which I have received from my General, to depart forthwith in peace with your troops ; if you refuse, you will oblige me, sir, to force you thereto, by using the most powerful means, for the honor of the King's arms : your buying those lands at the Ohio ; from the Indians, gives you so weak a right thereto, that I shall be obliged to repel force by force. I forewarn you, that if, after this summons, which shall be the last, there be any act of hostility, you shall answer for it ; as it is our intention to keep up the union existing between the two crowns. Whatever your schemes may be, I hope, Sir, you will show M. Jumonville all the respect that officer deserves, and that you will send him back to me again with all speed, to acquaint me with your intentions.

I am, &c.,

Signed,

CONTRECEUR.

Done at the Camp at Fort du Quesne, the 23d of May, 1754.

A letter sent to the Marquis du Quesne, by M. de Contrecoeur, dated June 2d, 1754.

Sir:—Since the letter I had the honor to write you, dated the 30th of last month, whereby I acquainted your honor, that I expected M. de Jumonville within four days ; the Indians have just now informed me, that that party is taken and defeated ; they were eight in number, one whereof

* The Apalachian Mountains.

was M. de Jumonville. One of that party, Monceau by name, a Canadian, made his escape, and tells us they had built themselves cabins, in a low bottom, where they sheltered themselves, as it rained hard. About seven o'clock the next morning, they saw themselves surrounded by the English on one side, and Indians on the other. The English gave them two volleys, but the Indians did not fire. M. de Jumonville, by his interpreter, told them to desist, that he had something to tell them. Upon which they ceased firing. Then M. de Jumonville ordered the summons which I had sent them to retire, to be read; a copy of which, I here send your honor. The aforesaid Monceau, saw all our Frenchmen coming up close to M. de Jumonville, whilst they were reading the summons, so that they were all in platoons, between the English and the Indians, during which time said Monceau made the best of his way to us, partly by land through the woods, and partly along the river Monongahela in a small canoe.

This is all, sir, I could learn from said Monceau. The misfortune is, that our people were surprised; the English had encircled them, and came upon them unseen.

I have this moment, Sir, received a letter from M. de la Chauvignerie, which you have here enclosed, where you will see, that we have certainly lost eight men, one of which is M. de Jumonville.

The Indians who were present when the thing was done, say, that M. de Jumonville was killed by a musket shot in the head, whilst they were reading the summons, and that the English would have afterwards killed all our men, had not the Indians, who were present, by rushing in between them and the English, prevented their design. Messrs. Drouillon and la Force are taken prisoners. We cannot tell, if Messrs. de Boucherville and du Sable, both Cadets, are in the number of the eight who are killed. This is the account which the Indians have given us.

I believe, sir, it will surprise you to hear how basely the English have acted; it is what was never seen, even amongst nations who are the least civilized, to fall thus upon ambassadors and murder them. The Indians are so enraged thereat, that they have applied to me for liberty to fall upon the English. I had sent Goyogwin, an Indian chief, to hold a council at his village, on the action aforesaid; but he is returned, and is now constantly with me.

The English are, no doubt, on their march, with an army of five thousand strong. The Indians say, they have always six hundred men going before, in order to clear a broad road, to bring up strong cannon; this was the Indian expression. As I am certain the English are on their march, I wrote to M. Pean to come to us with all diligence with the provisions, and to send us three hundred men, either by land or by water. I also wrote to M. de Carqueville, that, if M. Pean was not at Tiadakouin, he should come with the same number of men, as I wrote to M. Pean for.

If the discovery which has cost our people so dear, had not been made, the English would have come upon us unawares; but now we shall be vigilant on all accounts. We are told that the main body of the army is yet far distant, that it will be one moon at least before they reach this place. 'Tis said they are reinforcing Tanarisson, up the river Monongahela. This advice we have from the Indians, who also say, that the English have with them ten Chicasaws, and thirty Flat Heads, of the nearest to them, and one hundred men of the Dog nation; which puts them in high spirits, as they are all enemies to the Indians who are on this river. 'Tis said the English intend to build a fort half a league above us, and another a little more than half a league below us, which is at the Little Rock, besides another at some small distance along the river Monongahela, on the same side that we are.

I shall acquaint your honor, at every opportunity, of every thing that is done, &c.

NUMBER VIII.

The Journal of Major Washington.

On the 31st of March, I received from his honor* a Lieutenant Colonel's commission, of the Virginia regiment, whereof Joshua Fry, Esq. was Colonel, dated the 15th; with orders to take the troops, which were at that time quartered at Alexandria, under my command, and to march with them towards the Ohio, there to help Captain Trent to build forts, and to defend the possessions of his Majesty against the attempts and hostilities of the French.

April the 2d, Every thing being ready, we began our March according to our orders, the 2d of April, with two companies of foot, commanded by Captain Peter Hog, and Lieutenant Jacob Vanbraam, five subalterns, two Sergeants, six Corporals, one drummer, and one hundred and twenty soldiers, one Surgeon, one Swedish gentleman, who was a volunteer, two wagons, guarded by one Lieutenant, Serjeant, Corporal and twenty-five soldiers.

We left Alexandria on Tuesday noon, and pitched our tents about four miles from Cameron, having travelled six miles.

(From the 3d of April, to the 19th of said month, this journal only contains the march of the troops, and how they were joined by a detachment which was brought by Captain Stephens.)

The 19th. Met an express who had letters from Captain Trent, at the Ohio, demanding a reinforcement with all speed, as he hourly expected a body of eight hundred French. I tarried at Job Pearsall's for the arrival of the troops, where they came the next day. When I received the above express, I dispatched a courier to Colonel Fry, to give him notice of it.

The 20th. Came down to Colonel Cresap's, to order the detachment, and on my route, had notice that the fort was taken by the French. That

* Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia.

news was confirmed by Mr. Wart,* the ensign of Capt. Trent, who had been obliged to surrender to a body of one thousand French and upwards, under the command of Capt. Contrecoeur, who was come from Venango, (in French the peninsula,) with sixty battoes, and three hundred canoes, and who having planted eighteen pieces of cannon against the fort, afterwards had sent him a summons to depart.

Mr. Wart also informed me, that the Indians kept stedfastly attached to our interest. He brought two young Indian men with him, who were Mingoes, that they might have the satisfaction to see, that we were marching with our troops to their succor.

He also delivered me the following speech, which the half-King sent to me.†

Fort Ohio, April 18th. 1754

A speech from the Half-King, for the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

My brethren the English, the bearer will let you understand in what manner the French have treated us. We waited a long time, thinking they would come and attack us; we now see how they have a mind to use us.‡

We are now ready to fall upon them, waiting only for your succor. Have good courage, and come as soon as possible; you will find us as ready to encounter with them as you are yourselves.

We have sent those two young men to see if you are ready to come, and if so, they are to return to us, to let us know where you are, that we may come and join you. We should be glad if the troops belonging to the two provinces could meet together at the fort which is in the way. If you do not come to our assistance now, we are entirely undone, and imagine we shall never meet together again. I speak it with a heart full of grief.

A belt of Wampum.

The Half-King directed to me the following speech. I am ready, if you think it proper to go to both the Governors with these two young men for I have now no more dependance on those who have been gone so long, without returning or sending any message.

A Belt of Wampum.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

* This should be Ward, but we follow copy. ED. O. T.

† This Half-King was an Indian chief, to whom the English had given that title, and had set him on exceedingly against the French.

‡ Behold here is a confession of that goodness with which the French had treated the Indians which had revolted. Those Indians expected to be pursued; surprised at the indulgence of the French, they propose to attack them themselves, and acquaint the English of their resolution.

THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

MAY, 1847.

NO. 5.

WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL CONTINUED.

April 23d. A Council of war held at Wills-Creek, in order to consult upon what must be done on account of the news brought by Mr. Wart.

The news brought by ensign Wart, having been examined into, as also the summons sent by Captain Contrecoeur, commander of the French troops, and the speeches of the Half-King, and of the other chiefs of the Six Nations; it appears, that Mr. Wart was forced to surrender the said fort, the 17th of this instant, to the French, who were above one thousand strong, and had eighteen artillery pieces, some of which were nine pounders,* and also that the detachment of the Virginia regiment, amounting to one hundred and fifty men, commanded by Colonel Washington had orders to reinforce the company of Captain Trent, and that the aforesaid garrison consisted only of thirty-three effective men.

It was thought a thing impracticable to march towards the fort without sufficient strength; however, being strongly invited by the Indians, and particularly by the speeches of the Half-King, the president gave his opinion, that it would be proper to advance as far as Red-Stone-Creek, on Monongahela, about thirty-seven miles on this side of the fort, and there to raise a fortification, clearing a road broad enough to pass with all our artillery and our baggage, and there to wait for fresh orders.

The opinion aforesaid was resolved upon, for the following reasons:

1st, That the Mouth of Red-Stone is the first convenient place on the river Monongahela.

2d, That stores are already built at that place for the provisions of the company, wherein our ammunition may be laid up; our great guns may be also sent by water whenever we should think it convenient to attack the fort.

* Captain Trent, and Ensign Wart had greatly exaggerated the French forces. Which is common enough for people to do, who abandon their fort at a bare summons.

3d, We may easily (having all these conveniencies) preserve our people from the ill consequences of inaction, and encourage the Indians our allies, to remain in our interests. Whereupon, I sent Mr. Wart to the Governor,* with one of the young Indians and an interpreter : I thought it proper also to acquaint the Governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania of the news ; and I sent away the other Indian to the Half-King, with the speeches inclosed in the following letter.

To the Honorable Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., Governor, &c., &c.

SIR:—Mr. Wart, an ensign of Captain Trent's company, is this day come from Monongahela, and has brought the sorrowful news of the reduction of the fort, on the 17th of this instant ; having been summoned by Captain Contrecoeur, to surrender to a body of French troops who were a thousand strong, who came from Wenango, with eighteen pieces of cannon, sixty battoes, and three hundred canoes ; they permitted all our men to retire, and take with them their working tools out of the fort, which was done the same day.

Upon receiving this news, I called a council of war, in order to consult what was best to be done in such circumstances ; and have sent you a particular account of every thing agreed upon at the same council, by the same express, that you may know things yet more particularly.

Mr. Wart is the bearer of the summons, as also of the speech, from the Half-King, wherein I inclosed the wampum ; he is in company with one of those Indians mentioned in the speech, who had been sent to see our forces, and to know what time they might expect us ; the other Indian I have sent back with a message. I hope you will find it necessary to send us our forces as soon as they are raised, as also a sufficient number of canoes, and other boats with decks ; send us also some mortar pieces, that we may be in a condition to attack the French with equal forces. And as we are informed that the Indians of the Six Nation,† and the Outawas, are coming down Sciодо Creek, in order to join the French who are to meet at the Ohio ; so I think it would not be amiss to invite the Cherokees, Catawbas, and the Chickasaws to come to our assistance ; and as I have received intelligence, that there is no good understanding between them and the Indians of the Six nations aforesaid, it would be well to persuade them to make a peace with them ; otherwise, if they should meet at the Ohio, it might cause great disorder, and turn out to our disadvantage.

We find the great advantage there is in water carriage, wherefore, I would remind you to provide a number of boats for that purpose.

This day, arrived the men belonging to Captain Trent, who, by your orders, had been enlisted as militia troops ; the officers having imprudently promised them two shillings per day, they now refuse to serve for less pay ; Wart shall receive your orders on that head.

* The Governor of Virginia is here understood.

† This must be an error. The Chippeways were perhaps meant.—ED. O. T.

To his Excellency Horatio Sharp, Governor of Maryland.

SIR:—I am here arrived with a detachment of one hundred and fifty men: we daily expect Colonel Fry with the remaining part of the regiment and the artillery; however, we shall march gently along the mountains, clearing the roads as we go,* that our cannon may with the greater ease be sent after us; we propose to go as far as Red Stone river, which falls into Monongahela, about thirty-seven miles this side of the fort which the French have taken, from thence all our heavy luggage may be carried as far as the Ohio. A store is built there by the Ohio Company, wherein may be placed our ammunition and provisions.

Besides the French forces above mentioned, we have reason to believe according to the accounts we have heard, that another party is coming to the Ohio; we have also learnt that six hundred of the Chippewais and Ottoways Indians, are coming down the river Scioto, in order to join them.

The following is my answer to the speech of the Half-King:

“To the Half-King, and to the chiefs and warriors of the Shawanese and Loups our friends and brethren. I received your speech by brother Bucks, who came to us with the two young men six days after their departure from you. We return you our greatest thanks, and our hearts are fired with love and affection towards you, in gratitude for your constant attachment to us, as also your gracious speech, and your wise counsels.

This young man will inform you, where he found a small part of our army, making towards you, clearing the roads for a great number of our warriors, who are ready to follow us, with our great guns, our ammunition and provisions. As I delight in letting you know with speed the thoughts of our heart, I send you back this young man, with this speech, to acquaint you therewith, and the other young man I have sent to the Governor of Virginia, to deliver him your speech and your wampum, and to be an eye-witness of those preparations we are making, to come in all haste to the assistance of those whose interest is as dear to us as our lives: We know the character of the treacherous French, and our conduct shall plainly show you, how much we have it at heart. I shall not be satisfied if I do not see you before all our forces are met together at the fort which is in the way; wherefore, I desire, with the greatest earnestness, that you, or at least one of you, would come as soon as possible, to meet us on the road, and to assist us in council. I present you with these bunches of wampum, to assure you of the sincerity of my speech, and that you may remember how much I am your friend and brother.

Signed, WASHINGTON,
or CONOTOCARIOUS.†

* How can the English say that country was their's? they had not a road leading to it from their Colonies.

† This was without doubt an Indian name that Major Washington had taken, to please those Indians which he wanted to delude.

April 28. Came to us some pieces of cannon, which were taken up to the mouth of Patterson's river.

(From the 29th of April to the 11th of May, the journal only contains marches, and things of little consequence.)

May the 11th. Detached a party of twenty-five men, commanded by Captain Stephens and Ensign Peronie, with orders to go to Mr. Gist's, to enquire where La Force* and his party were; and in case they were in the neighborhood, to cease pursuing and take care of themselves. I also ordered them to examine closely all the woods round about, and, if they should find any Frenchman apart from the rest, to seize him and bring him to us, that we might learn what we could from him. We were exceedingly desirous to know, if there was any possibility of sending down any thing by water, as also to find out some convenient place about the mouth of Red Stone Creek, where we could build a fort, it being my design to salute the Half-King, and to send him back under a small guard; we were also desirous to enquire what were the views of the French, what they had done, and what they intended to do,† and to collect every thing which could give us the least intelligence.

The 12th. Marched away, and went on a rising ground, where we halted to dry ourselves, for we had been obliged to ford a deep river, where our shortest men had water up to their arm-pits.

There came an express to us with letters acquainting us, that Colonel Fry, with a detachment of one hundred men and upwards, was at Winchester, and was to set out in a few days to join us; as also that Colonel Innis was marching with three hundred and fifty men, raised in Carolina; that it was expected Maryland would raise two hundred men, and that Pennsylvania had raised ten thousand pounds, (equal to about fifty-two thousand five hundred livres) to pay the soldiers raised in other colonies, as that province furnisheth no recruits, as also that Governor Shirley had sent six hundred men to harass the French in Canada;‡ I hope that will give them some work to do, and will slacken their sending so many men to the Ohio as they have done.

The 16th. Met two traders who told us they had fled for fear of the French, as parties of them were often seen towards Mr. Gist's. These traders are of opinion, as well as many others, that it is not possible to clear a road for any carriage to go from hence to Red Stone Creek.

The 17th. This night Mr. Wart arrived with the young Indian from Williamsburg, and delivered me a letter, wherein the Governor is so good as to approve of my proceedings, but is much displeased with Captain Trent, and has ordered him to be tried, for leaving his men at the Ohio: The Governor also informs me that Captain Mackay, with an indepen-

* M. de la Force was one of the Frenchmen who accompanied Mr. de Jumonville, and about the beginning of May, was sent out with three other Frenchmen and some Indians, after deserters, and Major Washington had knowledge of this from the Indians.

† If the English were ignorant of the designs of the French at that time; it cannot then be said, that their hostilities had occasioned the order which Major Washington had to attack them.

‡ The English are seen to attack every where.

dent company of one hundred men, excluding the officers, was arrived, and that we might expect them daily; and that the men from New York would join us within ten days.

This night also came two Indians from the Ohio, who left the French fort five days ago. They relate that the French forces are all employed in building their fort, that it is already breast high, and the thickness of twelve feet, and filled up with earth and stone, &c. They have cut down and burnt up all the trees which were about it, and sown grain instead thereof. The Indians believe they were only six hundred in number, though they say themselves they are eight hundred. They expect a greater number in a few days; which may amount to one thousand six hundred, then they say they can defy the English.

The 18th. The waters being yet very high hindered me from advancing on account of my baggage, wherefore I determined to set myself in a posture of defence against any immediate attack from the enemy,* and went down to observe the river.

The 19th. I dispatched the young Indian which was returned with Mr. Wart, to the Half-King, with the following speech.

To the Half-King, &c.

My Brethren,—It gives me great pleasure to learn that you are marching to assist me with your counsels, be of good courage my brethren, and march vigorously towards your brethren the English; for fresh forces will soon join them, who will protect you against your treacherous enemy the French. My friends whom I send to you will acquaint you of an agreeable speech which the Governor of Virginia addresses to you; he is very sorry for the bad usage you have received. The great waters do not permit us to make such haste towards you as we would do; for that reason I have sent the young men to invite you to come and meet us; they can tell you many things which they have seen in Virginia, and also how well they were received by the most part of our Grandees; they did not use them as the French do your people who go to their fort;† they refuse them provisions; this man has had given him, all that his heart could wish; for the confirmation of all this, I here give you a Belt of Wampum.

The 20th. Embarked in a canoe with Lieutenant West, three soldiers, and one Indian; and having followed the river along, about half a mile, were obliged to come ashore, where I met Peter Suver, a trader, who seemed to discourage me from seeking a passage by water; that made me alter my mind of causing canoes to be made; I ordered my people to wade, as the waters were shallow enough; and continued myself going down the river in the canoe; now finding that our canoe was too small for 6 men, we stopped to make some sort of a bark, with which, together with

*It has been seen in the foregoing pieces, that this pretended enemy had no inclination to attack.

† This is the only bad usage this pretended Half-King could complain of: The French were not willing to receive in their forts such Indians as were perfidious and evil-minded: It may be seen in Robert Stobo's letter hereafter, how the French used the Indian.

our canoe, we gained Turkey Foot by the beginning of the night : we underwent several difficulties about eight or ten miles from thence, though of no great consequence, finding the waters some times deep enough for canoes to pass, and at other times more shallow.

The 21st. Tarried there some time to examine the place, which we found very convenient to build a fort, not only because it was gravelly, but also for its being at the mouth of three branches of small rivers : the plan thereof, which may be here seen, is as exact as could be done without mathematical Instruments.

We went about two miles to observe the course of the river which is very strait, has many currents, is full of rocks, and rapid ; we waded it, though the water was pretty high ; which made me think it would not be difficult to pass it with canoes.

We also found other places where the water was rapid, but not so deep, and the current smoother ; we easily passed over them ; but afterwards we found little or scarce any bottom ; there are mountains on both sides of the river. We went down the river about ten miles, when at last it became so rapid as to oblige us to come ashore.

(From the 22d to the 24th, the journal contains only a description of the country.)

The 24th. This morning arrived an Indian in company with him I had sent to the Half-King, and brought me the following letter from him.

To any of his Majesty's officers whom these may concern.

As 'tis reported that the French army is set out to meet Mr. George Washington, I exhort you my brethren to guard against them ; for they intend to fall on the first English they meet ;* they have been on their march these two days ; the Half-King and the other chiefs will join you within five days, to hold a council, though we know not the number we shall be. I shall say no more ; but remember me to my brethren the English.

Signed, THE HALF-KING.

I examined those two young Indians in the best manner I could, concerning every circumstance, but was not much the better satisfied.

They say there are parties of them often out but they do not know of any considerable number coming this way.† The French continue raising their fort, that part next to the land, is very well inclosed, but next to the water is much neglected, nine pieces of cannon, and some of them very small, and not one mounted. There are two on the point, and the other at some distance from the fort next to the land.

They relate that there are many sick among them, that they cannot find any Indians to guide their small parties towards our camp, these Indians having refused them.

* Observe the Craft of this Indian! It has been proved that M. de Contrecoeur tarried at fort du Quesne; as to Mr. de Jumonville, this cannot concern him, seeing he did not set out before the 23d, and his instructions have been already seen.

† A new proof of the falsehood of this letter.

The same day, at two o'clock, we arrived at the meadows, where we saw a trader, who told us that he came this morning from Mr. Gist's, where he had seen two Frenchmen the night before ; that he knew there was a strong detachment out, which confirmed the account we had received from the Half-King : wherefore I placed troops behind two natural intrenchments, where our waggons also entered.

The 25th, detached a party to go along the roads, and other small parties to the woods, to see if they could make any discovery. I gave the horse-men orders to examine the country well, and endeavor to get some news of the French, of their forces, and of their motions, &c.

At night all these parties returned, without having discovered any thing, though they had been a great way towards the place from whence it was said the party was coming.

The 26th, arrived William Jenkins ; Colonel Fry had sent him with a letter from colonel Fairfax, which informed me, that the Governor himself, as also Colonels Corbin and Ludwell, were arrived at Winchester, and were desirous to see the Half-King there, whereupon I sent him an account thereof.

The 27th, arrived Mr. Gist early in the morning, who told us, that M. la Force with fifty men, whose tracks he had seen five miles off, had been at his plantation the day before, towards noon ; and would have killed a cow, and broken every thing in the house, if two Indians whom he had left in the house, had not persuaded them from their design ; I immediately detached sixty-five men, under command of Captain Hog, Lieutenant Mercer, Ensign Peronie, three Serjeants, and three Corporals, with instructions.

The French enquired at Mr. Gist's, what was become of the Half-King ? I did not fail to let the young Indians who were in our camp know, that the French wanted to kill the Half-King ; and that had its desired effect.* They thereupon offered to accompany our people, to go after the French, and if they found it true that he had been killed, or even insulted by them, one of them would presently carry the news thereof to the Mingoes, in order to incite their warriors to fall upon them. One of these young men was detached towards Mr. Gist's ; that if he should not find the Half-King there, he was to send a message by a Delaware.

About eight at night received an express from the Half-King, which informed me, that, as he was coming to join us, he had seen along the road, the tracks of two men which he had followed, till he was brought thereby to a low obscure place, that he was of opinion the whole party of the French was hidden there : that very moment I sent out forty men, and ordered my ammunition to be put in a place of safety, under a strong guard to defend it ; fearing it to be a stratagem of the French to attack our camp, and with the rest of my men, set out in a heavy rain, and in a night

* Major Washington it seems, did not scruple to make use of an imposture, for here he takes pride in it.

as dark as pitch, along a path scarce broad enough for one man; we were sometimes fifteen or twenty minutes out of the path, before we could come to it again; and so dark that we would often strike one against another. All night long we continued our route, and the 28th, about sunrise, we arrived at the Indian camp, where, after having held a council with the Half-King, it was concluded we should fall on them together; so we sent out two men to discover where they were, as also their posture, and what sort of ground was thereabout; after which, we formed ourselves for an engagement,* marching one after the other, in the Indian manner. We were advanced pretty near to them, as we thought, when they discovered us; whereupon, I ordered my company to fire, mine was supported by that of Mr. Wager's, and my company, and his, received the whole fire of the French, during the greatest part of the action, which only lasted a quarter of an hour, before the enemy was routed.

We killed M. de Jumonville, the commander of that party, as also nine others; we wounded one, and made twenty-one prisoners, among whom were M. la Force, M. Drouillon, and two cadets. The Indians scalped the dead, and took away the most part of their arms, after which we marched on with the prisoners and the guard, to the Indian camp, where again I held a council with the Half-King; and there informed him, that the Governor was desirous to see him, and was waiting for him at Winchester; he answered that he could not go just then, as his people were in too imminent a danger from the French, whom they had fallen upon;† that he must send messengers to all the allied nations, in order to invite them to take up the hatchet. He sent a young Delaware Indian to the Delaware nation, and gave him also a French scalp to carry to them. This young man desired to have a part of the presents which were allotted for them, but that the remaining part might be kept for another opportunity. He said he would go to his own family, and to several others, and would wait on them at Mr. Gist's, where he desired men and horses should be sent ready to bring them up to our camp. After this I marched on with the prisoners; They informed me that they had been sent with a summons to order me to depart. A plausible pretence to discover our camp,‡ and to obtain the knowledge of our forces and our situation! It was so clear that they were come to reconnoitre what we were, that I admired at their assurance, when they told me they were come as an embassy; for their instructions mentioned that they should get what knowledge they could of the roads, rivers, and of all the country as far as Potomac; and, instead of coming as an Ambassador, publicly, and in an open manner, they came secretly, and sought after the most hidden re-

* Therefore certain it is that the English had orders to attack.

† Major Washington takes care here, not to give a faithful account: but the endeavor he makes to justify himself, will be seen hereafter.

‡ All their fear was from the French, because they knew they had been attacked, and they would certainly revenge themselves.

|| Then I find that the only hostility the French can be reproached of, is, the endeavoring to discover an enemy who was marching with orders to attack them.

treats,* more like deserters than ambassadors; in such retreats they encamped, and remained hid for whole days together, and that no more than five miles from us: from thence they sent spies to reconnoitre our camp; after this was done, they went back two miles, from whence they sent the two messengers spoken of in the instruction, to acquaint M. de Contre-cœur of the place we were at, and of our disposition, that he might send his detachments to enforce† the summons as soon as it should be given.

Besides, an ambassador has princely attendants; whereas this was only a simple petty French officer; an ambassador has no need of spies, his character being always sacred: and seeing their intention was so good, why did they tarry two days at five miles distance from us,‡ without acquainting me with the summons, or, at least, with something that related to the embassy? That alone would be sufficient to raise the greatest suspicions, and we ought to do them the justice to say, that, as they wanted to hide themselves, they could not pick out better places than they had done.

The summons was so insolent, and favored the gasconade so much, that if it had been brought openly by two men, it would have been an immediate indulgence, to have suffered them to return.¶

It was the opinion of the Half-King in this case, that their intentions were evil,§ and that it was a pure pretence; that they never intended to come to us but as enemies; and if we had been such fools as to let them go, they would never help us any more to take other Frenchmen.

They say they called to us as soon as they had discovered us, which is an absolute falsehood, for I was then marching at the head of the company going towards them, and can positively affirm, that, when they first saw us, they ran to their arms, without calling; as I must have heard them, had they so done.

The 29th. Dispatched Ensign Latour to the Half-King, with about twenty five men, and almost as many horses; and as I expected some French parties would continually follow that which we had defeated, I sent an express to Colonel Fry for a reinforcement.

After this the French prisoners desired to speak with me, and asked me in what manner I looked upon them, whether as the attendants of an Ambassador, or as prisoners of war: I answered them that it was in quality of the latter, and gave them my reasons for it, as above.

The 30th. Detached Lieutenant West, and Mr. Spindorph, to take the prisoners to Winchester, with a guard of twenty men.

* Why this apology in a bare journal? Major Washington only mentions such reproaches, as knowing others have a right to reproach him in the like manner.

† A scheme is here attributed to the French, which, however, declares only regular proceedings. It was proper to summon the English to depart from the territories they had invaded, before ever force was used. It is the business of an Ambassador to make that summons, and he must also acquaint the person who sends him, with whatever is done, that if in case the English had refused to satisfy his demands, he might take his measures accordingly.

‡ M. de Jumonville knew not that the English were five miles off.

¶ Another kind of excuse which only shows his remorse. § What authority?

Began to raise a fort with small pallisadoes, fearing that when the French should hear the news of that defeat, we might be attacked by considerable forces.

June the 1st. Arrived here an Indian trader with the Half-King: they said that when Mr. de Jumonville was sent here, another party had been detached towards the lower part of the river,* in order to take and kill all the English they should meet.

We are finishing our fort.

Towards night arrived Ensign Towers, with the Half-King, Queen Alguipa,† and about twenty-five or thirty families, making in all, about eighty or one hundred persons, including women and children. The old King‡ being invited to come in to our tents, told me that he had sent Monakatoocha to Log's-town, with Wampum, and four French Scalps, which were to be sent to the Six Nations, to the Wiandots, &c., to inform them, that they had fallen upon the French, and to demand their assistance.

He also told me he had something to say at the council, but would stay till the arrival of the Shawanese, whom we expected next morning.

The 2d. Arrived two or three families of the Shawanese: we had prayers in the fort.

The 3d. The Half-King assembled the council, and informed me that he had received a speech from Grand-Chaudiere, in answer to the one he had sent him.

The 5th. Arrived an Indian from the Ohio, who had lately been at the French fort: this Indian confirms the news of two traders being taken by the French, and sent to Canada; he saith they have set up their pallisadoes, and enclosed their fort with exceeding large trees.

There are eight Indian families on this side the river, coming to join us: He met a French man who had made his escape in the time of M. de Jumonville's action, he was without either shoes or stockings, and scarce able to walk; however he let him pass, not knowing we had fallen upon them.

The 6th. Mr. Gist is returned, and acquaints me of the safe arrival of the French prisoners at Winchester, and of the death of poor Colonel Fry.

It gave the Governor great satisfaction to see the French prisoners safely arrived at Winchester.

I am also informed that Mr. Montour,|| is coming with a commission to command two hundred Indians.

Mr. Gist met a French deserter, who assured him, that they were only five hundred men, when they took Mr. Wart's fort, that they were now less, having sent fifteen men to Canada, to acquaint the Governor of their success: that there were yet two hundred soldiers, who only waited for a favourable opportunity to come and join us.

* An egregious falsehood. † An Indian Squaw, created a Queen by the English.

‡ Another Indian chief. || This is the Canadian deserter, mentioned in the examination of the four English traders.

The 9th. Arrived the last body of the Virginia Regiment, under the command of Colonel Must,* and we learnt that the independant company of Carolina was arrived at Wills-Creek.

The 10th. I received the Regiment, and at night had notice, that some French were advancing towards us ; whereupon I sent a party of Indians upon the Scout towards Gist's, in order to dicover them, and to know their number. Just before night we had an alarm, but it proved false.

The 12th. Returned two of the men, whom we had sent out yesterday upon the scout ; they discovered a small party of French ; two others went on as far as Stuart's. Upon this advice, I thought it necessary to march with the major part of the Regiment, to find out those ninety men, of whom we had intelligence. Accordingly I gave orders to Colonel Must, to put away all our baggage and ammunition, and to place them in the fort, and set a good guard there till my return ; after which I marched at the head of one hundred and thirty men, and about thirty Indians ; but at the distance of half a mile, I met the other Indians, who told me, there were only nine deserters ; whereupon I sent Mr. Montour, with some few Indians, in order to bring them safe to me ; I caused them to be drest, and they confirmed us in our opinion, of the intention of M. de Jumonville's party ; that more than one hundred soldiers were only waiting for a favorable opportunity to come and join us ; that M. de Contrecoeur expected a reinforcement of four hndred men ; that the fort was completed ; and its artillery a shelter to its front and gates ; that there was double Pallisadoe next to the water ; that they have only eight small pieces of cannon, and know what number of men we are.

They also informed us, that the Delawares and Shawanese† had taken up the hatchet against us ; whereupon, resolved to invite those two nations to come to a council at Mr. Gist's. Sent for that purpose messengers and Wampum.

The 13th. Persuaded the deserters to write the following letter, to those of their companions who had an inclination to desert.‡

(It is not in the Journal.)

The 15th. Set about clearing the roads.

16th. Set out for Red-Stone-Creek, and were extremely perplexed, our waggons breaking very often.

17th. Dispatched an express to the Half-King, in order to persuade him to send a message to the Loups ; which he did.

18th. Arrived eight Mingoos from Loiston,§ who at their arrival told me of a commission they had, and that a council must be held. When we assembled, they told us very shortly, that they had often desired to see their brethren out in the field with forces, and begged us not to take it amiss, that they were amongst the French, and that they complied with some of their customs ; notwithstanding which they were naturally inclined to fall upon them, and other words to that purport: after which

* This name should be Musc, but we follow copy.—Ed. O. T.

† This was an effect of the indignation that the murder of M. de Jumonville had caused.

‡ How can such proceedings be justified. § This must be intended for Logstown.—Ed. O. T.

they said they had brought a speech with them, and desired to deliver it with speed. These, and other discourses to the same purpose, made us suspect that their intentions towards us were evil ; wherefore I delayed giving the audience until the arrival of the Half-King, and desired also the Delawares to have patience till then, as I only waited their arrival to hold a council, which I expected would be that same day. After the eight Mingoes had conferred a while together, they sent me some strings of Wampum, desiring me to excuse their insisting on the delivery of their speech so speedily, that they now perceived it necessary to wait the arrival of the Half-King.

When the Half-King arrived, I consented to give the audience.

A council was held in the camp for that purpose, where the Half-King, and several of the Six Nations, Loups and Shawanese, to the number of forty, were present.

The speaker of the Six Nations directed the following speech to the Governor of Virginia.

Brethren.—We your brothers of the Six-Nations are now come to acquaint you, that we have been informed you threaten to destroy entirely all your brethren the Indians, who will not join you on the road ; wherefore we who keep in our own towns, expect every day to be cut in pieces by you. We would desire to know from your mouth, if there be any truth in that information, and that you would not look upon it as preposterous, that we are come to enquire into it, since you very well know that bad news commonly makes a deeper impression upon us than good ; that we may be fully satisfied by your answers of the truth thereof, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

We know the French will ask us at our return, of what number our brethren are, whom we went to see? Therefore we desire you, by this Belt, to let us know it, as also the number of those whom you expect, and at what time you expect them, and when you reckon to attack the French, that we may give notice thereof to our town and know also, what we shall have to tell the French.

ANSWER.

Brethren:—We are very glad to see you, and sorry that such reports disquiet you. The English do not intend to hurt you, or any of your allies ; this news, we know, must have been forged by the French, who are constantly treacherous, asserting the greatest falsehoods * whenever they think they will turn out to their advantage ; they speak well, promise fine things, but all from the lips outward ; whilst their heart is corrupted and full of venomous poison. You have been their children, and they would have done every thing for you, but they no sooner thought themselves strong enough, than they returned to their natural pride, and

* It may be judged by what has been before mentioned, who most deserves the reproach, the French or the English. The imposture which Major Washington confesseth he had recourse to in order to irritate the Indians, can give a clear idea of the means which the English made use of.

drove you off from your lands, declaring you had no right on the Ohio.* The English your real friends, are too generous, to think of using the Six Nations, their faithful allies, in like manner; when you made your address to the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania; they, at your repeated request) sent an army to maintain your rights;† to put you in the possession of your lands, and to take care of your wives and children, to dispossess the French, to support your prerogatives, and to make that whole country sure to you; for those very ends are the English arms actually employed; it is for the safety of your wives and your children, that we fight, and as this is the only motive of our conduct,‡ we cannot reasonably doubt of being joined by the remaining part of your forces, to oppose the common enemy.

Those that will not join us, shall be answerable for whatever may be the consequence; we only desire your brethren to choose that side which shall be most agreeable to them.

The Indians of the Six Nations are those, who have the most interest in this war; for them it is that we fight; and it would greatly trouble me to do them the least hurt; we have engaged in this war in order to assist and protect you; our arms are open to receive you, and our hands ready to nourish your families during the course of this war. The Governor of Virginia has often desired they might be sent to him, that he might see them in person, nourish and clothe them according to their own desire; but as you could not be determined to send them to him, we are ready to share in a friendly manner, all our provisions with you, and shall take such measures, and give such orders, that enough shall be brought to maintain your wives and children. Such a conduct will evidently prove how much more the English love and esteem their allies the Six Nations,|| than the French do. As we have drawn the sword in your cause, and in your defence, delay not one moment, be no more in suspense, but put your wives and children under our protection; and they shall find plenty of provisions; in the mean while, set your young men and your warriors to sharpen their hatchets, in order to join and unite with us vigorously in our battles.

The presents, my brethren, which I offer you, is not so considerable as I could wish, but I expect in a short time a quantity of goods, which are to be at my disposal, in order to reward those who shall have shown themselves brave and active on this occasion; however, I shall recompence them most generously.

* It is true that the Indians of the Six Nations have never inhabited the borders of the Ohio; neither do they pretend any right to them, but the English who, in America, treat them as friends and allies, would fain persuade them, that the borders of the Ohio belong to the Six Nations, under a pretence of some ancient wars that these had, with the Indians on the Ohio. And in Europe they insist, that that country belongs to England, and pretend that the Indians of the Six Nations, are its subjects.

† Here the English confess, that country is none of theirs; of what can they then reproach the French? It would more become the Indians of the Six Nations to complain; yet they do not.

‡ So! this is the reason of the war against the French, protection due to the Six Nations, who never complained.

|| The grand argument of the English in Europe, to assume the country which lies on the other side of the Apalachian mountains, is, that the Six Nations are their subjects: how can we reconcile that, with the reasonings they hold with the Six Nations when they speak to them?

Be of good courage, my brethren, deliver your country, and make it sure to your children; let me know the thoughts of your hearts on this affair, that I may give an account of your sentiments to your great friend and brother, the Governor of Virginia. In order to assure you of my sincerity and esteem, I present you this belt.

The 20th: The council still continued.

When the Delawares knew that they were suspected of being in the French interest, they demanded the reason why they had been sent for, and what they should tell the French at their return.

I answered them it was to let them know, that we were come at their reiterated requests to assist them with sword in hand;* that we intended to put them in the possession of those lands which the French had taken from them.

And as they had often demanded our assistance, in quality of our ancient and faithful allies, I invited them to come and place themselves under our protection, together with the women and children.

Whereupon the Indian speaker stretched out his blanket upon the floor, and laid several belts and strings of wampum thereon in the same order he had received them from the French. This done, he repeated the speeches of M. de Contreœur;† after which, the Delaware speaker directed to me the following speech:

"Brethren, the Governor of Virginia and Pennsylvania:—We your brethren, the Delawares, remember perfectly well the treaty of Loiston, where you and your uncles the Six Nations, considering the bad situation we were in, for want of a man to be our leader, you then gave us a king, and told us, he should transact all our public affairs between you and us;‡ you gave us a charge, not to listen to every vain report that might be spread, but to consult ourselves, and to do, what would seem to us to be right. We assure you that we have given no credit to any of these reports, nor ever shall; but will be guided by you our brethren, and by our uncles the Six Nations, and will do on all occasions, what is just and right, taking advice from you alone. To assure you of the desire we have to fulfil our engagements with you, we present you this belt."

After which they made the following discourse, to the Six Nations.

"Uncles, Thirteen days are now past, since we have received the belt from the Onondago Council; I do not doubt your knowing it. They exhorted us to remember old times, when they clothed us with a robe reaching down to our heels; afterwards told us, to raise it up to our knees, and there to make it very fast, and come to them at the head of Susquehanna, where they had provided a place for us to live; that they had also sent a speech to those of our nation who live near the Minnesinks, inviting them to go to the place by them appointed, that they might live with us.

* The Delawares at that time were in the French interest; and gave no credit to the English, who endeavoured to persuade them, they were only come at their request.

† Major Washington does not relate in his Journal, what those speeches of the French were? he had no doubt, good reasons to conceal them.

‡ Could it be from this pretended King, the English had made such purchases?

They also sent us a speech, to give us notice that the English and French were upon the point of coming to an engagement on the Ohio river, and exhorted us to do nothing in that juncture, but what was reasonable, and what they would tell us themselves; lastly, they recommended to us, to keep fast hold of the chain of Friendship, which has so long subsisted between us and them, and our brethren the English.

A belt.

Then the Delawares spoke to the Shawanese as follows :

"Grand sons, by this belt, we take you between our arms, and fetch you away from the Ohio, where you now are, to carry you amongst us; that you may live where we live, and there live in peace and quiet."

The council after this was adjourned till the next morning.

The 21st. Met very early, and I spoke first to the Delawares in the following manner.

"Brethren, by your open and generous conduct on this occasion, you have made yourselves dearer to us than ever; we return you our thanks that you did not go to Venango, when the French first invited you there; their treating you in such a childish manner, as we perceive they do, raises in us a just and strong resentment. They call you their children, and speak to you, as if you in reality were children, and had no more understanding than such.

"Consider well my brethren, and compare all their discourse, and you will find that all it tends to, is to tell you, I am going to open your eyes, to unstop your ears, and such like words to no purpose, only proper to amuse childreu. You also observe brethren, that if they deliver a speech, or make a promise, and confirm it by a belt, they imagine it binds them no longer than they think it consistent with their interest to stand to it. They have given one example of it, and I will make you observe it, in the jump which they say they have made over the boundaries, which you had set them; which ought to stir you up my brethren, to a just anger, and cause you to embrace the favorable opportunity that we offer you, as we are come, at your request, to assist you, and by means of which, you may make them jump back again, with more speed than they advanced.

A string of wampum.

"The French are continually telling you, not to give heed to the ill-reports that are told you concerning them who are your fathers. If they did not know in their very souls, how richly they deserve it on your account, why should they suspect being accused? Why should they forewarn you of it, in order to hinder you from believing what is told you concerning them? With regard to what they tell you of us, our conduct alone will answer in our behalf; examine the truth yourselves; you know the roads leading to our habitations, you have lived amongst us, you can speak our language; but in order to justify ourselves from whatever might be said against us, and assure you of our brotherly love; we

once more invite your old men, your wives and your children, to take sanctuary under our protection, and between our arms, in order to be plentifully fed, whilst your warriors, and young men join with ours, and espouse together the common cause.

A string of wampum.

"Brethren, we thank you with all our hearts, for having declared unto us, your resolution of accomplishing the engagements which you had entered into, at the treaty of Loiston,* and we can do no otherwise than praise your generous conduct with regard to your grand sons, the Shawanese ; it gives us infinite pleasure.

We are greatly obliged to the counsel given you by Onondago, charging you to hold fast the chain of friendship by which we are bound ; I dare say, that had he known, how nearly you are interested in this war, or that it is for the love of you, and at your request,† we have taken up arms, he would have ordered you to declare, and to act immediately against the common enemy of the Six Nations. In order to assure you of my affection, and to confirm the truth of what I have said, I present you these two great strings."

After this, the council broke up, and those treacherous devils, who had been sent by the French as spies, returned, though not without some tale, ready prepared to amuse the French, which may be of service to make our own designs succeed.

As they had told me there were sixteen hundred French, and seven hundred Indians on their march, to reinforce those at the Garrison, I persuaded the half-King to send three of his men to inquire into the truth of it ; though I imagine this news to be only soldiers' discourse ; these Indians were accordingly sent in a secret manner, before the council broke up, and had orders to go to the fort, and get what information they could from all the Indians they should meet, and if there was any news worth while, one of them should return, and the other two continue their route as far at Venango, and about the lake, in order to obtain a perfect knowledge of every thing.

I also persuaded King Shingas, to send out rangers towards the river, to bring us news in case any French should come ; I gave him also a letter, which he was to send me back again by an express, to prevent my being imposed upon by a false alarm.

Though King Shingas, and other of the Dalawares, could not be persuaded to retire to our camp with their families, through the fear they were in of Onondago's council, they nevertheless gave us strong assurances of their assistance, and directed us in what manner to act, in order to

* What this treaty of Loiston can be, no one knows ; this Journal makes it appear, that it was convened by a man whom the English gave them for a King, and of consequence they were very safe.

† Why so often repeat ; Major Washington was certainly in doubt as to the Delawares giving any credit to it.

‡ It was by the means of those Indians, that the English had a communication with Stobo the spy, whose letter will be seen hereafter.

obtain our desire ; the method was this ; we were to prepare a great war Belt, to invite all those warriors who would receive it, to act independently from their King and council ; and King Shingas, promised to take privately the most subtle methods to make the affair succeed, though he did not dare to do it openly.

The very day the council broke up, I persuaded Kaquehuston, a trusty Delaware, to carry that letter to the fort which the French deserters had written to their comrades, and gave instructions how he should behave in his observations, upon several articles of which I had spoken to him ; for I am certain the fort may be surprized, as the French are encamped outside, and cannot keep a strict guard, by reason of the works they are about.

I also persuaded George, another trusty Delaware, to go and take a view of the fort, a little after Kaquehuston, and gave him proper instructions, recommending him particularly to return with speed, that we might have fresh news.

Presently after the council was over, notwithstanding all that Mr. Montour could do to dissuade them, the Delawares as also the Half-King, and all the other Indians, returned to the Great Meadows ; but though we had lost them, I still had spies of our own people, to prevent being surprised.

As it had been told me, that if I sent a Belt of Wampum and a speech, that might bring us back both the Half-King and his young men ; accordingly I sent the following speech by Mr. Croghan.

'Tis but lately since we were assembled together ; we were sent here by your brother the Governor of Virginia, at your own Request, in order to succour you, and fight for your cause ; wherefore my brethren, I must require, that you and your young men come to join and encamp with us, that we may be ready to receive our brother Monacatoocha, whom I daily expect ; that this request may have its desired effect, and make a suitable impression upon your minds, I present you with strings of Wampum."

As those Indians, who were spies sent by the French were very inquisitive and asked us many questions, in order to know by what way we proposed to go to the fort, and what time we expected to arrive there ; I left off working any farther at the road, and told them we intended to keep on across the woods as far as the fort, felling the trees, &c. That we were waiting here for the reinforcement which was coming to us, our artillery, and our waggons to accompany us there ; but, as soon as they were gone, I set about marking out and clearing a road towards Red Stone.

The 25th. Towards night came three men from the Great Meadows, amongst whom was the son of Queen Alguipa.

He brought me a letter from Mr. Croghan, informing me what pains he was at to persuade any Indians to come to us; that the Half-King was inclined, and was preparing to join us, but had received a blow which was a hindrance to it. I thought it proper to send Captain Montour to fort Necessity, in order to try if he could, possibly, gain the Indians to come to us.

The 26th. Arrived an Indian, bringing news that Monacatoocha had burnt his village, (Loiston) and was gone by water with his people to Red Stone, and may be expected there in two days. This Indian passed close by the fort, and assures us, that the French had received no reinforcement, except a small number of Indians, who had killed, as he said, two or three of the Delawares. I did not fail to relate that piece of news to the Indians in its proper colours, and particularly to two of the Delawares who are here.

The 27th. Detached Captain Lewis, Lieutenant Wagghner, and Ensign Mercer, two Serjeants, two Corporals, one drummer, and sixty men, in order to endeavor to clear a road, to the mouth of Red-Stone creek on Monongahela.

NUMBER IX.

The journal of M. de Villiers. June the 26th.

Arrived at fort du Quesne about eight in the morning, with the several nations, the command of which the General had given me.

At my arrival was informed that M. de Contrecoeur had made a detachment of five hundred French, and eleven Indians of different nations on the Ohio, the command of which he had given to Chevalier le Mercier, who was to depart the next day.

As I was the oldest officer, and commanded the Indian nations, and as my brother had been assassinated,* M. de Contrecoeur honored me with that command, and M. le Mercier, though deprived of the command, seemed very well pleased to make the campaign under my orders.

M. de Contrecoeur called Messrs. le Mercier, de Longueil, and myself, in order to deliberate upon what should be done in the campaign, as to the place, the strength of the enemy, the assassination committed by them upon my brother, and the peace we intended to maintain between the two crowns,

The 28th. M. de Contrecoeur gave me my orders, the provisions were distributed, and we left the fort about ten in the morning. I began, from that instant, to send out some Indians to range about by land, to prevent being surprized.

I posted myself at a short distance above the first fork of the river Monongahela, though I had no thought of taking that route. I called the Indians together, and demanded their opinion. It was decided, that it was suitable to take the river Monongahela, though the route was longer.

* M. Jumonville.

The 29th. Mass was said in the camp, after which we marched with the usual precaution.

30th. Came to the Hangard,* which was a sort of fort built with logs one upon another, well notched in, about thirty foot in length, and twenty in breadth, and as it was late, and would not do any thing without consulting the Indians, I encamped about two musket shot from that place.

At night I called the Sachems together, and we consulted upon what was the best to be done for the safety of our Pettiaguas, and of the provisions we left in reserve, as also what guard should be left to keep it.

July the 1st. Put our Pettiaguas in a safe place, our effects, and every thing we could do without, we took into the Hangard; where I left one good Serjeant, with twenty men and some sick Indians. Ammunition was afterwards distributed, and we began our march.

At about 11 o'clock we discovered some tracks, which made us suspect we were discovered.

At three in the afternoon, having no news of our rangers, I sent others, who met those sent before, and not knowing each other, were near upon exchanging shot, but happily found their mistake; they returned to us, and declared to have been at the road which the English were clearing; that they were of opinion no body had been that way for three days. We were no longer in doubt of our proceedings being known to the English.

The 2d. We marched at break of day, without waiting the return of our rangers. After having marched some time, we stopped, for I was resolved to proceed no farther, until I had positive news; wherefore I sent scouts upon the road. In the meanwhile, came some of those Indians to me, whom we had left at the Hangard, they had taken a prisoner, who called himself a deserter; I examined him, and threatened him with the rope, if he offered to impose upon me. I learned that the English had left their post, in order to rejoin their fort, and that they had brought back their cannon.

Some of our people finding that the English had abandoned the camp, we went thereto, and I sent some men to search it throughout, where they found several tools, and other utensils hidden in many places, which I ordered them to carry away. As it was late, I ordered the detachment to encamp there.

I examined the Englishman a second time, sometimes terrifying him, and at other times giving him hopes of reward. I imparted all he told me to the Indians, as also of my resolution not to expose them rashly. We had rain all night.

The 30th. At break of day I prepared for my departure, I desired the Indians to provide me some scouts; the weather was inclining to rain, but I foresaw the necessity of preventing the enemy in their works.

* This hangard had been built by the English.

We marched the whole day in the rain, and I sent scouts one after another. I stopped at the place where my brother had been assassinated, and saw there yet some dead bodies.

When I came within three quarters of a league from the English fort, I ordered my men to march in columns, every officer to his division, that I might the better dispose of them as necessity would require.

I sent scouts, and gave them orders to go close up to the camp. Twenty others to sustain them; and I advanced in order. My scouts soon informed me that we were discovered, and that the English were coming in battle array to attack us; and that they were very near us; upon which I ordered my men in a posture suitable for a bush fight. It was not long before I perceived that my scouts had misled me, and ordered the troops to advance on that side where we expected them to attack us.

As we had no knowledge of the place, we presented our flank to the fort, when they began to fire upon us, and almost at the same time, I perceived the English on the right, in order of battle, and coming towards us. The Indians, as well as ourselves, set up a great cry, and advanced towards them; but they did not give us time to fire upon them, before they sheltered themselves in an intrenchment, which was adjoining to their fort. After which we aimed to invest the fort, which was advantageously enough situated in a meadow, within a musket shot from the woods. We drew as near them as possible, that we might not expose his Majesty's subjects to no purpose; the fire was very brisk on both sides, and I chose that place, which seemed to me the most proper, in case we should be exposed to a sally; we fired so smartly as to put out, (if I may use the expression) the fire of their cannon with our musket shot.

Towards six at night, the fire of the enemy increased with more vigor than ever, and lasted until eight. We briskly returned their fire. We took particular care to secure our posts, to keep the English fast up in their fort all night; and after having fixed ourselves in the best position we could, we let the English know that if they would speak to us, we would stop firing. They accepted the proposal; there came a captain to the place where I was; I sent M. le Mercier to receive him, and I went to the meadow, where I told him, that as we were not at war, we were very willing to save them from the cruelties to which they exposed themselves on account of the Indians; but if they were stubborn, we would take away from them all hopes of escaping; that we consented to be favorable to them at present, as we were come only to revenge my brother's assassination, and to oblige them to quit the lands of the King my master, and we agreed to grant them the capitulation, whereof a copy is here annexed. We considered that nothing could be more advantageous than this capitulation, as it was not proper to make prisoners in a time of peace. We made the English consent to sign, that they had assassinated my brother in his camp; we had hostages for the security of the

French who were in their power; we made them abandon the King's country; *we obliged them to leave us their cannon, consisting of nine pieces*; we destroyed all their horses and cattle, and made them to sign that the favor we granted them, was only to prove how desirous we were to use them as friends.

That very night the articles of capitulation were signed, and the two hostages I had demanded, were brought to my camp.

The 4th, at break of day I sent a detachment, to take possession of the Fort, the garrison filed off, and the number of their dead and wounded moved me to pity, notwithstanding my resentment for their having in such a manner taken away my brother's life.

The Indians who had obeyed my orders in every thing, claimed a right to the plunder, but I opposed it: however, the English being frightened fled and left their tents and one of their colors, I demolished their fort; *and M. le Mercier ordered their cannon to be broken; as also the one granted by capitulation, the English not being able to carry it away.*

I hastened my departure, after having bursted the casks wherein was their Liquor, to prevent the disorders which would have certainly happened; one of my Indians took ten Englishmen whom he brought to me, but I sent them back again by another.

All I lost in this attack, were two men killed, and one Pany,* seventeen wounded, two whereof are Indians, exclusive of a number so slightly wounded as to have no occasion for the surgeon.

We marched that day about two leagues, and I detached some of my men to carry on litters those who were badly wounded.

The 5th. About nine I arrived at the camp, which the English had abandoned, I ordered the intrenchment to be demolished, and the houses to be burnt down; and after having detached M. de la Chauvignerie to burn the houses round about, I continued my route, and encamped three leagues from thence.

The 6th. Departed early in the morning, and arrived about ten at the Hangard.

We put our Pettiaugas in order; victualled the detachment; carried away the reserve of provisions which we had left there, and found several things which the English had hidden, after which I burnt down the Hangard. We then embarked, and kept on till about six at night, when I was obliged to encamp in a very great rain.

The 7th. Continued my route, after having detached M. de la Chauvignerie to acquaint M. de Contrecoeur of the success of our campaign; passing along, we burnt down all the settlements we found, and about four o'clock I delivered my detachment to M. de Contrecoeur.

* The name of an Indian.

Capitulation granted to M. de Villiers, Captain and commander of his Majesty's troops, to those English troops actually in Fort Necessity.

July the 3d, 1754, at 8 o'clock at night.

As our intentions have never been to trouble the peace and good harmony subsisting between the two Princes in amity, but only to revenge the assassination, committed on one of our officers, bearer of a summon, as also on his escort, and to hinder any establishment on the lands of the dominions of the King my master; upon these considerations, we are willing to show favor to all the English who are in the said fort, on the following conditions.

ARTICLE I.

We grant leave to the English Commander to retire with all his garrison, and to return peaceably into his own country; and promise to hinder his receiving any insult from us French; and to restrain, as much as shall be in our power, the Indians that are with us.

ART. II.

It shall be permitted him to go out, and carry with him all that belongs to them, except the artillery, which we reserve.

ART. III.

That we will allow them the honors of war, that they march out with drums beating, and one swivel gun, being willing thereby to convince them, that we treat them as friends.

ART. IV.

That as soon as the articles are signed by both parties, the English colors shall be struck.

ART. V.

That to-morrow, at break of day, a detachment of French shall go and make the Garrison file off, and take possession of the fort.

ART. VI.

As the English have but few oxen or horses left, they are at liberty to hide their effects, and to come again and search for them, when they have a number of horses sufficient to carry them off, and that for this end they may have what guards they please; on condition that they give their word of honor, to work no more on any buildings in this place, or any part on this side of the mountains.

ART. VII.

And as the English have in their power, one officer, two cadets, and most of the prisoners made at their assassination of M. de Jumonville, and promise to send them back, with a safe guard to Fort Du Quesne, situate on the Ohio; for surety of their performing this article as well as this treaty, M. Jacob Vambrane and Robert Stobo, both Captains, shall be delivered to us as hostages, till the arrival of our French and Canadians above mentioned. We oblige ourselves on our side, to give an

escorte to return these two officers in safety; and expect to have our French in two months and a half at farthest. A duplicate of this being fixed upon one of the posts of our blockade, the day and year above mentioned.

Signed, Messrs. { JAMES MACKAYE,
G. WASHINGTON.
COULON VILLIERL.

NUMBER X.

The translation of a letter written by Robert Stobo, at Fort du Quesne, who was one of the hostages given for a faithful performance of the Capitulation granted to the English troops commanded by Major Washington.

July the 28th, 1764.

SIR:—An Indian called Tusquerora John, brought here a piece of news, which has greatly alarmed the Indians of this river: he said that the Half-King, Manaquahiha, and a chief of the Shawanese, &c., to the number of thirty-seven, have been taken by the English and carried away as prisoners. He related also, that John Mainer, alias, James Cork, of Montour's company, had told him, that the thirty-seven Indians were to be all hanged, as soon as they had reached the English inhabitants, and advised him to make his escape. This was very dexterously reported, on the night before a grand council which was held between the Shawanese, the French, and the Indians their allies. The French made them a long and elegant speech, telling them, they did not come here to war with any body; but that the English would give them no peace; that they were in hopes, the Indians, their children, would not allow their father to be insulted in his old age, that nevertheless if they would join with the English; they might do it. But if they would take time to consider, they would find it more to their interest to remain in peace.* This is all I could learn from this council.

The French accompanied those speeches with two strings of Wampum; their allies did the same. There were also considerable presents made; to wit, sixteen beautiful muskets, two barrels of gun-powder, balls in proportion; sixteen very beautiful suits of cloths, many others of a less value, and blankets. The Shawanese made no answer at that time, neither do I hear they have made any since. It is affirmed that the Half-King and his band were killed, and that their wives and children were delivered up to the barbarity of the Cherokees, and Catawbas, who are three hundred in number at the new-store. Be it so or not, the Indians are very much alarmed thereat; and had it not been for this news, you would have had many of the different nations in your interest. If it should be true (which I cannot think) no dependence can be put upon any Indians in these parts; which will greatly endanger our return; but this is not to be considered.

* It is therefore proved by the evidence even of an Englishman the most exasperated against the French, that these did not stir up the Indians to war. Their conduct may be compared with the craft and subtlety of the English which are so well represented in the Journal.

The Shawanese, Pickos, and Delawagos,* have held a great council together, but I know not the issue of it : I have persuaded some of them to go to you, assuring them they would be well received, and that there was at the new-store very beautiful presents for the Indians. A present made in a proper manner at this time might be of great service to us : If a peace could be made with the Catawbas, and the Cherokees, I believe every thing would succeed well. At the battle in the meadows (Fort Necessity) we had no more than six or seven Indians, whom we called ours ; I believe they were Mingoes, and of little esteem in that nation, in particular, one who was called English John ; he is of the number of those who were looked upon as spies. I heard he was to go and see you with his people ; I would have you put no confidence in them. I send you this by Monacatoocha's brother-in-law, who is a good subject and may be trusted.

On the other hand you will see the plan of the fort which is as well drawn, as the time and circumstances would permit me. The garrison at present, contains only two hundred men, all tradesmen ; the rest, one thousand in number, are gone in different detachments. M. Mercier, a good soldier, is to leave the fort within two days, then there will be only Contrecoeur, with some few young officers and cadets. A Lieutenant was sent some days ago with two hundred men to get provisions : he is hourly expected ; and at his return the garrison will contain four hundred men. La Force is greatly wanted here ; no more discoveries are made since his departure ; he is so much regretted and wished for, that I judge he was a man of no small account. When we entered into our country's service, it was expected we would do it at the expence of our lives ; therefore let not people be deceived ; consider what may promote the expedition, without the least regard for us ; for my own part I could die ten thousand deaths, to have the satisfaction of possessing this one English fort only. The French are so proud of their success in the meadows, that I had rather die, than hear them speak of it. Attack the fort this fall as soon as possible ; gain the Indians to your side, in a word, do the best you can, and you will succeed. One hundred Indians who can be depended upon, are capable of surprising the fort ; they have admittance therein every day ; they can conceal themselves so as to dispatch the guard without any difficulty with their Tamkanko:† then let them shut the door fast, and the fort is ours. There are at night, only Contrecoeur and the guard in the fort, who never exceed fifty men ; all the others lodge without, in cabins that are round it. For God's sake speak not of this to many people, and

* Indian Nation. The Delawagos may be the same whom Maj. Washington calls Delawares.

† This word is not to be found in the dictionary ; but it is thought to be casse-tete. Skull-breakers.‡

‡ Tamkanko. This is a curious instance of the change produced in translating from English into French. Captain Stobo used the word Tomahawks as will be seen in the copy of his letter published in the previous volume of the Olden Time page 60. We might have omitted this second copy of Stobo's letter, but some of our readers might be curious to see it as it was originally and as it appears after two translations first from English into French and then into English again.

let it be to such as you can trust. They certainly have knowledge here of every thing, and should they know what I am writing, the least that could befall me, would be the losing of the little liberty I have. I would look upon your sending me news, as the highest favour; but make no mention of this in your letter. I beseech you to pass by the faults that may have crept in this letter, which is not in the best order, and believe that I am, &c.

Signed,

ROBERT STORO.

P. S.—Shew kindness to this Indian; Shingas and Delaware George are come here.

I the subscriber, one of the superior council of Quebec, do certify that I have translated the above letters from English into French the original being deposited in the secretary's office of the Governor-General of New France. Done at Quebec, the thirtieth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed, PERTHUIS.

We the Governor-General, and intendant of New-France, certify, that M. Perthuis, one of the superior council of Quebec, hath translated the above letter, and that we have heard all the English people who have been in this town say; that the said M. Perthuis could both speak and translate the English tongue perfectly well. Done at Quebec, the thirtieth September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed,

VAUDREUIL

and

BIGOT.

 NUMBER. XI.

Instructions given to General Braddock by his Britannic Majesty.

GEORGE R.

Instructions for our loyal and well beloved Edward Braddock, esquire, Major-General of our armies, whom we have appointed General and commander of all and every of our troops and forces which are actually in North America, or may be sent there, or levy'd to vindicate our just rights and possessions on that continent. Given at our court at St. James's the 25th of November, 1754 and of our reign the 28th.

As by our commission dated the 24th of September last, we have appointed you General and Commander of all and every of our forces, which are or shall be hereafter in North-America.

In order to enable you the better to answer the trust which we have reposed in you, we have thought proper to give you the following instructions.

1st. We have given our most serious attention to the representation of our subjects in North America, and, to the present state of our Colonies, and, in order to preserve our just rights and possessions from all usurpations, and to secure the commerce of our subjects, we have ordered two of our regiments of foot, which are now in Ireland, commanded by Sir Peter Halket and Colonel Dunbar, forthwith into America, and that a suitable train of artillery be also sent there, as also transport vessels with provisions, under a convoy of a certain number of our ships of war.

2d. As soon as you have received our present instructions, you shall embark in one of our vessels of war, and shall set sail for North America where you shall take the command of our forces; and we have given directions of the like nature to the said commander of our squadron, with regard to his conduct and correspondence with you.

3d. And whereas, there will be wanting a number of men to make up the designed complements of our said regiments, from five hundred to seven hundred each: and whereas, it is our intention that two other regiments of foot, to consist of one thousand men each, shall be forthwith raised, and commanded by General Shirley and Sir William Pepperell, whom we have appointed Colonels of the same, in our provinces and colonies in North America, and given directions, that the regiment under the command of the former, should rendezvous at Boston; and that under the command of the latter, at New York and Philadelphia; and we have given orders to our several Governors, to be taking the previous steps towards contributing, as far as they can, to have about three thousand men in readiness, to be enlisted for these purposes, and to be put in proportion, as they shall be raised, under your command, and be subject to your distribution into the corps above mentioned. And we having thought proper to dispatch Sir John St. Clair, our Deputy Quarter Master General, and James Pilcher, Esq., our commissary of the musters in North America, to prepare everything necessary for the arrival of the two regiments from Europe; and for the raising of the forces above mentioned in America. You will inform yourself of such of our Governors, as you can most conveniently upon your arrival, and of all of them in due time; and likewise of our said Deputy Quarter Master General, and Commissary of the musters, concerning the progress they shall respectively have made in the execution of our commands, above mentioned, in order that you may be enabled, without delay, to act accordingly.

4th. Whereas, it has been represented to us that the said forces, which are to go from Cork, under your command, may be in want of provisions upon their arrival in America, we caused, in consideration thereof, one thousand barrels of beef, and ten tons of butter to be put on board the transport vessels, and to be delivered to you upon your arrival in America, in case you shall find the same to be necessary, in order to be distributed among the officers and troops, and the several persons belonging to the train of artillery. But it is our royal will and pleasure, that in case the Governors of our colonies, shall have provided the proper quantity of provisions for our troops upon their arrival, you will then signify the same to the Commander-in-Chief of our fleet, in those ports, that the said thousand barrels of beef, and ten tons of butter, or such part thereof as shall not be expended, may be applied to the use of our royal navy.

5th. Whereas, we have given orders to our said Governors, to provide carefully, a sufficient quantity of fresh victuals, for the use of our troops

at their arrival and they should also furnish all our officers whenever they are obliged to go from one place to another, and with every thing that will be necessary for them on their march by land, when they cannot go by sea, to observe likewise and obey all orders that shall be given them by you, or by those whom you will appoint from time to time, to quarter the troops, to press the transports, and to provide all that shall be necessary for as many troops as shall arrive, or shall be raised in America ; and as these different services shall be executed at the expense of the governments wheresoever they are ; it is our will and pleasure, for the due performance of all these articles, that you apply to our said Governors, or any one of them, as the case will require.

6th. And as we have furthermore ordered our said Governors to do their utmost endeavours to engage mutually the assemblies of their provinces speedily to raise a sum, as considerable as they can obtain, by way of contribution to a common fund, to be provisionally employed for the general service in America, particularly to pay the charges of raising the troops that are to be made use of to complete the regiments above mentioned ; our will is, that you give them all the advice and assistance you can, in order to accomplish these advantageous projects, in establishing such a common fund, as may be sufficient for prosecuting the plan of that service which we propose to you ;* but you shall be particularly careful that no money be given to the troops that are to be under your command, except the payments which will be made on account of the effective men who shall be sent you.

7th. Having thus ordered our said Governors to correspond and confer with you concerning all matters which may tend to accelerate the said levies in their respective Governments : We require that you aid and assist them in the execution of our instructions ; wherefore you shall not only entertain a constant and frequent correspondence with them by letters, but shall also visit the said provinces, or some one of them if you think it advantageous to our service ; and you shall put our said Governors in remembrance to use all possible diligence, that the execution of our projects be not delayed by the slowness of the levies which are to be made in their respective provinces, or by the want of transports, provisions, or any other necessary thing, at whatever time, or in whatever place you may judge it convenient to appoint for their General Rendezvous.

You shall assemble, in order to be an assistance to you ; a council of war which we have thought proper to appoint, and which shall consist and shall be composed of yourself, of the commander in chief of our vessels, of such Governors of our Colonies or provinces, and of such Colonels and other land officers, as shall be at a convenient distance from our said General and Commander of our forces ; and with their advice,

* In order to know this plan, see hereafter Colonel Napier's letter.

or the majority of them, you shall determine all the operations which are to be executed by our said troops under your orders, and every other important point which may have any conformity thereto, and that, in the manner that shall be most conducive to those ends for which the said troops are destined and you shall answer faithfully to that trust which we have placed in you.

8th. You shall not only maintain the most entire harmony and friendship you possibly can with the different Governors of our Colonies and provinces, but also with the Chiefs of the Indian nations and for the better promoting and strengthening of our correspondence with those Indian nations you shall endeavour to find out some proper person who is agreeable to the southern Indian nations, and send him to them for that purpose, in the same manner as we have ordered Colonel Johnson to visit the Northern Nations, as being the person (we believe) will be received with the most satisfaction; in order to engage them to take part, and* to act with our forces in those operations which you think the most advantageous and most expedient to undertake.

9th. You shall enquire from time to time into the nature and value of the customary presents that shall be granted by the assemblies of our different Colonies and provinces, to invite and engage the Indian nations in our interest and in our alliance; and you shall be very careful that a just and faithful distribution thereof be made by such person as shall be charged therewith and shall assist those persons, giving them your best advice in the said distribution. You shall give particular attention, that those presents, on all occasions, wherever they shall be made, be prudently disposed of; as also in the cases wherein Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie is concerned, with regard to the said Indians, on account of the sums of money which are already granted in his towns or elsewhere.

10th. As it has been represented to us that the French, and the inhabitants† of our different Colonies, keep up between them a correspondence and a prohibited trade, you shall diligently take all necessary measures to stop the continuation of such dangerous practices; and, particularly, that no sort of provisions, &c. be furnished to the French, under any pretence whatsoever.

We have thought it a thing proper in the present occasion, to settle the rank which is to be observed between the officers who are invested with our immediate commissions, and those who serve under the commissions of our Governors, &c.

12th. You will receive, here annexed, a copy of the orders which we sent the 28th of August 1753, to our different Governors, wherein we en-

* The orders given to Colonel Johnston were long before this instruction. Therefore the project was concerted long ago, and consequently the invasion in the country situated on the river Ohio, entered into the plan of that project.

† The King of England acknowledges here the general law, which keeps one European colony from going to trade with the Indians who are scattered on the territories of another colony. It is by that law that the French had been authorized to confiscate the goods of those English who came to trade on the river Ohio.

join and exhort our Colonies and provinces in North America, to unite together for their common and mutual defence ; you will also see by our orders of the 5th of July (a copy of which is also here annexed) our reiterated orders, for the making of our said orders of the 28th of August 1753, to be observed with more force ; and that we had the goodness to order the sum of ten thousand pounds to be sent in specie to Governor Dinwiddie, and to permit our said Lieutenant Governor, to draw for another sum of ten thousand pounds, on the conditions mentioned in our orders of the third of July last, and sent to the said Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie, the 27th of September following, for that money to be employed to the general service, and to protect North America. And the several other letters of the 25th and 26th of October, and of the 4th of November, to our Governors, to Sir William Pepperell, and to Colonel Shirley (copies of which will be delivered to you with these presents) will entirely acquaint you with our orders and instructions which have been signified to our Governors and officers on that head ; which will enable you to enquire how they have been executed, and what advantages they have produced,

13th. You shall not fail to send us by the first, and by all the opportunities that may present themselves, a clear and particular account of your proceedings, and of every thing that shall be essential to our service, by your letters to one of our principal Ministers and secretaries of state, from whom you will receive from time to time more ample orders which will be of use to you for your conduct.

I, the subscriber, one of the Superior Council of Quebec, do certify that I have translated from English into French, word for word, the instructions from the King of Great Britain to Gen. Braddock, the original being deposited in the Secretary's Office of the Governor General of New France, done at Quebec, the thirtieth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed PERTHUIS.

We the Governor-General, and intendant of New France, do certify that M. Perthuis, one of the superior council of Quebec, hath translated from English into French the King of Great Britain's instruction to General Braddock, and that we have heard all the English people who have been in this town say, that M. Perthuis could both speak and translate the English tongue perfectly well. Quebec, thirtieth of September one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed, VAUDREUIL and BIGOT.

A letter written by Colonel Napier and sent to General Braddock, by order of the Duke of Cumberland.

London, November 25, 1754.

SIR:—His royal Highness the Duke, in the several audiences he has given you, entered into a particular explanation of every part of the service you are about to be employed in ; and as a better rule for the execution of his Majesty instructions, he last Saturday communicated to you his own

sentiments of this affair, and since you were desirous of forgetting no part thereof, he has ordered me to deliver them to you in writing. His royal Highness has this service very much at heart, as it is of the highest importance to his Majesty's American dominions, and to the honor of his troops employed in those parts. His Royal Highness likewise takes a particular interest in it, as it concerns you, whom he recommended to his Majesty to be nominated to the chief command.

The opinion of his royal Highness is, that immediately after your landing, you consider what artillery and other implements of war it will be necessary to transport to Wills-Creek, for your first operation on the Ohio, that it may not fail you in the service; and that you form a second field-train, with good officers and soldiers, which shall be sent to Albany, and be ready to march for the second operation at Niagara. You are to take under your command as many as you think necessary of the two companies of artillery that are in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland as soon as the season will allow; taking care to leave enough to defend the Island; Captain Ord,* a very experienced officer, of whom his Royal Highness has a great opinion, will join you as soon as possible.

As soon as Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments are near complete, his Royal Highness is of opinion you should cause them to encamp, not only that they may the sooner be disciplined, but also to draw the attention of the French, and keep them in suspense about the place you really design to attack. His Royal Highness does not doubt that the Officers and Captains of the several companies will answer his expectation, in forming and disciplining their respective troops.

The most strict discipline is always necessary, but more particularly so in the service you are engaged in, wherefore his Royal Highness recommends to you, that it be constantly observed among the troops under your command, and to be particularly careful that they be not thrown into a panic by the Indians, with which they are yet unacquainted, whom the French will certainly employ to frighten them. His Royal Highness recommends to you the visiting your forts night and day, that your Colonels and other officers be careful to do it, and that you yourself frequently set them the example, and give all your troops plainly to understand, that no excuse will be admitted for any surprize whatsoever.

Should the Ohio expedition continue any considerable time, and Pepperell's and Shirley's regiments be found sufficient to undertake in the mean while the reduction of Niagara, his Royal Highness would have you consider, whether you could go there in person, leaving the command of the troops on the Ohio, to some officer on whom you might depend, unless you shall think it better for the service to send to those troops some person whom you had designed to command on the Ohio; but this is a nice affair, and claims your particular attention, as Colohel Shirley

* This no doubt should be "Captain Orme," one of the aids of Braddock:—ED. O. T:

is the next commander after you; wherefore if you should send such an officer, he must conduct himself so, as to appear only in quality of a friend or counsellor in the presence of Colonel Shirley; and his Royal Highness is of opinion, that that officer must not produce, or make mention of the commission you give him for command, except in such case of absolute necessity.

The ordering of these matters may be depended on, if the expedition at Crown Point can take place, at the same time that Niagara is besieged.

If after the Ohio expedition is ended, it should be necessary for you to go with your whole force to Niagara, it is the opinion of his Royal Highness, that you should carefully endeavor to find out a shorter way from the Ohio thither, than that of the lake, which however you are not to attempt under any pretence whatever, without a moral certainty of being supplied with provisions, &c.

As to your design of making yourself master of Niagara, which is of the greatest consequence, his Royal Highness recommends to you, to leave nothing to chance, in the prosecution of that enterprize.

With regard to the reducing of Crown Point, the provincial troops being best acquainted with the country, will be of the most service. After the taking of this fort, his Royal Highness advises you to consult with the Governors of the neighboring provinces, where it will be most proper to build a fort to cover the frontiers of those provinces.

As to the forts which you think ought to be built (and of which they are perhaps too fond in that country) his Royal Highness recommends the building of them in such a manner, that they may not require a strong garrison. He is of opinion that you ought not to build considerable forts cased with stone, before the plans and estimate thereof have been sent to England, and approved here by the Government. His Royal Highness thinks, that stockaded forts with pallisadoes, and a good ditch, capable of containing two hundred men, or four hundred upon an emergency, will be sufficient for the present.

As Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence, who commands at Nova Scotia, hath long projected the taking of Beau-Sejour, his Royal Highness advises you to consult with him, both with regard to the time, and the manner of executing that design. In this enterprize, his Royal Highness foresees that his Majesty's ships may be of great service, as well by transporting the troops and warlike implements, as intercepting the stores and succors that might be sent to the French, either by the Bay Francoise, or from Cape Breton, to the Bay Verte, on the other side of the Isthmus.

With regard to your winter quarters, after the operations of the campaign are finished, his Royal Highness recommends it to you to examine whether the French will not endeavor to make some attempts next season, and in what parts they will most probably make them. In this case it will be most proper to canton your troops on that side at such distances

that they may easily be assembled for the common defence. But you will be determined in this matter by appearances, and the intelligence which it hath been recommended to you to procure by every method immediately after your landing. It is unnecessary to put you in mind, how careful you must be to prevent being surprised. His Royal Highness imagines that your greatest difficulty will be, the subsisting of your troops. He therefore recommends it to you, to give your chief attention to this matter, and to take proper measures relative thereto with the Governors, and with the Quarter Masters and Commissaries. I hope that the extraordinary supply put on board the fleet, and the thousand barrels of beef destined for your use, will facilitate and secure the supplying of your troops with provisions.

I think I have omitted nothing of all the points, wherein you desired to be informed; if there should yet be any intricate point unthought of, I desire you would represent it to me now, or at any other time: and I shall readily take it upon me to acquaint his Royal Highness thereof, and shall let you know his opinion on the subject.

I wish you much success with all my heart; and as this success will infinitely rejoice all your friends, I desire you would be fully persuaded that no body will take greater pleasure in acquainting them thereof, than him, who is, &c.

Signed, ROBERT NAPIER.

I, the subscriber, one of the superior council of Quebec, do certify that I have translated the above letter, word for word, from English into French, the original being deposited in the Secretary's office of the Governor General of New France. Done at Quebec, the thirtieth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed, PERTHUIS.

We, the Governor General, and intendant of New France, do certify, that M. Perthuis, one of the Superior Council of Quebec, hath translated the above letter, and that we have heard all the English people who have been in this town say; that the said M. Perthuis could both speak and translate the English tongue perfectly well. Done at Québec, the thirtieth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed, VAUDREUIL and BIGOT.

NUMBER XIII.

The translation of a register of letters written by General Braddock, to the several Ministers and English Lords.

LETTER I.

To Henry Fox, Esquire, Secretary of War.

Williamsburg, Feb. 24th, 1755.

After a passage of seven weeks, wherein I had abundance of bad weather, I arrived here, where I found everything in great confusion, as I expected; a great deal of money has already been spent here, though but very little done, Sir John St. Clair is just now come here; I refer you to his letters, they will acquaint you of the bad state of the independent companies of New York; as I am but lately come, I can give you no news thereof myself. The governor of this place is of opinion, that the people of this province are fully convinced of the necessity there is for them to give all the assistance in their power, in an affair which so nearly concerns them. Governor Dobbs* is well enough pleased with the people of his province, and hopes he will be more so hereafter. Pennsylvania will do nothing, and furnisheth the French with whatever they have occasion for. I shall execute your orders punctually, and with as much speed as possible. I was obliged to appoint a commissary for about a fortnight. I shall have occasion to write to you, and shall acquaint you of those particulars which I shall think most interesting. I am with the most profound respect, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

To Colonel Napier, Aid-de-camp.

Williamsburgh Feb. 24th, 1755.

After having passed through all the dangers of the seas, from which I have escaped, I arrived here the 20th of this month. The Governor assures me, that the people are like to be more tractable, and that they see the necessity there is of providing for me all the succors which they must be obliged to furnish, in an enterprize that particularly regards themselves.

So little order or union has reigned among them hitherto, that much time has been spent to little purpose. Sir John St. Clair has this moment arrived. He is indefatigable, and has done all that could possibly be expected; you will see by his letters (to which I refer you) the present state of affairs, and the bad condition of our troops in this country, particularly of the unworthy independent companies of New York. Pennsylvania, the richest and most populous of all these provinces will do nothing, and furnisheth the French with provisions; the Six Nations

* Arthur Dobbs, Governor of North Carolina, from 1754 to 1766.—Ed. O: T.

are at present attached to the French. I have as yet but four twelve pounders, which will not have a great effect should I be obliged to make a breach; but as I cannot do without them, I will endeavor to get some cannon from on board the men of war. We have made no preparations as yet for the transports. My most humble respects and duty to his Royal Highness.

I am, my dear Colonel, your most humble, &c.

LETTER III.

*To Sir Thomas Robinson, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State.
Williamsburgh, March 18th, 1755.*

Sir:—I arrived here the 20th of February. The Gibraltar having sailed two days after, I could not give you an account by her, of the preparations which are made in the provinces for the service of our expedition, nor of the measures I must take for its success.

Immediately after my arrival, I wrote with all diligence, to the different Governors of this continent, to engage them to do their utmost in their respective provinces, to obtain levies of men and money, agreeable to his Majesty's instructions; recommending to them to shut up their ports that no provisions may be carried from us to the enemy; which Governor Dinwiddie observed and executed in this province. I have also, by his Majesty's orders, recommended the establishing of a common fund with the money granted by the different Colonies, which should serve as a capital stock to defray the expenses of the general service of our expedition, and which might be subject to my orders, offering to be accountable to each of the provinces for what purpose it should be employed, whether for securing the most effectual means of facilitating the service in which I am engaged, or for taking the steps most conducive to its success. The jealousy of the people, and the disunion of the colonies as well of all in general as of each in particular, makes me almost despair. Indeed I am very sorry to tell you, that according to all appearance, I shall have much difficulty to obtain from these colonies the succors his Majesty expects, and the common interest requires.

The different governors of the provinces of this continent will inform you no doubt, what each of them have already done towards this expedition, and what they intend to do for the time to come. All that I can tell you upon this subject at present, is, that Governor Dinwiddie has already obtained from his province twenty thousand pounds currency, and hopes to obtain a greater sum from the Assembly, which is prorogued for that purpose to the first of May next. North Carolina granted eight thousand, and Maryland six thousand pounds, each the current money of their respective provinces. Pennsylvania without contradiction the richest province, and whose interest is, above all, concerned in the event of this expedition, has yet granted nothing. Therefore I wrote a very sharp

letter to the governor, which he is to communicate to the Assembly of that province, if he thinks proper, to bring them to their duty.

A copy of which I send you.

I do not doubt but Governor Shirley has acquainted you of the progress made in raising the American regiments, by the accounts given me of his, I believe it is almost completed, but I can give no account of Sir William Pepperell's. I have taken measures with Mr. Keppel for sending over arms and clothing for each regiment with all possible diligence. All the transport vessels are arrived, except the Severn, which has on board a company of Sir Peter Halket's, and is daily expected. None of my men has been yet sick. Instead of cantoning my troops as I at first intended, according to the account which Sir John St. Clair had given in England concerning them; the wind being favorable, and not imagining any danger, I have given orders to the transport vessels to sail up the river Potowmack, to proceed to Alexandria, and land them where I design to encamp.

All the levies of Virginia and Maryland, are also to join me at Alexandria. I shall take the best men to augment the English regiments to seven hundred each, and employ the others as it was agreed with Governor Dinwiddie, which is in the following manner, viz., to form two companies of carpenters, composed each of one Captain, two subalterns, two Serjeants, and thirty men; the first of which will be absolutely necessary to make roads, build boats, and repair the carriages, &c. I shall employ the residue of the new raised men, to cover the main body of the army, and shelter it from all manner of surprize. Those companies shall be paid by the province, and be upon the same terms with those of Old England, the difference only of the money, which is about twenty-five per cent. I have also raised a company of guides, composed of one Captain, two Aid-de-camps, and ten men; I have fixed posts, in order to go from the head quarters to Philadelphia, to Annapolis in Maryland, and to Williamsburg, as I think it necessary to keep a correspondence with the Governors of these provinces.

As soon as I can possibly assemble my troops, lay up forage, provisions, and other things necessary for a march, I shall proceed to work at the reduction of the French forts upon the Ohio. It is very uncertain whether I shall find grass beyond the Allegheny mountains before the end of April, which is the time I expect to get there. I cannot as yet give a just account of the number of troops which I shall have with me. If I can complete the English regiments to a thousand four hundred men, the companies of carpenters and scouts to the number above mentioned, with the very ineffective independent companies of New York, and those of Carolina, I believe the whole will not exceed two thousand three hundred men. I was proposing to augment them by means of the provincial troops, to the number of three thousand, but I have deferred that augmentation until my interview with Governor Shirley, which I thought

necessary, and therefore have ordered him to meet me at Annapolis, in Maryland, where I expect him in about three weeks.

Governor Dinwiddie proposes to accompany me thither; I have ordered those of New York and Pennsylvania to meet me there, if the affairs of their provinces will permit them. At this interview, where also Commodore Keppel is to meet me, I design to settle the operations that shall be determined for the Northern parts, and concert the most useful methods for recovering the Indian frontiers, adjoining the different colonies, and for securing them to his Majesty, and at the same time, to excite the Governors to use their utmost credit for the King's service, in this important affair. I shall make use of the first opportunity to let you know whatever shall be determined. I cannot easily tell you what number of forces the French have on the river Ohio; but if we might regard the different accounts we have had of them, they are above three thousand, the greatest part of which are Indians. It is generally thought that all the Iroquois or Indians of the Six Nations, are in the French interest, except the Anies.* Governor Dinwiddie hopes that the latter will join us, together with the Catawbias, (a warlike nation, though few in number,) and some Cherokees; all the other nations to the South seem at present attached to the French; but as we ought to attribute their attachment to the successes they have lately had over us, we may flatter ourselves that the sight of our army, or the least advantage we shall gain over them, may occasion a great change in their dispositions.

I send you inclosed, the extract of a letter from the commanding officer at Chouaguen to Governor Dinwiddie,† which proves the monstrous falsehoods and absurdities the French make use of to impose upon the Indians, and bring them to their interest.

Mr. Delancy, Lieutenant Governor of New York, proposes to me in his letters, to employ the money which is to be raised in his government, (destined for the present expedition) to build forts for the particular defence of his own province; as this proposal seems to me at present, altogether out of season, I have observed to him that all the assistance which the Colonies can give could not be better employed than in the present expedition.

Governor Dinwiddie observes to me, that Mr. Delancy has consented to a neutrality between the inhabitants of Albany, and the neighboring Indians who are in alliance with the French. I don't see what reason he had to suffer a thing so extraordinary,‡ but that seems to be productive of such great consequences, that I propose to tell him my sentiments of it, in the strongest terms; I find myself very happy in being joined in the service of his Majesty by an officer so capable, and so disposed to

* These are the Mohawks

† This letter proves at large, that the commandant of Chouaguen accuses the French of falsehood.

‡ What, it was then extraordinary that the inhabitants of Albany could not believe that they were at war with the French, and the Indians their allies?

take all the measures which may concur with the success of this enterprise, as Mr. Keppel is. As I have but four pieces of cannon of twelve pounders with the train, and I thought it necessary to have a greater number of them, I addressed myself to him, to get four more from on board his ships, with necessary ammunition, which he granted with the best grace in the world, as well as a great many other things which I wanted; he likewise gave me thirty sailors, with proper officers to command them, to attend the army in its march.* They will be very serviceable for building battoes, to help us in transporting artillery and other heavy baggage. For their subsistence I have settled their pay with the Commodore, at three shillings and six-pence per day for the officers, and six-pence for the sailors, for which I shall be obliged to draw upon the quota furnished by the provinces.

As I do not find that the provisions granted by the Provinces for the subsistence of our troops will be sufficient, I shall be obliged to take a thousand barrels of beef, and ten casks of butter out of the supply of provisions sent from England. Sir, the justice which I am obliged to do Governor Dinwiddie will not permit me to finish this letter without acquainting you of the zeal he has shown, and the pains he has taken upon all occasions, for the good of the service of this cause; when I consider the faction that prevailed over him in his government, I find he has succeeded beyond all expectation.

I have orders from his Majesty to put all the French that shall be taken in this expedition, on board Commodore Keppel to be conducted to France; but as Mr. Keppel has had no orders from the admiralty upon that subject, and it seems to him too delicate an affair to act without orders, I am obliged upon this occasion to request his Majesty for further instructions as soon as possible.

The Severn is just arrived.

I am &c.

LETTER IV.

Written to the Governor of Pennsylvania.

Alexandria, Virginia, April 15th 1755.

Sir:—I am informed that there is a great number of Indians in your province from the river Ohio, who have been driven from thence by the French. I desire you to let them know that I am upon a march with a body of the King's troops to take by force from the French those usurpations which they have made upon that river, there to reinstate the Indians our allies, and defend them against their enemy. As these Indians must have a perfect knowledge of that country, and might be of very great use during the whole course of this expedition, I pray you would engage them to come with their chiefs to join me at Wills-Creek, and as-

* This explains how it happened that Lieutenant Spindelov and Midshipman Talbot were present and killed at Braddock's defeat. Ed. O. T.

sure them, that they shall be kindly treated, and want nothing that shall be necessary for them. Pray acquaint me with what you have determined in this affair, and also what number of Indians will come to me from your province. I hope your province will take care to maintain the wives and children of these people until their return. They would be a great incumbrance if they should come to the camp.

LETTER V.

To the honorable Thomas Robinson, one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State.

Alexandria, April 19th, 1755.

I have had the honor to write to you from Williamsburgh the 18th of March last, by a vessel which was to sail in eight days after.

The 13th of this month Governor Shirley accompanied with the other Governors, of whom I made mention in my last, come to me here, along with Colonel Johnson.

At this interview, Mr. Shirley laid before me a plan formed between him and Governor Lawrence (of which he told me he had acquainted you) for besieging the French forts in Acadia: as I had given an entire approbation to it, I sent orders to Colonel Monckton immediately to take upon him the command, and go upon that expedition without delay.

I have also agreed with him upon a plan for the the reduction of fort St. Frederick,* which is to be executed only by the provincial troops raised in the Northern Colonies, about the number of four thousand four hundred, under the command of Colonel Johnson, a person recommended for the great influence he has over the minds and humors of the Indians of the Six Nations, and for the reputation he hath in all the northern Colonies.

As that of Niagara, is the most important of all our enterprises, I have proposed to Mr. Shirley to take that commission upon himself, which he readily did. I therefore ordered him to take under his command his own regiment, which must be completed, and that of Pepperell's, such as it is, to prepare for that expedition with all possible diligence. I formerly gave orders for reinforcing the garrison of Chouaguen with two companies of Pepperell's and with these two independant companies of New-York; this I thought a necessary step for putting the works in such a condition as might preserve the garrison, and secure a retreat for our troops.

As Mr. Shirley is the officer who is to command after me, and of whose integrity and zeal for his Majesty's service I have a very great opinion, I gave him authority in case there was no treasurer nominated in the north, to draw upon his Majesty's treasury for the account of expences of the service of his own district.

I have written to the Duke of New-Castle to convince him of the

* Point a la Chevelure.

necessity of acting in this manner ; considering at what distance we are, and impossibility of being able to confer notes upon this subject. He writes that Governor Shirley has proposed to him to treat the two new raised regiments as those of Old England.

The copy inclosed will acquaint you of the different subjects that have been examined in council, and what I brought upon the carpet at this interview which I have had with the Governors : as I have been charged by his Majesty to employ those persons I should find most proper for bringing over the Six Indian Nations to his interest ; it appeared in council of the greatest consequence, and to deserve a much greater attention, than I at first imagined ; that for some years, their conduct towards us declared a dissatisfaction on the part of the Six Nations, and it appeared that they greatly failed in the confidence reposed in his Majesty's arms, I proposed Colonel Johnson as the properest person for that embassy, because of the great credit, he has among them ; my choice was unanimously approved of by the council, I have therefore sent him a speech which he is to make in my name, with more extensive power to treat with them, and he alone is charged with this negociation ; for the end, I have advanced to him the sum of two thousand pounds, eight hundred of which is to be given them immediately in presents and reimbursed by the Colonies ; the rest for presents hereafter, and to pay whatever it may cost to set them to work. I have in like manner given him power to draw upon Governor Shirley for more considerable sums, in case of absolute necessity, upon no proviso, than to keep an exact account of the use that shall be made thereof. The emergency of the service, and the necessity I am under of depending on him, engage me to put that confidence in him, and the proofs he has given of his probity on every occasion, assure me, that he will not abuse it.

You will be sufficiently informed sir, by the minutes of the council which I send you, of the impossibility of obtaining from several colonies the establishment of a general fund, agreeable to his Majesty's instructions, and to the letters you have directed to me for several Governors. Since the last accounts I sent you, very little money, and very few men have been furnished by these provinces ; the sum of twenty thousand pounds currency has been spent in Virginia, although that money is not yet raised. The provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland still refuse to contribute ; the province of New York has raised the sum of five thousand pounds currency for the troops of that province, which I have destined for the particular service of the garrison of Chouaguen. There was further raised in that province, the sum of four thousand pounds, for the fortifications of that government, and, above all, of the metropolis. I begged Mr. Delancy to send it over for the general service of the expedition ; but I very much fear, there will be nothing of it.

Governor Shirley will acquaint you, Sir, of the expence of New England upon the prodigious levy of men that has been made in this gov-

ernment, for the enterprises of the North,* the other Governors have done very little or rather nothing. I cannot but take the liberty to represent to you the necessity of laying a tax upon all his Majesty's dominions in America, agreeable to the result of council, for reimbursing the great sums that must be advanced for the service and interest of the colonies, in this important crisis.† I am obliged to tell you that the expence of the service of America, will exceed the quota of each province, by much more than I was persuaded, and will go beyond what the government imagined. Among other innumerable reasons which may be mentioned, is, that there will be considerable augmentation in the service under my direction; there are a number of horses, waggons, and battoes, necessary for transporting the artillery, baggage, &c., couriers also, and the excessive price of daily laborers. Although I am resolved to use the greatest economy. Whether that sum be reimbursed by the provinces or not, I should be blamed by his Majesty, if by untimely parsimony, seeing the situation of affairs, I should make the projected operations miscarry. You'll permit me, Sir. to refer you to the minutes of the council, for the proposals I made to the provinces, to which they have not answered, particularly concerning the battoes which should be built upon the lakes. The building of those upon Lake Ontario, to be directed by Governor Shirley, and the expence to be paid by Commodore Keppel.

Since my departure from Williamsburgh, I have had the honour to receive a letter from you, with his Majesty's orders for augmenting the regiments of this continent to a thousand men each, in consequence whereof I have employed such officers along the Southern coasts, as seemed to me most proper for recruiting, and dispatched a courier to Mr. Lawrence, that he might execute his Majesty's orders upon that subject, concerning what regards the regiments of his provinces, with all possible diligence.

I have orders from his Majesty to make no new officers in these regiments; but this augmentation of troops, with the number of little detachments I am obliged to make, have already put me under the necessity of nominating a number of subalterns, to assist those who have been recommended to me from Old England, to serve without pay, until places are vacant; to each of these detachments, there is to be an officer who is to have the charge of the provisions and cash; and also to mark out the camps which must be formed every night for want of villages, much more necessary in this country, as the woods are very close and thick; by that means the officer will be better enabled to have his troops before him, to prevent any surprize from the Indian parties, which is always very much

* The prodigious levies made for the enterprizes of the North! Let the situation of Canada be considered with regard to the English Colonies, and the design of these enterprizes will be perceived by all men, so much effectual preparation, and such considerable expences, could not certainly have been made for that only object, that poor, unfruitful country, which extends from the Apalachian mountains to the Ohio, which is scarce worth the expence of arming one vessel.

† Query? May not this be the first suggestion for taxing the American colonies--a project which ended in their independence. Ed. O. T.

to be feared, notwithstanding all the precautions that can be taken ; for that reason, and many others which I could describe to you, I cannot express to you how much difficulty, I fear, in the service I am entrusted with in North America, if the number of officers be not augmented in proportion to that of the troops. As the little dependence upon this country, obliges me to fetch provisions from several Colonies, far distant one from the other, I have been obliged to nominate two commissary assistants for victualling, to whom I have assigned four shillings a day ; I have also named, a quarter master General assistant, at the same pay, because of the necessity I am under of employing Sir John St. Clair, at three hundred miles from me occupied at present in making the roads and bridges, and providing wagons, horses, &c., for transporting the ammunition, provisions, and artillery.

I have met with such difficulties in getting carriages, as would have been insurmountable without the zeal, and activity of the officers and others employed for that purpose. The want of forage, is a difficulty I see without remedy ; to supply which, I shall be obliged to turn out the horses to grass upon the mountains ; I design to set out from here for Frederick to-morrow morning, to take the road for Wills-Creek, where I should have been before, if I had not been stopped to wait for the artillery, and I am much afraid that it will keep me here longer ; I hope by the beginning of May to be upon the mountains, and some time in June to be able to dispatch an express, which will acquaint you with the issue of our operations on the river Ohio. Though I have done all in my power, I have not been able to get a more exact account of the number of French at present on the Ohio ; but I expect to get more certain intelligence when I shall be at Wills-Creek, and shall take my measures accordingly.

I cannot sufficiently express the satisfaction I have to be employed in his Majesty's service in America, at a time when it is in my power to form and execute a plan for attacking the French, in all their considerable posts usurped upon his Majesty's lands in North America, even to the Southern parts thereof. I see a great appearance of success in each of them ; I perceive so strict a connection between each of these projects, that the success of the one, will procure us that of the other. If then I succeed in the first, and most important of these projects, I am persuaded that his Majesty will stop the progress of the French in their new settlements, and that it will serve to make his subjects upon this continent take courage, and rouse them from the carelessness and negligence of their duty, with which they have been a long time reproached with so much justice.

I am with the most profound respect, &c.

I, the subscriber, of the superior council of Quebec, do certify, that I have translated from English into French word for word, all the letters contained in the present record of Major General Braddock, the original of

which remains deposited in the secretary's-office, of the Governor General of New France, done at Quebec, the thirtieth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed, PERTHUIS.

We, the Governor General, and intendant of New France, do certify that M. Perthuis one of the superior council of Quebec, hath translated from English into French, all the letters contained in the present register, and that we have heard the English that frequent this city, say that the said M. Perthuis speaks English and translates it perfectly. Quebec, September 30, 1755.

Signed, VAUDREUIL and BIGOT.

Other letters of General Braddock, found in a book separated from the above Register.

To the Duke of New Castle.

Williamsburgh, March 20, 1755,

My lord, I take the first opportunity to satisfy your grace's commands, in acquainting you with my arrival here, and that of the vessels which have transported the troops under my command; my voyage has been very fatiguing, but the transport ships have been better treated, because there was not one sick on board of them.

I dont know as yet what effect his Majesty's orders will produce in the minds of the people here* concerning the present expedition. I cannot yet say whether the several Governors have altogether the influence that was expected. I labor, and shall always continue my endeavors, to excite them to pay the expenses of this expedition through their provinces. They are obliged to grant it, to prove their attachment to his Majesty, and answer what their interests require.

For that purpose, I have commanded Governor Shirley to come to me at Annapolis, in Maryland, and have desired the Governors of New York and Pennsylvania to come with him, if the business of their governments would permit. I will not make you a long detail of all things wherein I am busy concerning the service in which I am engaged; as I wrote at large to the Secretary of State about that matter, I desire you would suffer me to refer you to his letter; for all things you would desire to know.

Shirley's regiment will soon be complete (if it be not so already,) that of Sir William Pepperell's I imagine is advancing very much, and when I see Mr. Shirley, I shall concert with him about the manner that will appear to me best, for the employment of the forces in the North. I am to march with those I have with me, to attempt the reduction of the French forts upon the Ohio, and I hope that I shall be by the end of April, on the other side of the Allegheny mountains.

I have had all the assistance possible from Commodore Keppel; and found in the Governor of this province a man who contributed with the

* It is then to the positive orders from the Court of London, and not to the ardent desire of the Governors of the English Colonies, that this attempt of the English ought to be attributed.

best grace to the necessities of the present expedition, This province through the Governor's care, is disposed at present to supply whatever it will be able. Which I dare not hope from other governments.

As small money would be very necessary here for paying the troops, I pray your grace would order the contractors, Mr. Hambury and Mr. Thomlinson, to send over as soon as possible (if they have not done it already) four or five thousand pounds in dollars and half dollars, the treasurer of the troops having only gold at present. I am with the most profound respect, &c.

To the Earl of Halifax. [without date.]

MY LORD:—The interest which your excellency has in all that concerns his Majesty's dominions in America, and the part you bear in the administration of the government of them, oblige me to give you an account of my situation; I hope it will not be displeasing to you. Your excellency, without doubt has been informed of the favorable success the transports have met with here, and of the measures I have taken at my arrival, for carrying on with success his Majesty's service under my direction, which may tend to his interests, and to that of his subjects upon this continent.

Some time ago I sent to the Secretary of State an account of the succors that have been granted me by all these colonies upon the present occasion; there is no need of sending it to you in particular. I am very sorry that I am obliged to say, that the inhabitants of these colonies in general, have all shown much negligence for his Majesty's service, and their own interests. Nevertheless they have not all equally deserved this censure, and particularly this province where I am, ought not to be put in comparison with their neighbors, and may seem not to have merited these reproaches.

I am persuaded that the account your Lordship has received of the good dispositions of the Northern colonies, and particularly of that under the command of Mr. Shirley, ought, very justly, to gain him the good will of his Majesty. I cannot sufficiently express my indignation against the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, whose interest being alike concerned in the event of this expedition, and much more so than any other in this continent, refuse to contribute anything for sustaining the project, and what they propose is done upon no other terms than such as are altogether contrary to the King's prerogatives, and to the instructions he has sent to their Governors. You will perhaps be glad to know that I have assembled the Governors of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland together, and have fixed the plan which we are to follow in attacking the French all at once, in all their encroachments upon Nova Scotia, Crown Point and Niagara, which must be executed with all the resolution and courage imaginable.

(He repeats all that he wrote to Sir Thomas Robinson, in his letter dated April the 19th, which is the fifth in the above register.)

I have given Colonel Johnson full power to treat with the Six Nations and their allies, and with all the other Indians of the West, as far as he shall find it necessary; and have sent him speeches, that he must make to them on my behalf; I have also given him money for presents, and power to draw upon Governor Shirley, if he finds it necessary on this occasion.

Mr. Poronal* or Pownall, has laid before me a contract made in the year 1701 by the Six Nations, whereby they give to his Majesty all their hunting lands. This cession comprehends an extent of land the breadth of sixty miles, along the coasts of the lakes Ontario and Erie. I have given this contract to Colonel Johnson, with orders to present it to them from me, and to assure them that I am come here upon no other design, than to retake these lands from the French, and preserve them for their use.†

I will not recount word for word what has been proposed in council about the vessels which are to be built on Lake Ontario; Commodore Keppel and I, have agreed to give Mr. Shirley the direction of that affair, and thought proper to give him liberty to determine the size and force of these vessels as he thought proper.

I propose to begin my march, in order to attack the fort on the Ohio, with all possible diligence. I thought to be by this time upon the mountains, but I have been detained by a number of difficulties, as well through the inconvenience of the climate, and state of the country, as the want of a great number of horses, waggons, and other equipages, which have been sought long before they could be procured.

I set off to-morrow for Frederick, which is on the road to Fort Cumberland upon Wills-Creek, and before the end of June I hope I shall be able to give an exact account of the affairs at the Ohio. I hope I shall have the power to put in execution the plan which I have formed, for forcing from the French the most considerable usurpations that they have made upon his Majesty's frontiers of North America. Should I succeed in the most important of these operations, I am persuaded that it will be easy for his Majesty to stop the progress of the French, which increase more and more upon this continent.

I am, with respect, &c.

* I believe you may read Pownell.

† It is excellent enough, that notwithstanding this pretended contract of which they make a great account in Europe, they are obliged in America, to endeavor to persuade the Indians (a people who are not to be bubbled) that they are at war, for no other reason than to reinstate them in their possessions.

Another letter, thought to be written to Sir Thomas Robinson, though the person's name to whom it is directed, is not mentioned.

Fort Cumberland, at Wills-Creek, June 5th. 1755.

Sir:—I had the honor to write to you from Frederick, the latter end of April.

I arrived here the 10th of May, and the 17th arrived most of the army, coming from Alexandria, after a march of twenty-seven days, having gone through many difficulties and obstacles, as well through the badness of the roads, as the want of forage, and the little zeal in the people, for the success of the expedition.

I have at last assembled all the troops destined for the attack of Fort du Quesne, which amount to two thousand effective men, of which there are eleven hundred furnished by the Southern provinces, who have so little courage and disposition, that scarce any military service can be expected from them, though I have employed the best officers to form them.

When I arrived here, my design was to stay only a few days to rest my troops, but the difficulty of getting horses and waggons, in order to pass the mountains, has obliged me to remain here almost one whole month.

Before I left Williamsburg, the Quarter Master General told me, that I could depend upon two thousand five hundred horses and two hundred waggons from Virginia and Maryland. but I had great reason to doubt it, having experienced the false dealings of all in this country, with whom I have been concerned; wherefore, before my departure from Frederick, I desired Mr. B. Franklin, post master of Pennsylvania, who has great credit in that province, to hire me one hundred and fifty waggons and the number of horses necessary, which he did with so much goodness and readiness, that it is almost the first instance of integrity, address and ability that I have seen in all these provinces. All these waggons and horses have joined me, in which I lay great stress. The fine promises of Virginia and Maryland amounting to no more than the furnishing twenty waggons and two hundred horses. With this number I shall be able to set off from here, though I must meet with infinite difficulties, particularly marching with only a part of the ammunition I expected, and having been obliged to send a detachment before me, to lay up and secure provisions upon the mountains of Allegheny, which are five days march from here.

I should never finish, were I to give a detail of the innumerable instances of the want of integrity I have found both in general and in particular, and of the most absolute contempt of truth I have met with in the course of this service; I cannot help adding to what I have already told you, two or three examples.

The Governor of Virginia sent me an account of a purchase he had made of eleven hundred beeves, which were to be delivered in June and August, for the subsistence of the troops; this purchase had been made upon the credit of twenty thousand pounds of that currency, granted by the Assembly for the service of his majesty, in favor of this expedition. In consequence of which, I regulated and ordered affairs for the best, but a few days after, the contractor of the said purchase came to tell me, that the Assembly had refused to fulfil the Governors engagements. and consequently the purchase became void. As this affair was of the greatest consequence, I offered immediately to engage him the payment, upon the terms of the purchase, but the contractor rejected my offers, and required one third part of the money in hand, on account of the purchase, and would not engage to deliver me the beeves before two months, when they would have been of little or no use.

Another example. The agent of Maryland employed to furnish the troops with provisions, had collected some, which at first sight were all judged to be spoiled, and I saw myself under a necessity of sending one hundred miles to collect others, This disposition of the people not only puts back the designs of his Majesty, but also doubles the expenses, occasioned by the difficulty there is of the carriage, in these countries yet uninhabited, unknown, and impracticable to the inhabitants themselves who live in the lowest parts, finding everywhere a continued chain of mountains, so that the charges would far exceed the principal stock; I was therefore obliged to leave at Alexandria a great deal of ammunition that would be of very great use to me here; the conduct of these governments seems to me without a parallel. This negligence is a little excusable in the lower class of people, because they have not been satisfied for the pains they have taken, being employed in the public service in the preceding occasions, their payment has been neglected. We see by experience the bad consequences that attend such like proceedings.

As I have orders from his Majesty, to use all possible means for gaining the Indians to our interest, I have assembled some of them from the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and particularly of the Six Nations, with whom I have had already two or three conferences, I have made them handsome presents; they are about fifty in number, but I hope to draw a great many more. When I arrived in America, I was assured that I might depend upon a great number of Indians from the Southward, but the bad conduct of the Governor* of Virginia, has turned them entirely against us; in effect they behaved to the Indians with so little discretion, and so much unfair dealing, that we must at present be at great expense to regain their confidence; and there is no trusting even those who have embraced our cause. The situation of this country is such, that the French cannot get any intelligence but by means of the Indians, in whose reports little confidence can be put. I am informed that there are but a

* This should perhaps be "Government."

small number of them in Fort du Quesne, but that they expect a great reinforcement.

I am informed that two thousand stand of arms are arrived, which are destined to New England, and that they are ordered to Nova Scotia.

They labor at the battoes designed to transport the troops which are going to attack Niagara and Crown Point; nevertheless New York, which was to furnish the greatest part of them, does not show upon this occasion so much zeal as I could wish. As I am certain that a road through Pennsylvania would be more proper and safer, for settling a communication after the troops have passed the Allegheny mountains; I desired Governor Morris to make one in that province, from Shippensburg to the river Yaughyaughane. I am informed they are at work on it with great diligence, and that it will be finished in one month. This road will be of great importance, as well for bringing me provisions, as for securing me a communication with the Northern Colonies. I wait but for my last convoy to begin my march, and if no accidents happen, I hope I shall begin it in five days through the Allegheny mountains. I expect to meet with a great many obstacles by what I can hear. The distance from hence to that fort is 110 miles;* this road cannot be travelled without infinite labor, as it is very mountainous and has exceeding high rocks and in many places large gutters and rivers to wade. I shall embrace the first opportunity to acquaint you with my situation after leaving this place; and am, with the most profound respect, &c.

I the subscriber, one of the Superior Council of Quebec, do certify that I have translated, &c.

Two other letters might be here annexed, one from General Braddock to Commodore Keppel, dated Williamsburg, Feb. 27th; in this letter he desires him to land with all speed at Alexandria, the cohornes, bombs, and other machines destined to throw fire either in vessels or intrenchments. The other is from Mr. Robert Orme, aid-de-camp to Sir Peter Halket, he gives him several orders, and among the rest: His excellency orders you to receive all deserters, and provide them with whatever they use, and if they are willing to enlist, he desires you would take them without any difficulty, and stand neither upon terms nor appearance, but pass them all for effective men.

A letter from Charles Lawrence Esq., to General Braddock.

Halifax, May 10th, 1755.

Sir: I have had the honor to receive a letter from you, dated at Annapolis, in Maryland, April the 7th, by a vessel come two days ago from Philadelphia: permit me to assure you, that nothing could be a greater mortification to me, than you should harbor the least thought of my being slack in my duty towards a person to whom I am so much obliged; till the very moment I received your letter, I had neither heard of your arri-

* The distance from Fort Cumberland to Fort du Quesne is about thirty-seven leagues at twenty to s degree.

val in Virginia, nor of the extent of your commissions ; no sooner I knew it, but I improved the first opportunity of giving you a general account of the situation of affairs in this province, as also an account of the forces and troops his Majesty has here, together with remarks upon every individual. I flatter myself you have received them already, and that you will approve of them.

I acknowledge, Sir, that I have acquainted Commodore Keppel with the expedition projected to stop the enterprizes of the French at Beau-Sejour and St. John's river, in the same manner as he himself hath informed you ; and which had been concerted between Governor Shirley and myself ; and the reason of my acquainting him therewith, sprung from some printed orders which Captain Rous had received from the Admiralty, to place himself under the Commodore's orders ; that, with some other advices, made me to conclude that Commodore Keppel was in Virginia ; but I had not at that time any knowledge of your arrival in Virginia, nor even any certainty of your coming there, much less could I form any judgment of the nature and extent of your commissions ; this, Sir, is the real truth of the matter, I hope you will do me that justice to believe it.

Lieutenant Colonel Monckton, with the provincial troops under his orders, is at present very near if not quite before the fort Beau-Sejour ; and as I have cut off all communication by land, between that place and the northern parts of the province, in order to deprive the French inhabitants from knowing any thing that might be prejudicial to our designs, therefore it is impossible for me to acquaint you with the progress the Lieutenant Colonel has made. I shall have the honor to let you know the particulars of our enterprize by the first opportunity.

I shall give particular attention to your orders for augmenting each of the three regiments that are here to a thousand men each ; and I should not delay one moment, if I was informed on what conditions these men are to be raised, and what pay they are to have ; but as I have not yet received any particular orders from England concerning the augmentation, and that none of those officers are yet come whom I daily expect, I hope you will look upon it as a thing impracticable for me to proceed therein.

(TO BE CONCLUDED.)

THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

JUNE, 1847.

NO. 6.

A MEMORIAL, &c. (CONCLUDED.)

According to the advices I have received from New England, on account of the men who have been raised there for the regiments of Governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperell's, and the difficulties in raising the said recruits, I fear that if I am obliged to send there for the number of men we shall want, the augmentation of our troops will be long upon hand and composed of sorry troops; but I hope to succeed better among the provincial levies that are actually at Beau Sejour, who (if I am rightly informed) are composed of good men, and may be enlisted with more speed and less expense than those that might be raised on the continent, after the great number of recruits that have been already raised there.

In my letter of the 29th of March, I proposed to Governor Shirley to make our address to you, that either his regiment, or that of Sir William Pepperell, might pass over here to protect the province, in case I should think it necessary; though I observed at the same time, that I did not see great need for such proceedings, as I was upon the point of receiving two thousand two or three hundred men, who are now at Beau Sejour, the only passage by land to come to this province, and whereby we might dread the insults of our neighbors the French. I am yet, Sir, of the same mind, as there is not as yet any real change of affairs in America. Nevertheless, should there be a rupture with the French, which according to all appearances may happen, it would be extremely necessary to stand upon our guard; and I think it my duty to inform you, that in such a case, the three regiments completed as they are to be, together with the Rangers, the Militia and all the forces we can depend upon, would by no means be proportionable to the number of posts we have to defend if possible; particularly if we consider that in the very heart of the province, we have a formidable number of those who are called neutral French, a

people well experienced in the use of arms, and in conjunction with the French;* who, upon the least attempt Canada would make to invade us, I believe it is most probable they would immediately join with them. As I look upon this article to be of importance, I thought it my duty to submit it to your reflection.

I, the subscriber, one of the superior council of Quebec, do certify, that I have translated, &c.

NUMBER XIV.

Speeches made and delivered to the Indians, by order and under the inspection of Colonel Johnson, with the answers made to him.

FIRST SPEECH.†

To the Six Nations from General Braddock.

My brethren and allies of the Six Nations, I have already called you several times to treat with you about different affairs, which I knew nothing of before I had been with you, and which are not yet come to the knowledge of your father the Great King of England, of which I shall be careful to inform him, and to offer you by his orders the presents which are here before you, and which he gives you as a testimony of his paternal affection.

I have detained you and your wives and children for some time, hoping in a few days to see your brethren the Delawares;‡ but seeing it is uncertain that they have yet arrived, and as I know you love to be in action, moreover as the service of the King your father requires your speedy assistance, I propose to you to take up the hatchet, and that you may the better exercise your warlike dispositions, I promise you to send your wives and children to Pennsylvania; I have recommended to the Governor of that province, in the King's name, to take particular and fraternal care of them.

A fine Belt of Wampum.

My brethren and allies of the Six Nations, I have a real concern to find how much you have suffered by the abuse and deceit|| of your perfidious neighbors the French, as well as by some of your brethren the English. The French have insinuated unto you, that we who are your faithful brothers, had designed to drive you out of all your lands of hunting and game, and to seize on them for our own proper use. You have been much deceived when you assisted the French to execute the horrid design with which they have charged us, in putting them in the real possession of

* The motions of these French were only to be feared then in the time of a rupture, that is to say an open war, this destroys the accusations contained in the memorials sent by Governor Cornwallis.

† This speech is the first in General Braddock's Register; but according to all appearance, it was pronounced after the following speech.

‡ These Indians are likewise called the Wolves. They have quitted the English party since the assassination of M. de Jumonville.

|| Here they don't accuse the French so much of violences towards the Indians, as of artifice in gaining their neighbors; how can these discourses agree with those of Mr. Washington, who would persuade these same Iroquois, that he was come only at their request and upon their repeated complaints?

these very lands which we had designed to secure unto you for your use alone and particular interest; I declare unto you in the presence of your chiefs and warriors here assembled, and according to the instructions I have received from the great King your father, that if you will unanimously* grant me your assistance, I will put you again in possession of your lands, of which you have been dispossessed by French deceit and cheating tricks, and secure unto you a free open trade in America, from the rising unto the setting of the sun. It is very well known that I have no particular views nor design, but that of serving mutually the interests of the King of England your father, and of the Six Nations and their allies, and I promise you to be your friend and brother,† as long as the sun and moon shall last.

A grand Belt of Wampum.

I have been told that as upon the foregoing occasions, you had some presents from us, some were idle enough to excite your young people to drink, and by that means made no account of what they gave you. To prevent for the future such like proceedings, I have given orders, by threatening with death all those that shall be found convicted of that crime; I beg you'll send me your complaints against all such as will act in the like manner, and as a friend and brother, I shall render you ample justice.

I have no more to desire, but to see you receive with pleasure the presents which are before you, and to see you divide them amongst you, according to your custom and natural equity. I hope they will be agreeable. You may depend upon great rewards from time to time for your services. I have ordered arms, powder and shot, to be delivered to such of your warriors as want them.

My brethren, I have been informed of the perfidious conduct of the French towards our deceased brother the half King; and to convince you how far I am sensible, as well as you, of his ill-treatment, in hopes that you would willingly join with me to revenge him, I cover his death with this belt.

My brethren, Delawares and Chauanons,‡ you are to blame for following the counsel of the French last autumn, to murder a number of your brethren the English in their habitations in Caralina. I am very well persuaded that it did not happen from an inclination natural to you, but only by the instigation of the French; therefore if you acknowledge your fault, and that you are openly and voluntarily resolved to join with me, I

* The six nations have been expelled by the French. He would only put them in possession of their properties. These are they who prayed the English to come: nevertheless, he begs them unanimously to assist the English; the pretended deliverers are here reduced to beg and pray for assistance.

† Whence come the rights of the English upon the Ohio, if they possess not the lands which it waters, no otherwise than as sovereigns of the Iroquois.

‡ The deputed Iroquois, before whom Mr. Johnson spoke, could not answer him upon the suggestions that he charges to the French in the eloquent apostrophe which he makes here to the Delawares and Chauanons.

shall freely forget the unhappy transgression, and receive you still as brethren. This I confirm unto you, in the name, and as the deputy of the King your father, with this string of wampum.

Signed, JOHNSON.

SECOND SPEECH.

The speech of the Honorable William Johnson, Esq., superintendent of Indian affairs, to the warriors of the upper and lower castle of the Iroquois Indians, in the presence of Lieutenant Butler, of Rutherford's company, of Captain Matthew Farral, of Lieutenant John Butler, of Messrs. Daniel Clause, Peter Wraxall, Secretaries for Indian affairs; William Printer, Jacob Clement, interpreters

My brethren of both castles of the Anies.

I wipe away all tears from your eyes, and clear your throat, that you may hear and speak without constraint. I rejoice to see you, and salute you with all my heart.

Gives a string of wampum.

I desire you to conform to what I demanded of you, in a letter which I wrote to you from New York, as soon as I returned from Virginia, wherein I prayed all your chiefs and warriors to wait my coming home, to hear news, and be informed of the orders which I have received from his Excellency General Braddock, (the great warrior) whom the King our common father, has sent to this country, with a great number of troops, of great guns, and other implements of war, to protect you, as well as his subjects upon this continent, and defend you against all the usurpations and insults of the French.

I have been to wait upon this great man, along with the Governors of Boston, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland; we had also there, the Governor of Virginia, and another great man, who in this part of the world, commands all the men of war belonging to the King.

In the grand council many important affairs have been deliberated, among which, the interest and safety of our brethren the Six Nations, and their allies, were considered with great attention.

My brethren, the tree which you and the rest of the Six Nations, have so often and earnestly desired, that it should be replanted, is grown by such a mighty hand, that its roots penetrate unto the bottom of the earth, and its branches are a refreshing shade to cover you and your allies; as I am to acquaint you that agreeable to the instructions which the King your father has given to General Braddock, I am nominated to be alone superintendant over all the affairs that shall concern you and your allies in this part of the world; I invite you and your brethren the Six United Nations and your allies to assemble under this tree, where you may freely open your hearts and heal your wounds, and at the same time I transport the shade of that fire which was in Albany, and rekindle the fire of council and friendship in this place; I shall make it of such wood as shall pro-

duce the greatest light and greatest heat ; I hope it will be serviceable and comfortable to all those who shall come to light their pipes at it, and that the sparkling and flaming coals thereof, will burn all those who are or shall be its enemies.

I hope that you and all your brethren would be glad to increase the lustre and splendor of this fire, in minding and keeping it always up, applying yourselves to it with that diligence and zeal as may derive a blessing from it not only upon you, but upon all your posterity. To obtain and ascertain that salutary end, it is absolutely necessary that you extinguish all the fires kindled by means of deceit and fraud and not natural, which light but to deceive and destroy you and yours.

A belt.

My brethren, by this belt of wampum, I cleanse the council chamber, to the end that there be nothing offensive therein, and I hope that you will take care that no evil spirit creep in among us, that nothing may interrupt our harmony.

Gives a string of wampum.

My brethren, I am concerned to see at my return, that many of the two villages desire to go to Canada ; I should be much surprized that you who have been our most faithful friends and nearest neighbors would upon any occasion show your desire to be deceived by the wicked artifices of the French, who are so well known, and of whom you have had such fatal experience, especially when that restless and perfidious nation breaks the most solemn treaties, and violates all the obligations of honor and justice ; this would be the most surprising thing in the world ; but I hope, that what I have been told upon that subject, has no foundation. I desire and insist that none of you upon any pretence whatsoever have any correspondence with the French, nor receive any of their emissaries, nor go to Canada without my knowledge and approbation.

Upon this condition I give you a belt.

I intend immediately to call your other brethren of the Six Nations to this present fire, I hope that you'll come here along with them, I shall deliver a speech of his excellency General Braddock, accompanied with presents for you, which the great King your father has sent by that warrior.

After some moments of consultation between them, Abraham, one of the Chiefs of the upper village, got up, and spoke thus for the two.

My brother, you have called us to let us know the tidings you have brought with you, and we have understood all that you have said, we defer until the Six Nations are all assembled here to give an exact account of all affairs.

Gives a string of wampum.

My brother, we thank you for being so willing to wipe the tears from our eyes and to cleanse our throats and this floor. We do as much with this string of wampum.

Gives a string of wampum.

My Brother, to comply with your request we have here met together, and with great attention heard all you have said we thank you for your kind information ; we are charm'd to see you again once more, and greet you with this String of Wampum.

They give it.

My Brother, we have often represented to our father the great King that the tree advanced, we are very glad that our father has comply'd with our demand, and thank him for it most sincerely ; we have had the greatest satisfaction to have all that you have said concerning that tree, we sincerely wish that it may continue such as you described in your speech, and we are very sensible of all you said upon the subject.

My Brother, you have told us that the tree which shaded us, is now replanted here, you made it the shade of Albany, and you have rekindled here the fire of prudence and friendship, which must be made of good everlasting wood, so that it shall be always clear, and give comfortable and salutary heat, to all that will approach it, as friends, whilst it shall burn and inflame against its enemies ; our first fathers had kindled this fire first at Onontague and carried the small coals of it to rekindle another at the habitation of Quider.† This fire never burnt clear and was almost extinguished ; we are very well satisfied to hear that you have rekindled it.

My brother, you have invited us all and our brethren the Six United Nations and their Allies to come and sit under that tree you spoke of, there to light our pipes at the fire of prudence, and that we and they should endeavour to preserve it, we don't doubt but that they would be glad to see it, but we must delay until all the nations be assembled here in a body for to answer that article of your speech.

My Brother, we thank you for having cleansed this council chamber and for removing all that might be offensive therein, you may assure yourself that we will do all we can to answer your intention and avoid all that might tend to trouble or disturb our mutual harmony.

My Brother, you have told us that you had been informed that some of us were going to the French, and you put us in mind of their conduct towards our ancestors, whom we remember very well, for their bones are false and deceitful, they have given us very fine words and their letters were sweet, but their hearts were full of poison for us ; you know our affairs, my brother, as well as we, and that the rest of the Six Nation are jealous of us, because we used the hatchet last war against the French,

† This is Albany in the Indian language.

shall we be now accounted false and deceitful? no, you may be assured, that we will not go to Canada upon any request of the French, because we are not so much in their friendship; also, my brother, do not believe all the reports that may be made to you upon that subject.

My Brother, we thank you yet once more for all you have told us, we have already said that it was necessary the Six Nations were assembled here to give a positive answer, we thank you for the invitation you gave us to come here with the rest of our brethren, we will not fail to meet them here.

The Chief Mohowck (Anies) of the upper village having required to have a conference with Colonel Johnson, in the presence of the secretary for Indian affairs, and the two interpreters, Abraham spoke in the name of the Chief, and said:

My Brother, when you were at New York, you told us that our Chiefs and warriors should rest on their mats, and wait there until your return; which we have done:————and why should we not, seeing we have at all times appeared ready to oblige you? and we are the more, since you tell us that you are a tree replanted, in order to put us under your shade, and we don't doubt but that our brethren of the other five Nations are all disposed to obey you.

My Brother, It is very true that that we have been always obedient and obliging to you and seeing you told us that you would have us rest in the cabin, our young men being ready to go a hunting, being detained by your orders, have nothing to subsist on, they have begged our Chiefs to represent their condition to you, they want every thing, not having been a hunting, and to pray you to give them some powder and shot, to kill some game for their subsistence, as it will be some time before the arrival of the other five Nations, and all of us receive the presents sent us by the King our father; whilst we wait we pray you to give us what is purely necessary for us.

My Brother as we foresee the hard seasons are approaching, we renew the prayers to you we often made to the safety of our wives and children; we hope you will actually execute it.

COLONEL JOHNSON'S ANSWER.

Brethren, I am perfectly well convinced of your good dispositions for me, and of your complaisance at all times to listen to my words, and to do what I demand of you; it is that which has engaged me to take your affairs in my consideration: the fresh proofs you give me of your friendship and regard towards me, will enable me to serve your interests effectually and to my own satisfaction. I am sensible I have done you great hurt, as also to your young men, for detaining them at the time upon their mats; wherefore I readily grant you what you require of me, and will give you powder and bullets.

Before I left New York, I represented before your brother the Governor, the necessity of building a safe retreat for your families, and I have the

pleasure to acquaint you, that he hath given me a full power to do it, and the workmen shall go about it as soon as possible.

May 17th,

Signed,

JOHNSON.

A letter from Colonel Johnson, to Mr Arant Stevens, the Indian interpreter for the province.

According to the instructions given to General Braddock by his Majesty, he has been pleased to entrust me with the sole direction and management of Indian affairs, to wit, for the Six United Nations and their allies; you are therefore to give attention and follow the orders you shall receive from me on that head.

I send you this letter by James Clement, with two Belts of Wampum, both for the five upper Nations, which you are to give them in my name, and acquaint them that the troops who are now on their march, and those who may march hereafter for Chouaguen, are to reinforce that garrison, and to protect it against any act of hostility from the French, who said that it belonged neither to us nor to the Six Nations, and that they would pull it down.

At my first arrival I sent a String of Wampum, but lest that should not be sufficient, I now send this belt. If you find that the Indians are disquieted or alarmed at the march of these troops through their country, should it proceed from their jealousy, or the deceitful insinuations of French emissaries, you shall assure them in my name, that they are destined for the safety and advantage of the Six Nations and their allies: you shall exhort them to give no heed to any lies which the French might tell them on that account, whose aim and desire is to take both us and them while we are asleep, to cut us off from the face of the earth; that they know very well the only means to obtain their said desire, is to trouble and destroy the brotherly love and confidence which have so long and so happily subsisted between us, you shall make use of arguments to that purpose, or such like circumstances will require.

The other belt which I send you, is to inform them of the commission which the King their father has given me, granted at their repeated instances; and that in execution of General Braddock's order by this belt I invite and call the Six Nations to come to me, together with their allies, that I have kindled at my house a fire on council and friendship and replanted the shady tree, which shall shelter them and all those who will come under it; that I have a present to make them from the King their father, much good news to tell them, and a council to hold concerning several affairs of the greatest consequence, relating to their happiness and well being. If you find that any French emissary has been tampering with them, in order to dissuade them from coming to me; you shall insist upon their obedience, and upon the condescension due from them to us. If they say they are planting their corn, and should they come now, they would lose their harvest and want provisions; you shall assure them that

I will take care of them, and will make good to them all their loss occasioned thereby: but be sure to act with prudence upon that article, and promise with precaution.

I have had a conference at both the Mohawk towns, they were satisfied with the two belts, and have promised to join me here whenever the other nations come down; wherefore urge them to it as much as you can.

I have sent you some goods by Mr. Clement, make use of them as you see cause: and when you have brought the Indians to the German flats, you will find provisions at my house, of which I desire you to keep account.

I am yours, &c.

Signed,

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

A true copy of what was done by the honorable William Johnson Esq; and Peter Warpell,† secretary for Indian affairs.

I the subscriber of the superior council of Quebec, do certify, that I have translated, &c.

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NUMBER. XV.

*A letter written by Sir William Johnson, to different Governors concerning the plan of the expedition against the fort at Crown-Point.*

*New York, May 5th 1755.*

As I am nominated the commander in Chief of the Colonies forces, with regard to the expedition proposed against Crown Point, I think it my duty to endeavour all I can, to remove all the obstacles that might come in the way of the present service, and prevent every thing that might not tend to the success of this undertaking: as a train of artillery is so essentially necessary, that nothing can be done without it, and the eastern Colonies are to provide it, I don't doubt of your doing all in your power to hasten all things on that head; that our march may not be delayed, and that we may not tarry longer at Albany than is necessary, which might confirm the enemy in the suspicion of an attack if he should unfortunately have knowledge of it. I much fear I shall want proper persons to manage the train of artillery, wherefore if you have in your province any persons capable of being an engineer or bombardier, or any other fit person to manage the train of artillery, I desire you would engage them into the service according to the knowledge you may have of their capacity; you must know also, we want a great number of boats for transporting the troops besides those that are necessary for the train of artillery, ammunition and baggage; every battoe must carry five men; we have already those which this Government was to provide us; as I imagine the other Colonies are to get those battoes (which they are to furnish) built either

† Supposed to be Wrexall.

here or in the Jerseys, I look upon it as a thing impossible to build a sufficient number in time, unless they send us workmen to help us.

I am, &c,

Signed,

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

I the subscriber one of the superior council of Qnebec, do certify, that I have translated, &c.

NUMB. XVI.

*A proclamation directed by order of Charles Lawrence, Esq; Governor of Acadia, to the French inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the isthmus and the banks of the river St. John.*

BY THE KING.

*By order of his excellency Charles Lawrence, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor, and commander in Chief of the province of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, &c.*

A PROCLAMATION.

*To the Inhabitants and others, the Natives of Chignecto, Bay Vert, Tintamar, Chiboudie, River St. John, and their dependencies, and to all others who have not as yet submitted themselves.*

Forasmuch as the greatest part of the inhabitants of the places aforesaid and others, have not as yet submitted themselves to the King of Great Britain;\* but on the contrary have behaved themselves in a manner contrary to all order and loyalty with regard to their own sovereign.

These are therefore to order them to repair immediately to my camp to submit themselves; bringing with them all their arms, muskets, sword, pistols, and every other instrument of war; in disobedience whereof they shall be treated as rebels.

Given at our camp of Chignecto this 13th of May, 1755.

Signed,

ROBERT MONCKTON.

\* This is remarkable, how came it to pass, that ever since the treaty of Utrecht, it never entered into their minds to require this submission?

(END OF THE FIRST PART.)

## A COLLECTION OF PAPERS.

*Tending to Vindicate the conduct of the Court of France, in answer to the observations sent by the English Ministry to the several Courts of Europe.*

## PART THE SECOND.

## NUMB. I.

*A Memorial delivered by the Duke de Mirepoix to Sir Thomas Robinson, January the 15th, 1755,*

As an immediate prevention of the consequences which may arise from the unexpected difference in the several Colonies of North America and the hostilities which attended them is a matter of the utmost importance, the King proposes to his Britannic Majesty, that, previous to an enquiry into the foundation and circumstances of this dispute, positive orders should be sent to our respective Governors, to forbid their engaging from henceforth in any new enterprize, or committing any acts of violence : on the contrary, to enjoin them without delay to establish matters in the same situation with respect to the territory of Ohio or La Belle Riviere, in which they were, or ought to have been, before the last war ; and that the respective pretensions should be amicably submitted to the commission appointed at Paris, to the end that the differences between the two Courts may be terminated by a speedy reconciliation.

The King is likewise desirous, in order to remove every uneasy impression, and to make his subjects perfectly happy in the enjoyment of the inestimable blessings of peace, that his Britannic Majesty would be open and explicit with regard to the cause and destination of the armament last raised in England.

The King has too great a confidence in the uprightness of his Britannic Majesty's intentions, not to expect that he will give his free and ready concurrence to propositions so conducive to the public tranquility, and a good harmony between our two Courts.

Signed, Duke de MIREPOIX.

## NUMB. II.

*The answer to the foregoing memorial delivered by order of the English Court to the Duke de Mirepoix, January 22d, 1755,*

The King has beheld with concern the unexpected difference in North America, and the hostilities with which they have been accompanied : his Majesty is equally desirous, with the most Christian King, to put an end to them ; demanding nothing but what is founded on treaties, and is agreeable to the just rights and possessions of his crown, and the protection of his subjects in that part of the world.

The King is of opinion that the proposal communicated by his excellency the Duke de Mirepoix is not express as to that matter : nevertheless, to manifest his desire of maintaining the most perfect peace, union and harmony with his most Christian Majesty, and to the end that matters may be re-established on an equitable footing, his Majesty proposes, that the possession of the country along the River Ohio or Belle Riviere, should be restored to the same condition as it actually was in at the conclusion of the treaty of Utrécht, and according to the stipulations made in the same treaty, as it has been renewed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle ; and moreover, that the other possessions in North America be restored to the same condition in which they were at the conclusion of the said treaty of Utrécht, and agreeable to the cessions and stipulations made by that treaty. And then his Majesty will be able to treat of the method of instructing the respective Governors, to restrain them from engaging henceforward in any new enterprizes, or committing any hostilities ; and the pretension, on both sides, may then be submitted to be speedily and finally discussed and amicably adjusted between the two Courts,

Such are the sentiments of his Majesty : the defence of his rights and possessions, and the protection of his subjects, have been his sole motives for sending an armament into North America, which he professes to have done without an intention to injure any power that exists, or to engage in any thing that has a tendency to violate the general peace. To be convinced of this, the nature and extent of that armament need only to be considered : and the King does not doubt but that his most Christian Majesty, according to the well known uprightness of his intentions, will be as open and explicit, with respect to his great naval preparations at Brest and Toulon.

Signed,

T. ROBINSON,

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NUMB. III.

Reply to the memorial of Sir Thomas Robinson, sent by the Duke de Mirepoix, February 6th, 1755.

The King is too well convinced of the sincere disposition of the King of Great Britain, to maintain a good understanding between the two Crowns, as well as the public tranquility, not to think that his Britannic Majesty views with concern the dangers which threaten both the one and the other, through the unexpected disputes in North America, on the river Ohio.

It was the same good disposition that induced his Majesty to propose, by his ambassador at the Court of London, that, previous to an examination of the rise of this dispute, and an enquiry into the means of bringing it to an amicable conclusion, the two kings should issue positive orders to their respective Governors in that part of America, to abstain from all acts of violence, and from engaging in any new enterprize, and to put things into the same condition which they were, or ought to have been in, before the last war.

If his Britannic Majesty thought this proposal, at first sight, not sufficiently express, with regard to the matter in dispute between the two courts; we are persuaded that he will alter his opinion when he reflects, that France is entirely unacquainted with his pretensions; that since the year 1679, in which La Belle Riviere was discovered by the French, the English have had no possession there either in fact or claim; and that the treaty of Utrecht, the stipulations of which the English court seem to insist upon, has not made even the least mention of that affair. The proposals offered to his Britannic Majesty are entirely consistent with the engagements entered into at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, with the measures that have been taken since that epoch, and especially with the conditions required by the English themselves in the years 1750 and 1751, and readily granted by his Majesty, on account of the differences which arose at that time concerning the frontier boundary of Nova Scotia and Canada.

In consequence of these reasons and engagements, his Majesty proposes :

1st, That the two Kings should give orders to their respective Governors to abstain from all acts of hostility and invasion.

2d, To establish matters in the same situation throughout North America in which they were, or ought to have been, before the last war, agreeable to the 9th article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

3d, That agreeable to the 18th article of the same treaty, his Britannic Majesty should make known his pretensions, and the foundation on which they are built, to the commission appointed at Paris, and that the ministers of the two Courts should be authorized to enter upon a negotiation, in order to discover the means of bringing the dispute to an amicable conclusion,

It is with a confidence, which conditions so just and reasonable ought to raise in the King, that he proposes them to the King of England.

His Majesty has so much the more reason to expect that they will be accepted, as he is convinced that his Britannic Majesty is moved with the same disposition, that he himself is to deliver his subjects from the trouble and confusion, which, by the opposition of interests, the complex state of affairs, and the nature of engagements and treaties, may prove so dangerous to the peace of the two crowns, as well as that of Europe.

With respect to the armament which the King is providing, the court of England is capable of seeing into the occasion of it, as the preparations which that Court has published to all Europe and in part executed, have rendered these precautions necessary expressly on the side of France. But his Majesty expressly declares,* that the preparations which are making on his side, have nothing offensive in view, but solely the defence of his possessions, and the rights of his crown.

* The two Kings, we see, have made the same declaration. It is left to Europe to judge which of the two is sincere.

NUMBER IV.

Scheme of a preliminary convention, proposed by order of his most Christian Majesty to the Court of London.

The differences which have risen in North America, since the peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle the 18th of October 1748, between the subjects of their most Christian and Britannic Majesties, having occasioned hostilities on both sides contrary to the intention of their Majesties, the consequences of which it is of the utmost importance to suppress and prevent; their Majesties moved by the same good disposition to restore tranquillity to that part of the New World, and to strengthen more and more the friendship and good understanding which happily subsists between them, have resolved to take, in concert, such measures as are most effectual and expedient for the attainment of the good ends they have in view. In consequence of this, they have authorized the ministers whose names are under-written, having invested them with the full powers necessary for that purpose, to agree upon the preliminary and provisional conditions contained in the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

Their most Christian and Britannic Majesties oblige themselves to send, immediately after exchanging the ratification of the present convention, especial orders to their respective Governors in America, to suppress all hostilities between the two nations; a duplicate of which order shall be delivered on both sides, with the ratifications of the present convention, as well to the ministers of his most Christian Majesty, as to those of his Britannic Majesty.

II.

The subjects of their most Christian and Britannic Majesties shall evacuate all the country situate between the river Ohio and the mountains, which bound Virginia, and shall severally retire, viz: the French beyond the said river Ohio, and the English on this side the said mountains; so that all the territories which lies between the said river and mountains, shall be looked upon as neutral, during the continuance of the present convention; and all grants, if any there be, which have been made by either of the two nations, on the said territory, shall be considered as null and void.

III.

In order the better to secure the execution of the first articles of the present convention, and to prevent every occasion of new differences, the respective subjects of their most Christian and Britannic Majesties shall not, during the continuance of the present convention, frequent the said territory situate between the river Ohio and the said mountains, under

pretext of commerce, or passage through the same ; both which are equally prohibited to the two nations, during the same space of time.

IV.

Agreeable to the ninth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, all things shall be restored to the same condition in North America, in which they were or ought to have been, since the treaty of Utrecht ; in consequence of which, all forts, which have been built by either nation since that era, shall be destroyed, as well upon the said territory of Ohio, as in every other part of North America which is in dispute between the two nations.

V.

The present preliminary convention shall take place but for two years, to commence from the day of exchange of these ratifications. That space of time appearing sufficient to terminate, by an amicable reconciliation, all the disputes relating to North America, which might hereafter occasion any new broils between the subjects of the two powers.

VI.

Their most Christian and Britannic Majesties engage to deliver, from time to time, as well to their respective Minister at London, as to their commissaries at Paris, such orders and instructions as are necessary to enable them to terminate, in an amicable manner, as soon as possible, and at least within the space of two years, all the differences which have risen between the subjects of the two crowns, relative to their possessions, rights and pretensions in North America.

VII.

The present convention shall be ratified by their most Christian and Britannic Majesties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form in the city of London within the space of fifteen days, or sooner if possible, to begin from the day of signing the present convention.

In testimony whereof, &c.

NUMBER V.

Counter scheme of a preliminary convention, in answer to the preceding scheme, delivered to the Duke de Mirepoix, March 7th, 1755.

The differences which have risen in North America since the peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle the 18th October, 1748 between the subjects of their Britannic and most Christian Majesties, having occasioned hostilities on both sides, contrary to the intention of their Majesties, the consequences whereof it is of the utmost importance to suppress and prevent ; their Majesties, moved by the same good disposition to restore tranquility to that part of the New World, and to strengthen more and more the friendship and good understanding that happily subsists between them, have resolved to take, in concert, such measures as shall be most effectual and expedient for the attainment of the good end they have in

view. In consequence whereof, they have authorized the ministers whose names are under-written, having invested them with the full powers necessary for that purpose, to agree upon the preliminary and provisional conditions contained in the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

Their Britannic and most Christian Majesties oblige themselves to send, immediately after exchanging the ratifications of the present convention, especial orders to their respective Generals and Governors in America to suppress and prevent all hostilities between the two nations, a duplicate of which orders shall be delivered on both sides, with the ratifications of the present convention, as well to the ministers of his Britannic, as to those of his most Christian Majesty.

II.

With respect to the river Ohio, and territories adjacent, it is agreed and resolved, that like orders be sent at the same time, with copies of the present convention, to the said Generals and Governors, to destroy within the space of six months, to begin from the date of the present convention, or sooner, if possible, all forts built upon the peninsula in the lake Erie, and upon the river Aux Bœufs and Ohio.

Their Britannic and most Christian Majesties have likewise agreed, that a line, beginning from the Eastern side of the Bay of Canagahouqui upon the southern shore of Lake Erie, be drawn directly to the South, as far as the fortieth degree of North latitude, and from thence continued to the South-West, till it touches the thirty-seventh degree of the said latitude.

And also, that a line, to begin from the mouth of the river Miamis, on the South side of Lake Erie, be drawn to the South or South-West, as far as the source of the river Ouabache or Saint Jerome, and from thence continued along the said river to its confluence with the Ohio, and from thence in a strait course as far as the above mentioned thirty-seventh degree of North latitude.

All forts, fortresses, or settlements built or erected by either of the two crowns, or their respective subjects, on the said territory, situate between the said lines, shall be destroyed within the above mentioned space of six months, to begin from the date of the present convention, or sooner, if possible, and shall remain thus destroyed, till the present disputes be amicably concluded between the two courts; so that all the country which lies between the above said lines, extending from North to South, shall remain and be considered during that space of time as neutral, and shall only be made use of to carry on a commerce with the natives, which shall be free and open to both nations, without any hindrance or molestation whatever.

That the respective Generals and Governors of the two crowns, shall within the space of six months, to be reckoned from the date of the pres-

ent convention, or sooner, if possible, nominate skilful persons to draw and mark out the said lines, within the space of three months at farthest, to begin from the day on which they shall be nominated for that purpose.

III.

It is moreover agreed and resolved, that the two forts upon the river Niagara and Fort Frederick, or Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, which have been built since the treaty of Utrecht, renewed and confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle, shall be destroyed within the space of six months, to be reckoned from the date of the present convention; and that with respect to the said river Niagara, and the Lakes Erie, Ontario and Champlain, the subjects of the two crowns shall have free liberty to pass and repass them with the utmost security, and to carry on a commerce without any hindrance or molestation, with the Indians who inhabit the country situate around the Great Lakes, as well those who are the subjects and allies of Great Britain, as those who are the subjects and allies of France.

IV.

It is likewise agreed and resolved, that a line be drawn from the mouth of the river Penobscot or Pentagoet, as far as its source, and from thence in a strait course to the North, as far as the river St. Lawrence; and that from a point which lies at the distance of twenty leagues in a strait course, from the mouth of the said river Penobscot or Pentagoet, a line be drawn across the continent, to a point which lies upon the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, at the distance of twenty leagues from Cape Tourmentin, in a strait course.

That with respect to the countries and territories situate to the North, between the said lines, as far as the river St. Lawrence, they shall not be settled nor possessed by the subjects of either of the two crowns, who shall only use them for the benefit of traffic and commerce.

That all the Peninsula, Isthmus, and Bay of Fundi, or Baie-Francoise, and in general all the lands, waters and shores, situate to the South East of the line above mentioned, to be drawn across the said continent from the river Penobscot or Pentagoet to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, be acknowledged and declared to belong, in full sovereignty, and absolute propriety, to the crown of Great Britain.

It is, moreover, agreed and resolved, that the respective Generals and Governors of the two crowns, shall, within the space of six months, to be reckoned from the date of the present convention, or sooner, if possible, nominate or appoint skillful persons, to draw out or mark the said lines, within three months at farthest, to begin from the day on which they shall be nominated for that purpose.

V.

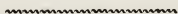
Their Britannic and most Christian Majesties engage to deliver, without delay, after the ratification of the present convention, such orders and

instructions to their respective Ministers, as shall be necessary to enable them to terminate by a definitive treaty in an amicable manner, and as soon as possible, all the differences which have risen between the subjects of the two Crowns, relative to their possessions, rights and pretensions in America, which are not finally terminated by the present convention.

VI.

The present convention shall be ratified by their Britannic and most Christian Majesties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form in the city of London, within the space of fifteen days or sooner, if possible, to begin from the day of signing the present convention.

In testimony whereof, &c.



NUMB. VI.

Extract of a letter wrote by M. Rouille, to the Duke de Mirepoix, the 27th March, 1755.

To obtain an end so desirable as that of peace, it will be necessary to consider the nature and circumstances of the engagements we are about to contract, and to compare the rights and conveniences of both sides. A task of such importance will require a great deal of time and application. And, in the mean while, what is to be done with the armaments that are prepared on both sides? how will it be possible to reap any benefit from a negociation, if hostilities still continue in America, and even commence in the open sea? will not the interests and advantages of one side or the other be motives to multiply their pretensions and difficulties, and raise fresh obstacles to a peace? this inconvenience must therefore be prevented, and there is no other method of doing it, but by sending uniform orders to the respective Governors in America and commanders of squadrons, to fix their operations invariably and simply on the defensive, and absolutely to prohibit them from committing any offensive act of hostility, under any pretence whatsoever.

The King will make no scruple of communicating to the King of England, duplicates of the orders and instructions which his Majesty shall send to his Governors and commanders, if his Majesty will, on his part, act with the same candor and confidence, towards the King. What we propose in this respect is so consistent with all the rules of equity and moderation, that we do not conceive it will or can be rejected, if the desire of peace is as real and sincere at London, as it is at Versailles.

The reputation of the two Courts demands also this precaution, since they would expose themselves to the suspicion of treachery or double-dealing in their proceedings, if while they are carrying on a negociation to accomplish a peace, they should authorize, or even appear to tolerate, hostilities, which are evidently contrary to the very notion of a reconciliation.

I have already, Sir given you my sentiments on this subject, and as truth is always the same, I shall constantly use the same language, viz. That to be sincerely desirous of peace, and not to suppress or prevent hostilities, are things quite incompatible.

NUMB. VII.

Answer delivered by the Court of London to the Duke de Mirepoix, the 5th of April, 1755.

It is with all the eagerness imaginable that the Court of London agrees to conclude a definitive treaty which may take in all the parts of America in dispute between the two nations; this having been intimated by his excellency the Duke de Mirepoix to be the disposition of his Court.

The proposal made by the Court of France, in the extract of M. Rouille's letter, written the 27th of March to his excellency the Duke de Mirepoix, is the very same which was formerly made, and has no other end in view but a cessation of arms between the two nations.

The Court of London finds the same difficulties in this proposal which presented themselves at the beginning of the negociation, and cannot think it by any means favourable to a reconciliation.

In the counter-scheme which the Court of London delivered in answer to the plan of a convention formerly proposed by France, nothing is set forth but what appeared to that Court to belong by right and treaty to the Crown of Great Britain.

They think they have even given up that right in several respects, to testify their sincere desire of peace, and of cultivating the most perfect amity with the Court of France: for this reason the Court of London have been induced to expect that his most Christian Majesty, according to his well known candor, would have instructed and authorized his ambassador to deliver in the particular objections which the Court of France had to make to the counter scheme, and to be amicably explicit with respect to the demands of his Court; this appearing the most natural and most regular method, as well as the most agreeable to the common desires of the Courts of London and Versailles, of obtaining by a negociation already agreed upon,* a speedy and definitive reconciliation, as to the points contested in America between the two nations.

* If the negociation was agreed upon, why did the English at that very time give orders to attack the French in America, and why did they refuse to command a suspension of hostilities in Europe.

NUMB. VIII.

Extract of a letter from M. Rouille to the Duke de Mirepoix dated April 13, 1755, delivered to the English Ministry.

The King, whom I have acquainted with the desire which his Britannic Majesty has expressed to you, of receiving a speedy answer to the memorial, which was delivered to you by Sir Thomas Robinson, has ordered me to dispatch your courier to you without delay.

The King would be willing to carry his complaisance much further; but the proposals of the Court of London give his Majesty no room to expect a conclusion of the difference between the two Courts, by a just and agreeable reconciliation.

According to the Court of London, the success of our negotiation entirely depends upon the cession demanded by the English, not only of the whole peninsula, of which Acadia is but a part, but also of twenty leagues on the coast of Baie Francoise on the side of Canada.

This proposal, especially with respect to twenty leagues of coast, is so diametrically opposite to our rights, our possession, and most essential interest, that we cannot possibly admit of it.

Could a cession of this kind be necessary or even useful to the English, either for their trade with the Indians, or their communication with Acadia or New England, we might attribute to one or other of these motives, the demand they have made of us, but their pretension cannot be founded on any reason or pretence of necessity or utility.

The Indians have always had liberty of trading in the English Colonies as well as the French, and twenty leagues more, could make no change in the situation of affairs in that respect.

As to the communication between Acadia and New England, it is absolutely impracticable by land, as well by reason of the length, as the extreme difficulty of the roads, and the passage of rivers, which can only be crossed near their mouths; whereas on the contrary, that communication is extremely short and easy by sea.

It is for this reason that the King cannot, nor ought not, to consent to this, because the territory along Baie Francoise, on the side of Canada, is indispensably necessary for us; since without it, Quebec could have no communication during one part of the year, either with Europe, or the Isles Royale, and St. John.

With respect to that part of Canada which lies above Quebec and Montreal, the Court of London proposed, that the River St. Lawrence, and the Lakes Ontario and Erie should serve as limits between the two nations.

Upon the determination of these limits the English Ministry pretend also to establish the basis of a negociation.

Very far, Sir, from entering upon any explication of this article, the King will never consent, that his sovereignty upon the South side of the river St. Lawrence, and upon the Lakes Ontario and Erie, should be called in question, and that those parts, which have ever been looked upon as the centre of Canada, should become its limits.

The pretention of England in regard to this, would render the preservation of that part of Canada which would be left to us after such a division, extremely difficult, and even impossible.

The Court of London does not seem inclined to consent, that we should erect settlements between the rivers Ohio and Ouabache, unless perhaps, it be several leagues on this side the left bank of the last river.

We have offered to evacuate the lands between the mountains of Virginia, and the Ohio, and to establish a neutrality there; but we can agree to nothing further, without giving up at once our communication between Louisiana and Canada.

We are too essentially different in our interests and views, as to these capital points, which the English Ministry look upon as the necessary basis of a negociation.

In the memorial delivered to you by the Court of London, they say, that they hoped you would have been instructed and authorized to give them the several objections which the Court of France had to make against the counter scheme, and to open your mind to them in an amicable manner.

The reasons which have determined the King not to answer in writing the counter scheme in question, subsist ever the same, since all that the English Ministry have said to you, since the delivery of that paper, differs scarcely in any thing from what it contains.

Their last proposals have only been of use to unfold what was not expressed in so clear a manner in the counter scheme.

If the King of England and his ministers are as sincerely desirous of peace as we are, they must formally desist from their pretension to make us abandon.

1st, The Southern shore of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes whose waters run into that river.

2d, The twenty leagues of country, which they demand on Baie Francoise.

3d, The territory between Ohio and Ouabache.

We are ready to enter upon a negociation as to what remains, and even to sacrifice our own interests to all the conveniences of the English, which are consistent with the dignity of the King, and the security of his possessions.

We shall be willing to take, in concert with the British Ministry, the

most effectual methods to prevent the two nations in America, from invading, or distressing each other.

In fine, we shall not be averse, even to join with them in such regulations as may facilitate and improve their commerce; but shall enter upon no detail on this particular, as long as the Court of London considers those three articles, which we have absolutely determined to reject, as a necessary and preliminary basis of the negotiation.

The territory of Ohio was the sole matter in dispute, at first; and now their pretensions take in all those parts of Canada, which lie on the Southern shore of the river St. Lawrence.

A provisional accommodation was agreed to be observed, till a definite treaty could be accomplished. They were afterwards desirous of a provisional convention, and proposed to terminate all at once.

We offered to issue orders to our respective Governors, and commanders of squadrons, to suppress all further hostilities. But this proposal, equitable and moderate as it was, was rejected.



NUMBER IX.

Remark delivered by the Court of London, to the Duke de Mirepoix, the 24th of April, 1755.

The Court of Great Britain observes with concern, that the amicable answer delivered to his excellency the Duke de Mirepoix, the 5th instant, in consequence of M. Rouille's letter of the 27th of last month, has not produced such instructions from his court, as would have enabled him immediately to enter upon a negociation on the different points contained in the counter-scheme, which was delivered to him on the 7th of March; but, on the contrary, that M. Rouille declares, in the extract of his letter of the 13th instant, which the French ambassador has communicated to Sir Thomas Robinson, that France requires of the British Court, previous to any negociation, that they formally desist from their pretensions of making the French abandon.

1st, The South side of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes, whose waters run into that river.

2d, The twenty leagues of country which they demand on Baie Francoise.

3d, The territory between the Ohio and Ouabache.

As to the first of these points, M. de Rouille has represented it in a manner very compendious and different from that in which it was intended to have been understood in the counter scheme above mentioned.* But with respect to this point, as well as the other two, the British Court

* We may here observe how carefully the British Ministry pretend not to comprehend thoroughly the ideas of the Court of France. All that the English were apprehensive of, was, that the negociation should be broken off, before the execution of the plan of invasion.

refer and adhere to what was there set forth, as being founded on treaties, and appearing absolutely necessary for their security.

They are, nevertheless, disposed to enter upon a discussion of the points in dispute, in the course of which it will be discovered, wherein consist the most essential differences between the two courts, and their mutual desire of peace will lead them to find out the methods of facilitating an accommodation.

NUMB. X.

Remark delivered by the Duke de Mirepoix, the 6th of May 1755, in answer to the preceding.

The Court of France is inflexible in its principles of equity and moderation. It is always most sincerely desirous of maintaining peace and a perfect harmony with the British Court. If the Duke de Mirepoix has not been authorized to enter upon a negotiation on the three points relating to, 1st, The South side of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes, whose waters run into that river; 2d, The twenty leagues of country along the coast of Baie Francoise; and 3d, The territory between Ohio and Ouabache; it is only because a compliance with the demands of the British Court, on these three points, has always been represented to the Court of France, as the necessary basis and preliminary conditions of the negotiation.

It is in this sense, that the Court of France has required and continues to require, that the British Court desist from their pretensions on these three points; but the Court of France is disposed, as it always has been, to assist, agreeable to the 18th Article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in an amicable examination and discussion of all the points in dispute; and to make such dispositions, in concert with the British Court, as shall be judged necessary to terminate all the differences between the two nations, and establish matters upon such a footing in America as shall be conducive to the quiet and security of the respective Colonies, as well for the present, as future times. The Court of France is far from being desirous to make any demand, but what is founded on real right and treaties; and as the British Court declare that they are actuated by the same sentiments, there is reason to hope, that dispositions so equitable and moderate on both sides, will produce the wholesome effect, which the two Courts ought to expect, for their common tranquility, and the happiness of the public.

NUMB. XI.

Remark delivered by the British Ministry, to the Duke de Mirepoix, May 9th, 1755.

The Court of Great Britain observes, with the highest satisfaction, in the answer which his excellency the Duke de Mirepoix, has delivered to Sir Thomas Robinson the 6th instant, that the Court of France not only persist in their resolution of maintaining peace, but that their dispositions are the same as those of England have been, and still are, to enter, without delay, upon the examination and amicable discussion of all the points in dispute.

In the whole course of this negociation, the Court of Great Britain have proceeded with so much candor* and confidence, that they have, without hesitation, thought fit to set forth their dispositions and pretensions in a plain and natural manner, hoping, by the concurrence of the Court of France to the same methods, they might with greater ease and expedition obtain a reconciliation so much desired on both sides.

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 NUMBER. XII.

*Memorial delivered by the Duke de Mirepoix, to the Ministry of London, May 14th, 1755.*

The differences between the Courts of France and England concerning America, have four objects in view : 1st, The limits of Acadia ; 2d, The limits of Canada ; 3d, The course and territory of Ohio ; 4th, The Islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago.

In order to discuss these four points, no other general principles of a negociation can be established, than those of justice, the security of the respective Colonies, and mutual convenience.

To these principles ought to be referred all particular discussion of the four points in question which we are about to handle in a succinct manner. one after another.

## ARTICLE I.

*Concerning the limits of Acadia.*

If we attend to what is right and just, we shall find, that Acadia comprehends but one part of the Peninsula on which it is situate, which part extends from Cape Fourche, or from Cape Sable, as far as Cape Canseau. This point has been clearly settled by the memorial of the commissaries of France, dated October the 4th, 1751. Neither the facts there contained, nor their proofs, are destroyed by the answer made to it by their English commissaries ; so that this ought to be admitted as a basis of the negociation, that Acadia comprehends but one part of the Peninsula.

\* We are inclined to prize this expression, after having read the papers of the first part of this collection.

But the Court of France, through their desire of peace, would be very willing after having discussed and established their right, not to be rigorous in exacting it, and will be ready to examine what may concern the security and mutual convenience of both nations with respect to the matter in hand. They are even resolved to cede the whole Peninsula to the English, but under certain conditions and restrictions, without which they neither can, nor ought to, consent to such a cession. The conditions are these :

1st. That liberty be granted, during three Years, to the French who inhabit the Peninsula, to retire with their effects, and that they be supplied with every thing necessary for such a removal ; which the English will undoubtedly look upon as extremely advantageous to them.

2d. That the Isthmus and Beau-bassin be reserved to the French, as they cannot absolutely abandon these, without giving up at the same time, for a considerable part of the year at least, the communication between Quebec and Isle-Royale.

3d. That a certain extent of country on the Peninsula, which shall be agreed upon, shall be left uninhabited, along the coast which reaches to the Gulph of St. Lawrence. This proposal is not less favourable to the English of Acadia, than to the French who inhabit the Island Royale and St. John, since a vast thickness of wood, and the passage of several defiles, would be equally an obstacle to any enterprizes, which either of the two nations may be willing to form against the other.

4th. That the English desist from demanding twenty leagues of country along Baie-Francoise, on the coasts of Canada. They have absolutely no manner of right to make this demand, neither indeed could any real advantage accrue to them from the cession of this, as it is of no service for their commerce, and wholly unnecessary to them for a communication between Acadia and New England : whereas this country is indispensably necessary to the French, for their communication with Quebec, when it is impracticable by the River St. Lawrence.

The Court of France, to make their condescension to the English still more manifest, and to testify their desire of maintaining a perfect harmony with them, even consent, provided they find the like disposition in the Court of London, to give up to the English all the country which lies between the Rivers Sagadahoc and Pentagoet.

It is evident, from the very titles of the English, and particularly, from the charter of New England, dated October 7, 1695, that the limits of that province extend no farther than Sagadahoc. The cession, therefore, of a considerable territory, which lies between that river and the Pentagoet, will more than satisfy all the reasonable views that the English can propose to themselves.

From the whole results this conclusion, that France offers, for the sake of maintaining peace, to sacrifice her right, her actual possession, and her

\* The Charter here referred to is, we presume, the one granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges for the province of Maine in 1639. It mentions the river Sagadahoc.—Ed. O. T.

evident and great interest ; but will extend this sacrifice no farther than the cession of the Peninsula of Acadia, with the conditions and clause above mentioned, and of that part of the coast on the continent, which extends from Sagadahoe to Pentagoet.

## ARTICLE II.

### *Concerning the limits of Canada.*

The Court of France has absolutely rejected, and ever will reject, the proposal made by England, that the South Shore of the River St. Lawrence, and the Lakes Ontario and Erie should serve as limits between the two nations.

With respect to this article, we must establish it as the basis of the negotiation, that the River St. Lawrence is the centre of Canada. This truth is justified by all the records that subsist on that subject, by all the authors that have wrote upon it, and by actual possession.

All that France can admit after having established this principle, which cannot with any colour of reason be contradicted, is, to examine, with respect to this point, if the mutual convenience of the two nations requires any particular measure to be taken, in order to settle invariably the respective limits.

The sole pretext which the English make use of to cloak their pretensions, is taken from the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht; but, from an attentive examination of all the expressions in that article, it is manifest that nothing has a weaker foundation, than those inferences have, which the Court of London would in effect draw from it.

1st. That article mentions only the persons of the Indians, and not their country or pretended territory; as they have no determinate one, and know no property but the actual use they make of land, which they occupy to-day, and perhaps cease to occupy to morrow.

2d. It would be absurd to pretend, that, where ever an Indian ally or subject of one of the two Crowns, should make a transient residence, the land which he had occupied, must belong to that Crown whose subject or ally he was.

3d. The Indians in question are free and independeant, and cannot be called the subjects of either of the two Crowns; the declaration of the treaty of Utrecht in this respect, is wrong, and cannot change the nature of things. Certain it is, that no Englishman durst, without running the risk of being massacred, tell the Iroquois (five nations) that they are the subjects of England. The Indian nations have a Government of their own, and are as much, and more the friends and Allies of France than of England. Several French families have even been adopted among the Iroquois, and lived with them all the last war, during which the five nations observed the strictest neutrality.

4th. The 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht contains the same stipulations in favour of the French, as of the English, and these stipulations are reciprocal. The French, therefore, can maintain, by a better title,

than the English pretend to have to the Iroquois, that the Abenakis and Souriquois Nations, otherwise called the Micmas, Malecites, Cannibas, &c., are the subjects of France. And as some of the Souriquois inhabit the extremity of the Peninsula on the coast of Cape Fourchu, and Cape Sable; it will follow that the French may have pretensions to form settlements there, with as much right as the English did at Oswego or Chouagen, on the banks of Lake Ontario, in the year 1726 or 1727, and consequently a long time after the peace of Utrecht; since which France has never ceased complaining of that enterprize, and expects that the fort of Chouagen will be destroyed.

5th, 'Tis a misrepresentation of the treaty of Utrecht, to pretend that it authorizes the French and English to trade indiscriminately with all the Indian nations under pretence of subjection, alliance, or friendship: That Article well attended to and explained, only secures the Liberty of commerce which the Indians may have with, them or with the European nations, and by no means allows them to leave their Colonies, in order to trade with the Indians.

6th. In fine, the XVth article admits that it be respectively determined what American nations shall be deemed subjects or Allies of the two Crowns. This stipulation has not been performed, because it is indeed hardly possible to perform it, as an Indian nation who are your Allies to-day, may to-morrow be your enemies, consequently their actions perpetually contradict such a determination as might be agreed upon.

All that has been set forth, clearly proves, that in examining the XVth article of the treaty of Utrecht according to the rules of justice and equity, it will be easy to destroy the false interpretations imposed on it. It will be no less easy to demonstrate, that the English ought not to be determined by any motive of interest, to insist upon the pretensions they have formed. In the vast regions of America, there is no occasion to dispute about a little ground, if one side should happen to have more or less than the other. Security and commerce are the two only points on which the essential interest terminates: and the Court of France will always be disposed, to take, in concert with the Court of London, some standing and equitable measure with respect to these points, as well for the present as future times.

### ARTICLE III.

#### *Concerning the course and territory of Ohio.*

It is evident and incontestable from the principles of justice, mutual convenience and security, as well as from titles and records, that the Ohio ought to be a part of the possessions of France. The English have not any settlements on that river; and when the British Ministry asserted, that the heads of that river were full of ancient settlements of their nation, they too readily gave credit to false relations. The French have ever looked upon that river as belonging to Canada, and it is essentially necessary to them for the communication of Canada with Louisiana.



They have frequented it at all times, and with forces. It was also by that river, that the detachment of troops passed, who were sent to Louisiana about the year 1739, on account of the war with the Chicasaws.

If there had been any English settlements on the river at that time, or if it had been a part of the British Colonies, would the French have been permitted to go down the river's whole length, or would not the Court of London at least make some complaints? But then there was as yet no talk of the new pretensions, which have since risen without proof, title, or any sort of foundation.

It is true, that within these late years some English traders passed the mountains of Virginia, and ventured to carry on a fur trade with the Indians on the Ohio. The French Governors of Canada contented themselves at first with acquainting them, that they were within the territory of France, and enjoined them not to return there, under penalty of having their effects seized, and being made prisoners. The traders, however, returned, their goods were confiscated and sold, and they were personally arrested, taken to Quebec, and from thence to France, where they were thrown into prison at Rochelle. No reclaim or complaint was made by the Court of London; they were looked upon as contraband traders, whom their avarice had exposed to the hazards of an illicit commerce.

After having thus firmly established the right and possession of the French on the river and territory of Ohio, it ought to be considered as a very convincing proof of their love of peace, that they are most ready and willing to stipulate, that all the territory between the Ohio and the mountains which bound Virginia shall remain neutral, and that all the commerce in, or passage through, the same shall be prohibited as well to the French as the English.

#### ARTICLE IV.

##### *Concerning the Islands in dispute.*

The Islands in question, are those of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent and Tabago. We are not afraid to assert, that the commissaries of France have demonstrated to the last degree of evidence. that the Isle of St. Lucia belongs to the King their Master; and that those of St. Vincent and Dominica ought to belong to the Indians or Caraibs under the protection of his Majesty.

These commissaries have made no memorial concerning the Island of Tabago, but it is no less easy to demonstrate the legality of the French claim to this Island. The Court of France therefore at the same time that they offer to sacrifice in favor of England what is above mentioned in this memorial, must insist that their right of property in the Islands of St. Lucia and Tabago be acknowledged; and that the Islands of St. Vincent and Dominica be left to the Indians or Caraibs under the protection of his Most Christian Majesty.

Signed,      DUKE DE MIREPOIX.



## NUMBER XIII.

*Memorial delivered the 7th June, 1755, by the Ministry of London in answer to the preceding, concerning the four points in question, relating to America.*

1. The limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia.
2. The limits of Canada.
3. The course and Territory of Ohio.
4. The Islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tabago.

The Court of Great Britain establishes as the general principles of the negociation, those of right and justice, but does not allow, that, properly speaking, convenience is one; which can only be admitted through a desire of peace and the maintainance of a good understanding, so much wished for between the two Courts. We ought, consequently, to be equally disposed to relinquish, in some cases, what may appear to be an absolute right, when it can be done with security. The British Court are ready to testify their inclination in this respect, as far as prudence and security will permit them, expecting to find the same good disposition on the side of France.

## ARTICLE I.

*Concerning the limits of Acadia.*

Whatever reason France may have to think that Acadia ought to be bounded by that part of the Peninsula, which extends from Cape Forchu, or from Cape Sable as far as Cape Canseau, founded upon what is asserted in the memorial of their commissaries dated October 4th, 1757, it were to be wished that they had given better attention to the reply\* made to that memorial, and delivered by the English commissaries two years since.

France has nevertheless answered it no otherwise than by asserting "that this reply destroys neither the facts nor their proofs contained in the French Memorial; and that, therefore it ought to be established as a basis of the negociation, that Acadia comprehends but one part of the peninsula."

Notwithstanding this, it appears to the Court of Great Britain to be clearly and substantially proved in this reply, that the ancient limits of Acadia, or Nova Scotia (for it is concerning its ancient limits we are now disputing) extend on the West towards New England by the river Penobscot, otherwise called Pentagoet; that is to say, beginning at its mouth and from thence drawing a right line on the North side, as far as the river St. Lawrence or the great river of Canada; that its Northern limits extend, by the said river St. Lawrence along its Southern shore as far as Cape Rosiers, situate at its entrance; that its Eastern limits extend, through the great Gulf of St. Lawrence, from the said Cape Rosiers, on

\* This reply has been answered since by a memorial which ought immediately to be made public. The proceedings of the English might indeed have made the commissaries of his Majesty dispense with this trouble. But it is the peculiar glory of the French that they are careful to exhibit to the view of the whole world, both the justice of their rights, and the regularity of their proceedings.

the South East side, by the Island of Baccalaos or Cape Breton, leaving these islands to the right and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and Newfoundland with the islands thereunto belonging to the left, as far as the Cape or Promontory called Cape Breton; and that its Southern limits extend, through the great Atlantic Ocean, drawing a line on the South West side from the said Cape Breton, through Cape Sable, comprehending the island of the same name, in the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, which rises on the East side within the country, as far as the mouth of the said river Penobscot or Pentagoet.

A difference so essential with respect to the limits claimed by both nations as their right, has already disposed the Court of Great Britain, for the sake of peace, not to be rigorous in demanding what belongs to them; but to propose, that two lines being drawn, one from the mouth of the river Penobscot or Pentagoet, as far as its source, and from thence continued in a strait course to the North as far as the river St. Lawrence, the other, from a certain point on the said river Pentagoet, twenty leagues distant from its mouth, across the continent, to a point twenty leagues distant from Cape Tourmentin on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the whole Peninsula, Isthmus, Bay of Fundy, and in general all the countries, rivers and shores situate to the South East of the said line above mentioned, shall belong in full sovereignty to the crown of Great Britain; and that, with respect to the country, situate to the North West between the two lines above mentioned, as far as the river St. Lawrence, it shall not be inhabited or possessed by the subjects of either of the two crowns.

The British Court imagine that this proposal will perfectly answer all the ends of security and mutual convenience; but on the other hand they observe with concern, that the conditions and restrictions under which France pretends to give up the possession of the peninsula to Great Britain, are subject to such insurmountable difficulties and objections as must render possession of the peninsula entirely useless.

1st, As to the proposal of allowing the space of three years to all the French who inhabit the peninsula to retire with their effects, that would deprive Great Britain of a very considerable number of useful subjects, if the same privilege should be extended to the French who were settled there at the treaty of Utrecht, and to their descendants.

By the fourteenth article of that treaty, the inhabitants had, in fact, the liberty of removing themselves elsewhere, with all their effects, within the space of one year; but that time being elapsed forty years since, there is not the least reason why the same right should still subsist; and it is not to be supposed,\* but that those who voluntarily continued under the dominion of Great Britain, as also their descendants, born in that country, would, with the greatest regret relinquish their settlements, even

\* These inhabitants would not remove at that time, because they thought that the country in which they dwelt was not comprehended in the cession; and the English themselves must have been of the same opinion, as they did not oblige them to acknowledge the King of England for their sovereign.

if it were possible that the King of Great Britain could consent to a proposal so disadvantageous.

2d, Whatever desire France may have to possess the Isthmus and Beau Bassin, as the only communication during a considerable part of the year between Quebec and Isle Royal, Great Britain can by no means consent to it, without giving up their most essential security for the rest of the Peninsula. They may full as well abandon it entirely, as leave the key to it in the hands of another

3d. The same difficulty presents itself with respect to the proposal of leaving a certain extent of country uninhabited on the Peninsula, along the coast, which reaches to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It appears to Great Britain, that a vast thickness of wood, and the passage of several defiles, would rather be a cover, than an obstacle, to any designs which either of the two nations might form against the other.

4th, In consequence of these and the like reflections, Great Britain is obliged for its security still to insist upon having a certain border of country which may be agreed upon, along the North side of the Bay of Fundy, as far as the Gulf of St. Lawrence, without which the possession of the Peninsula, and Bay of Fundy will be altogether precarious.

So that on which side soever the conditions and restrictions proposed by France are considered, Great Britain cannot but look upon them as so many seeds of new dissensions. To leave the Bay of Fundy in common, would be the readiest method of interrupting the good harmony so much desired on both sides. Nay by the confession of France itself in the memorial of M. Torci of the 10th of June, 1712, experience has heretofore sufficiently demonstrated, that it is impossible to preserve such an union in places possessed in common by the French and English; which observation is equally true with respect to a bay so narrow as this in question. France has hitherto been content with Isle Royal to secure their entrance into the River St. Lawrence; and it was for the like reasons, that the English, to whom the possession of Acadia and Newfoundland was fixed by the treaty of Utrecht, abandoned their pretensions to possess over and above these the Island of Cape Breton in common with the French.

## ARTICLE II.

### *Concerning the limits of Canada.*

It will be difficult to form an exact idea of what is called in the memorial the centre of Canada, and much less can it be admitted as the basis of the negociation, that the River St. Lawrence is the centre of that province, which is asserted without proof. It is impossible, that the source of a river of such an extent can form the centre of any country, otherwise Great Britain would not consent, that the territory between the North side of the Bay of Fundy, and the Southern shore of the River St. Lawrence (which Great Britain has already offered to leave neutral and uninhabited by either of the two nations excepting the border proposed to

be taken off) ought to be, what it never has been, considered as a part of Canada; as the contrary has been demonstrated by authentic proofs.

Neither can Great Britain admit, that France has any right to the Lakes Ontario and Erie and to the River Niagara, or to the exclusive navigation of these waters. Since it is evident from incontestable facts, that the subjects of Great Britain and France, as well as the five Iroquois nations, indiscriminately, make use of the navigation of these lakes and that river, whenever opportunity or convenience require, But with respect to a portion of country, situated on the North side of the River St. Lawrence, exclusive of that which has been proposed to be left neutral, the boundaries of which are in dispute between the two nations, or their respective Colonies, the Court of Great Britain is ready to enter upon a\* discussion of this particular and to determine the limits by an amicable negotiation; but still without injuring the rights and possessions of any of the five nations.

As to the exposition given in the French memorial of the XVth article of the treaty of Utrecht, the Court of Great Britain cannot conceive it is authorized either by the expressions, or intention of that article.

1st. The Court of Great Britain cannot admit that this article respects only the persons of the Indians, and not their country. The words of the treaty are clear and precise, viz: that the five nations or cantons of Indians are subject to the dominion of Great Britain; which, according to the received explanation of all treaties, ought to respect the country, as well as the persons of the Indians. This France has acknowledged in the most solemn manner. They considered well the importance of this acknowledgment at the time of signing the treaty; and Great Britain will never go back from it. The country possessed by these Indians is very well known, and is not so indeterminate, as is pretended in the memorial. They possess and transfer property as other proprietors generally do every where else.

2d, Great Britain never pretended that the land where an Indian made but a transient residence, should belong to the crown of which he was a subject or ally.

3d, However free and independent the Indians in question may be (which is a point the Court of Great Britain will not undertake to discuss†) they ought to be looked upon as the subjects of Great Britain, and treated as such by the French in particular, as they are solemnly bound by the treaty of Utrecht, renewed and confirmed in a better manner by that of Aix-la-Chapelle, to look upon them as such. The nature of

\* What a perpetual growth of discussions and future negotiations? and all the while they were carrying fire and sword into the French settlements in America. They expected nothing in London but to hear an account of General Braddock's exploits; and if the orders given by his Britannic Majesty had been executed with all the desired success, the French prisoners would have now been in Commodore Keppel's squadron, returning to France.

† And with good reason, notwithstanding the point is decisive. For, if the Indians are independent, they are not then subjects of England.

things is not changed by\* the treaty of Utrecht. The same people, the same country always exists; but the acknowledgment made by France of the subjection of the Iroquois to the British nation, is a perpetual proof of their right in this particular, which can never be disputed with them by France.

4th. It is true that the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, contains the same stipulations in favour of the French as of the English, with respect to such Indian nations as should be deemed by the commissaries, after the conclusion of the treaty, subject to Great Britain or France: but as to the Iroquois Cantons above mentioned, France has distinctly and specifically declared in the said 15th article, that they are subject to Great Britain, *Magnæ Britannicæ Imperio subjectæ*, and in consequence this is a point which can admit of no farther dispute.

5th. In whatever manner the treaty of Utrecht is interpreted with respect to the trade which the English and French shall be allowed to carry on with the Indian nations indiscriminately, it is nevertheless very certain, that such a general commerce is by no means authorized by this treaty. To trade with one's own subjects,† Allies or friends, is a common and natural right; but, to enter by force upon lands belonging to the subjects or Allies of another crown, to erect forts there, and deprive them of their territories, and usurp them for themselves, this neither is nor can be, authorized by any pretension, not even that most uncertain one of all, viz. convenience: yet notwithstanding this, such are the forts Frederick, Niagara, that of the Peninsula, of the river-Aux-bœufs, and all those which have been built on the Ohio and territories adjacent.

Whatever pretence France may urge for considering these countries as dependant on Canada, it is certainly true that they belonged, and (inasmuch as they have not been ceded or transferred to the English) still do belong to those Indian nations, whom France has agreed, by the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, not to molest, *Nullo in posterum Impedimento aut molesta officiant*. ‡

6th, It has been already proved, that France has, by the express words of the said treaty, fully and absolutely acknowledged the Iroquois to be the subjects of Great Britain. It would not have been so difficult as is pretended in the memorial, to agree upon the subjection of the other Indians, if among so many commissions as have been issued to regulate this point, there had been a mutual disposition to come to a conclusion. The acts of these commissions have sufficiently discovered the true reasons

\* They would undoubtedly have said since.

† They are always begging the question, by supposing continually that the Iroquois are the subjects of England. They are, in fact, at this very time their enemies; and, in justice they have always been free: See the harangues of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Washington, above.

‡ What do the English fight for the Iroquois, whose heads they have set a price upon, and whom at this day, they look upon as their enemies? If these lands always belonged to the Indians, why is all Europe now troubled to do these Indians service which they don't require; nay, with which they are offended? Or may we not ask England, why do you not abandon the Iroquois, who have already abandoned you? Must the blood of M. Braddock be spilt in the service of such friends? Certain it is, that the Indians themselves do not look upon the friendly zeal of the English as disinterested.

which have obstructed the execution of the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, without having recourse to such an imaginary supposition, as that the treaty was not capable of being executed; a supposition which is manifestly destroyed by the treaty itself with respect to the Iroquois nations.

### ARTICLE III.

#### *Concerning the course and Territory of Ohio.*

Notwithstanding all that is advanced upon this article, the Court of Great Britain cannot admit that France has the least title to the river Ohio, and the territory in question; even that of possession neither can nor ought to be alledged on this point, since France cannot pretend to have had any before the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, nor since, unless it be that some forts unjustly erected in the last place, upon lands which evidently belong to the five nations,\* or which they have transferred to the Crown of Great Britain, or its subjects, which may be proved from treaties,† and the most authentic acts.

The title which France seems most to insist upon, is the use made of this for communication between Canada and Louisiana, but, in fact, they have never made any use of it, unless it was occasionally or secretly, and, as perhaps might have happened in so vast a region, in such a manner as not to be taken notice of, which, however, cannot give them the least shadow of right.

The rivers Miamis and Oubache only have been used for some years, as a communication between Canada and Louisiana, not that Great Britain can admit that France has any right to those rivers, much less still to a passage so near as they are to the river Ohio. As to the use they made of this last river, on account of the war with the Chicasaws, the allies and friends of Great Britain, did not even make a formal complaint of it; it will not follow, that a violence committed at a certain nice and critical conjuncture; should serve as a foundation for new encroachments. This is much the same with the rash and inconsiderate measures taken by a Governor of a remote colony, who prohibited the English from passing the mountains of Virginia, under the penalty of having their goods seized, and being made prisoners. The manner in which the Court of Great Britain complains of such like proceedings has been sufficiently manifested, in the memorial‡ delivered by the late Earl of Albemarle, the 7th of March, 1752, to the Court of France itself. What the Court of Great Britain asserts and insists upon, is that the five Iroquois Nations, acknowledged by France to be the subjects of Britain, are either originally,|| or by right of conquest, the lawful proprietors of the territory of Ohio, in question. And as to that part of the territory, which those

\* The English all along plead nothing but the interest and right of the five nations.

† England, perhaps, will publish these treaties at last.

‡ This memorial never was delivered to the Court of France.

|| Why do the English specify nothing more exactly? The Iroquois, if their original is considered, will e'er long give the English an universal title to all America.



people have ceded and transferred to the British nation, (which must be acknowledged to be the most lawful and equitable manner of acquiring it) they claim it as their property, which they have not ceased to cultivate twenty years and more, and upon several parts of which they have formed settlements, from the very sources of Ohio, as far as Pikhac-Villians, which is the centre of the territory situate between Ohio and Ou-bache. But notwithstanding these facts are so clear and evident, the Court of Great Britain, for the sake of peace, and the preservation of a good understanding between the two Courts, have proposed, in order to prevent all future disputes, to leave that tract of land in those parts, neutral and uncultivated, which has already been declared to the Court of France, and Great Britain is ready to adjust and limit the precise extent of it, by an amicable negociation.

#### ARTICLE IV.

##### *Concerning the Islands in dispute.*

Though the Court of Great Britain cannot by any means be satisfied with the arguments alledged in the last memorial of the commissaries of France with respect to the right of his most Christian Majesty to the Island of St. Lucia; yet nevertheless they are of opinion, that it will not be necessary to enter immediately upon such a particular detail as that matter requires, which indeed could not be comprized within the bounds of an answer to the last memorial of the Court of France.

They were engaged in drawing up an ample reply on this head, as well as on the dispute concerning the Islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tabago. But the Court of Great Britain are rather inclined to enter upon a discussion of the disputes concerning the four Islands in the course of this negociation, being disposed to come to a reasonable and amicable accommodation,\* in full assurance of meeting with the like disposition in the court of France.

Signed, T. ROBINSON.

#### NUMBER XIV.

*Account of the engagement between the ships Alcide and Lys, one commanded by M. Hocquart, the other by M. de Lorgerie, taken by Admiral Boscawen's squadron, consisting of eleven vessels.*

*By one of the officers on board the Alcide.*

In the latitude of 45: 27 North, and longitude 53: 49 West, from the meridian of Paris; on the 7th of June at six o'clock in the evening, we discovered eleven sail of vessels from our top masts, they continued E. N. E. at about six leagues distance. M. Hocquart ordered a signal to be

\* See in the following paper, a proof of this reasonable and amicable accommodation.

† We had so much the less reason to apprehend an event of this nature, as the D. de Nirepoix having been informed in the month of May, 1755, that Adm. Boscawen had orders to act upon the offensive, acquainted the Lord Chancellor of England, the D. of Newcastle, the Earl of Granville, and Sir T. Robinson with what he had heard, who positively assured him it was absolutely false.



made to the *Lys* and the *Dauphin Royal* to crowd sail, and endeavor to reconnoitre this squadron before night, thinking that it might be our own, from which we had been separated several days. The wind suddenly abated, and a calm instantly succeeding, we lay too.

The 8th, at day break, we found ourselves to the windward of this squadron, about three leagues distant. M. Hocquart ordered the signal of observation to be made; but these ships setting full sail, and not having answered our signals; we likewise set full sail. The *Lys* and the *Dauphin Royal* soon found themselves at the head of us; the English vessels visibly gained upon us. M. Hocquart gave orders to prepare for an engagement. The squadron being within one gun shot and a half, we hoisted our flag and pendant, and fired a gun without shot; then the English vessels hoisted theirs; when they were nearer to us, the General hoisted a red flag at the fore top mast head.

Between ten and eleven in the morning, the *Dunkirk*, of sixty guns, appeared within hearing. M. Hocquart desired Messrs de Prostaing, Colonel of Infantry, de Rigan, Governor of Trois Rivières in Canada, de Crance, Commissary of War, de Helincour, and de Somerville, to attend to what should be said, in order to give an account of it. He ordered it to be proclaimed three times in English. Are we at peace or War? It was answered, We don't hear. The same question was repeated in French: the same answer was returned. M. Hocquart himself then called out. The Captain answered twice, very distinctly, Peace, Peace.

M. Hocquart asked, What is your Admiral's name? Admiral Boscawen, replied the English. I know him, he is a friend of mine. Upon which the English asked, and what is your name, Sir? Hocquart. The time pronouncing these words was the only interval between the word peace, and the firing of a broadside, which informed us that it was war. We were then within pistol shot; the cannon of the enemy were charged with two bullets and pieces of all kinds of metal. This joined to the confidence which the word peace, pronounced by the Captain's mouth, must give us, made us lose a great many people. Notwithstanding which our fire was not retarded; we continued some time with our bow-sprit lying across the vessel, still keeping a very brisk fire of cannon and small arms, which we pointed at four or five vessels who drew near towards us, among which were the Admiral and Rear Admiral. But what could we expect in the situation we were in? our rigging was cut to pieces, our sails full of holes, our fore-top-mast ready to fall, our main-mast pierced with two bullets, our sail-yards cut, the mizen-mast and mizen-top-sail injured, several pieces of cannon dismounted, twenty-four men killed, wounded or maimed on the decks, among which were four officers, Messrs, de Prostaing, de l'Aubepin, Monfermeil, and several officers wounded. M. Hocquart at last concluded to surrender to the Admiral.

At two in the afternoon, the ship *Defiance*, having made towards the *Lys*, the latter kept a running fight, and being attacked by the *Fougeux*, she was put between two fires, to which she could make but a weak resistance, considering the few cannon with which she was armed, which obliged M. de Lorgerie, after making all the resistance possible, to strike the Royal flag.

As to the Dauphin Royal, the superior swiftness of her course gave M. de Montalais the satisfaction of landing the troops entrusted to him at Louisburg, where he was informed of the capture of our two vessels, which has brought to light the designs of the English.

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### THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

Perhaps no act of human legislation was ever passed which contained within itself the seeds of greater prosperity and happiness than the famous Ordinance prohibiting involuntary servitude in that vast region which extends from the Pennsylvania line and the Ohio river to the Mississippi. Certainly there is no statute or law enacted by any nation ancient or modern whose glorious and beneficial results are so prominently displayed in the very face of the land, and in the prosperous condition of the inhabitants affected by it, as is that ordinance by the improvement of the country, and the increase of the population under its influence. The true history of a fundamental law, thus conclusively approved and sanctioned by its own operation cannot be a matter of little interest to any citizen of this republic. Every observing man who passes down our great highway to the Mississippi, must be struck with the marked contrast in the condition of the two regions; one controlled by the wise foresight of the legislators of 1787, the other borne down by the fruits of an opposite policy. All notice it, all speak of it, and yet but few know the long and lingering steps by which that wise provision was perfected.

Our attention was not long since called to a very full and lucid history of all the proceedings which preceded and lead to the enactment of that ordinance, and upon a careful perusal of it, we felt, that we could not overlook it in our collection of matter relating to the settlement and improvement of the country round and near the head of the Ohio. We therefore, now introduce it into the *Olden Time*, though in doing so, we rather anticipate its regular place in the course of time.

The article seems to have been prepared with great care and industry, and we have great faith that it is correctly done; but if any inaccuracy has crept into it, we invite correction through our own publication.

# THE ORDINANCE OF 1787 HISTORY—THOMAS JEFFERSON —RUFUS KING AND NATHAN DANE.

The ordinance of 1787 is now numbered among those monuments of wisdom, to which history points, as among the evidences of an improving virtue and a superior intelligence in humanity. It is admired, talked about and revered.

Much of this reverence and admiration may be attributed to the great prosperity and growth of the States which have grown up under its kindly influence. These States are Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. At the time the Ordinance of 1787 was passed, they were touched by the hand of civilization only at the posts of St. Vincents, Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Kehokia, Fort Chartres, Fort St. Phillip and Detroit. These were all French, or Canadian settlements. The number of inhabitants may be guessed at, from the following facts, contained in a report of Congress, made in June, 1787. The report says: that the villages on the Mississippi, or near there contained the following families:

|                             | Families. |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Kaskaskias - - - - -        | 80        |
| Kehokia Village - - - - -   | 50        |
| Prairie du Rocher - - - - - | 12        |
| Fort Chartres - - - - -     | 5         |
| Fort St. Philip - - - - -   | 5         |

Detroit and St. Vincents contained, probably, not much more than an equal number.

The total population did not exceed *three thousand*. It is now just sixty years since the Congress of the Confederation—the OLD CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—to be remembered while history shall have a pen to record, or the earth a people to admire whatever is great, noble, virtuous, venerable or admirable in human character—put its seal to the Ordinance for the government of the North Western territory.

The Ordinance, as a legal instrument, was wisely drawn; but its wisdom and fame rests on the following *principles*, which were then ordained and made a fundamental law, in these States.

1. It was ordained, that the estates of both resident and non-resident proprietors should descend to their children, or the descendants of their children in *equal parts*.

2. The Ordinance proclaimed, that Religion, Morality and Knowledge are *necessary* to good government, and because they were so, "Schools and the means of education *shall be forever encouraged*."

3. It ordained, as a matter of compact with the original States, that the States to be formed out of this North-Western Territory "shall *forever remain* a part of this confederacy of the United States of America.

4. It ordained that there "shall be *neither slavery nor involuntary servitude*" in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

The greatest stress has been laid upon the last of these features ; but the others were almost, or quite as important. At *that time*, entailed estates and primogeniture were not abolished in all the States. On the contrary, they subsisted for thirty years after that, in some of the original States. But, in this Ordinance, it was thus early announced, that *equal inheritance* must prevail in the States of the North West Territory—one of the most important features in the economy of Republican Government.

The next feature was no less so, that Education was *necessary* to good government, and therefore, the means should be provided for popular education. This principle was faithfully carried out by Congress in the appropriation, a few years after, of every *thirty sixth section* of the public land, for the support of Common Schools—

The third principle above stated, is that these new States *shall* forever remain a part of the Confederacy. The importance of this is plainly seen in subsequent history. Virginia, South Carolina, and one or two other States have proclaimed the doctrine that they can secede peaceably from the Union! This doctrine can, by the Ordinance of 1787, have no possible place in the North Western States. They have accepted a Charter, by which they are bound to remain *forever in the Union*.

The next grand feature is the one chiefly spoken of—the perpetual obligation to keep these North Western States free from slavery or involuntary servitude.

What was the effect of these provisions? They were made, not to establish power, by armies fitted for the battle field ; nor to build up wealth by the accumulation of entailed estates ; nor to establish an Imperial Government on the ignorance of the many, or the servitude of an inferior race. Let the facts be compared with these in the history of any other country on the face of the globe.

In 1847, we suppose the population of the North Western States to be very nearly this :

|           |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |           |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Ohio      | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2,000,000 |
| Indiana   | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 900,000   |
| Illinois  | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 750,000   |
| Michigan  | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 350,000   |
| Wisconsin | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 175,000   |
| <hr/>     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |           |
| Total     | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4,175,000 |

One half of this increase is in the last sixteen years, and there is no apparent cessation of the movement. There is no part of the American Union, old or new, slave or free which, in the present as well as the past, has increased at anything like this rapidity. It is, therefore, evident that the Institution established by the ordinance had much to do with the

prosperity of the North Western States. Its authorship and history become, therefore, of no small interest. It is a very remarkable thing that the true authorship and history of that Ordinance have never been correctly given. It has been attributed to Nathan Dane who was only one, and not the most original or conspicuous one of those engaged in its authorship. It has been attributed to Mr. Jefferson who was only one, and not the principal one of the actors engaged in the work.

Mr. Jefferson was in France at the time the Ordinance was drawn up and passed, and in the shape in which it did pass, he had nothing to do with it. What he did, we shall presently see. Mr. Brinkerhoff's statement is correct, as far as it goes, but it is only one item of the transaction. We shall now recite this entire chapter of history, for the benefit of those who have not access to the Journals of Congress.

From the record it appears, that on the 1st of March 1784, the State of Virginia ceded, by her delegates, all her lands Northwest of the Ohio River, to the United States, in Congress assembled. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson of Virginia, Chase of Maryland, and Howell of Rhode Island, was appointed to "report a plan for the temporary government of the Western Territory.

This committee did report. But what was that report? Was it the Ordinance, or any thing like the Ordinance? Not at all. The report contained nothing about equal inheritances—about religion, knowledge, or education; nor any provisions for the guaranty of the rights of conscience, liberty, or persons; all of which are in the Ordinance.

The report moreover lay on the table of Congress, and was modified in various ways, during the *three years*, from 1784 to 1787!—During nearly all the time, and a year afterwards Mr. Jefferson was *in Europe*.

The Ordinance, however *did* contain an anti-slavery proviso. Was it the *same with that in the report*? By no means. The Ordinance prohibits slavery *then, now and forever*. The report prohibited it *after the year 1800*—commencing the year of freedom *seventeen years* after the report—allowing in fact a measure of Abolition, and not of prohibition, which the Ordinance is.

Here is one *current error* exploded at once. The report made by Mr. Jefferson in 1784, and the ordinance of 1787, are not the same things *in any particular*, save only that the States to be created should remain in the confederacy. They are totally different things. But what became of the report and the anti-slavery Proviso?

On the 19th of April, 1784, Mr. Spaight of North Carolina moved to *strike out* this proviso against Slavery. By the rules of the confederation, questions were put on the *sustaining* of any proposition, and an absolute majority of all the states was required. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania, voted to sustain the proposition. New Jersey does not appear to have been counted.

The anti-slavery proviso was there *lost*. After some unimportant amendments proposed by Mr. Gerry, this brief Report without the anti-slavery, the education, or the inheritance clause was *agreed to*.

On the 10th of March, 1784, Mr. Jefferson was appointed by Congress Minister to the Court of Versailles, whither he went and did *not return* until 1789, long after the Ordinance was digested and passed. Here Mr. Jefferson's agency in the business entirely ceased.—The report, brief and unimportant, lay on the table of Congress.

On the 11th of March, 1785, the day after Mr. Jefferson's appointment, Mr. Grayson of Virginia appeared and took his seat in Congress.

On the 16th of March, 1785,—a week after Mr. Jefferson had left Congress, Rufus King of Massachusetts moved that the following proposition be committed (that is in the nature of an instruction) to the committee on Western Territory which was seconded by Mr. Ellery of Rhode Island.

"That there shall be *neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the states* described in the resolve of Congress of the 23d of April, 1784, other wise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been personally guilty; and that this regulation shall be an article or compact, and remain a *fundamental principle of the constitution* between the thirteen original states, and each of the States described in the said resolve of the 23d of April, 1784."

This was the *test* question. It was not the proposition of Mr. Jefferson, but it is the proposition, of the Ordinance. The proposition thus introduced by Mr. King, was carried by the following vote, which we record for the public information. Under the confederation, the vote in Congress was by States, and this question stood thus the Yeas and Nays being required by Mr. King

## YEAS.

*New Hampshire*—Messrs. Foster and Long.

*Massachusetts*—Messrs. Holton and King.

*Rhode Island*—Messrs. Cook and Johnson.

*New York*—Messrs. W. Livingston and Platt.

*New Jersey*—Messrs. Beatty, Cadwallader and Stewart.

*Pennsylvania*—Messrs. Gardner and Wm. Henry.

*Maryland*—Mr. McHenry, nay, J. Henry and Hindman yea.

## NAYS.

*Virginia*—Messrs. Hardy, Lee, nay, and Grayson, yea.

*North Carolina*—Messrs. Speight and Sitgreaves.

*South Carolina*—Messrs. Ball and Pinckney.

*Georgia*.—Mr. Houston.

The question was carried in the *affirmative* and this was the way in which the antislavery clause came into the Ordinance. It was on the motion of Rufus King, of Massachusetts, when neither Thomas Jefferson



nor Nathan Dane were in Congress ; and so far as that proposition stands in the Ordinance, *it was the work of Rufus King*, and not of Jefferson or Dane. Mr. Jefferson had promised a different thing and *failed*, Mr. Dane did not take his seat till Nov. 23, 1785—more than eight months *after* the question of slavery in the North-Western Territory had been solemnly settled!

In the above vote it will be seen that Delaware was absent, and Maryland voted for the anti-slavery clause. On the first vote in April, 1784, Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, voted on the anti-slavery side. On the second; in March, 1785 Mr. Henry and Mr. Hindman, of Maryland, and Mr. Grayson, of Va., did the same. The reader will observe that Congress was an entire *year* in settling that point.

The subject lay over till Sept 1786, when a committee appointed for that purpose, reported an "Ordinance for the government of the Western territory" This committee, in their order, were, Mr. Johnson of Connecticut, Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina Mr. Smith, of New York, Mr. Dane of Massachusetts and Mr. Henry of Maryland. Who wrote the Ordinance? This order of this committee does not show that Mr. Dane wrote it—especially as Dr. Johnson of Connecticut, the first on the list, was a learned and able man, there may be some private information to show that Mr. Dane wrote it; but the *record does not* show it.

The Ordinance was debated for several days, and finally, as it seems, referred back to another committee composed of Mr. Carrington of Virginia, Mr. Dane of Massachusetts, R. H. Lee, of Virginia, Mr. Keen of South Carolina, and Mr. Smith of New York.

The committee did nothing, it is probable but revise the Ordinance, and there is little question that, as it was finally put forth it was the writing of Mr. Dane.

The Ordinance was read *first*, July 11th, 1787; read 12th, and passed UNANIMOUSLY July 13th, 1787.

This is a concise History of one of the greatest monuments of Civil Jurisprudence; and one, the *wisdom* of which is inscribed on all the political and social prosperity—the rapid growth and power of these North Western States

The reader will observe that Congress had this Ordinance under deliberation and revision for *three years and six month*; and that every word in that time was most deliberately considered.

As This work, like other great works, was not the work of any one or two men. It was the work of many heads.

Mr. Jefferson proposed the abolition of slavery, in the Territory, after 1800. This was the clause rejected on the motion of Mr. Spaight.

Mr. Rufus King proposed and carried the Anti-Slavery clause as it now exists in the Ordinance, *neither Jefferson nor Dane were present*.

The Convention here agreed upon the terms of the Ordinance; there is reason to believe it was finally written by Nathan Dane.



## GRANT'S DEFEAT.

Our accounts of this disaster which occurred within the present limits of our city, are by no means precise or satisfactory. The best notice we have seen may be found at page 179 of the first volume of the "Olden Time," taken from the Pennsylvania Gazette.

Mr. J. C. G. Kennedy of Meadville, has lately very kindly lent the editor a large number of maps, letter books, orderly books, and other documents giving much information in relation to the early history of this place. In one of these books there is a list of the killed, wounded, and missing officers and soldiers, and those returned from the action, (near Fort Du Quesne) in which Major Grant (of Colonel Montgomery's regiment of Highlanders,) commanded a detachment of about 800 men from General Forbes' army. The action was on the 14th of September 1758.

From this we select the following information.

| Name<br>of Corps.           | Officers killed<br>or missing.                     | Officers<br>returned.                                 | Officers Soldiers killed<br>prisoners. or missing. |           |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Royal<br>Americans.         | Lieut. Billings,<br>Ensign Ryder,<br>Capt. Munro.  | Capt. Lander,<br>Ensign Bentinck,<br>Lt. A. Robinson, | Lieut Rider,<br>Ensign Jenkins,<br>Major Grant     | 35<br>131 |
| Highland<br>Regiment.       | — McKenzie,                                        | — H. Munro,                                           |                                                    |           |
|                             | — McDonald,                                        | — McDonald,                                           |                                                    |           |
|                             | L't. A. McKenzie,                                  | Ens. A. Grant,                                        |                                                    |           |
|                             | — C. Campbell,                                     | Sg'n. M'Donit,                                        |                                                    |           |
|                             | — W. McKenzie,                                     | — Harris,                                             |                                                    |           |
|                             | — A. McDonald,                                     |                                                       |                                                    |           |
| 1st. Virg.<br>Regiment.     | R. McKenzie,<br>Ens. J. McDonald,<br>Lieut. Baker, | Capt. Bullit,<br>— W. Stewart,                        | Major Lewis,                                       | 61        |
|                             | — Campbell,                                        |                                                       |                                                    |           |
|                             | Ensign Allen,<br>Chew,<br>Guest,                   |                                                       |                                                    |           |
|                             |                                                    |                                                       |                                                    |           |
| N. Carolina<br>Regiment.    |                                                    |                                                       |                                                    | 4         |
| Maryland<br>Companies.      | Lt. McCrea,                                        | Capt. Ware,<br>Lieut. Riley,<br>Ensign Harrison       |                                                    | 22        |
|                             |                                                    | wounded,                                              |                                                    |           |
| 2d Battalion<br>Penn'a.     |                                                    | Capt. Clayton,<br>Lieut. Hays,                        | Ensign Haller,                                     | 18        |
|                             |                                                    | — Reynolds,                                           |                                                    |           |
| Lower Counties on Delaware, |                                                    |                                                       |                                                    | 2         |

It can hardly escape notice, how closely the Scotch were identified with the early history of this place. The gallant Captain Stobo was long confined in Fort Du Quesne. Sir Peter Halket and other North Britons fell at Baddook's defeat. The Grant's, McKenzie's, Campbell's, Munro's and McDonalds suffered at Grant's defeat—Forbes, a

Scotchman, took Fort Du Quesne, and Col. Hugh Mercer, another of the same, succeeded in command. Frazer, too, the early settler, was probably a countryman of Grant and Forbes. Fort Pitt was once occupied by Connelly, and called Fort Dunmore, after Lord Dunmore, another Scotchman.

### GEN. FORBES' ARMY.

Among the papers so politely lent to the editor by Mr. J. C. G. Kennedy of Meadville, we find a return of his Majesty's forces, under the command of Brigadier General Forbes, dated at Raystown, now Bedford September 25th, 1758, just two months before the capture of Fort Duquesne.

We give below a summary of this return, with the names of the different corps, the number of field and company officers, and the aggregate force of each corps.

| Name<br>of Corps.                                  | No. of field<br>Officers. | Company<br>Officers. | Total. |        |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|--------|--------|
| Division of 1st. Battal. }<br>of Royal Americans } | 1                         | 12                   | 363    |        |
| The Highland or 62d reg't.                         | 3                         | 37                   | 998    | } 1267 |
| Division of ditto.                                 | 3                         | 12                   | 269    |        |
| 1st Virginia Regiment.                             | 3                         | 32                   | 782    | } 1484 |
| 2nd Virginia Regiment.                             | 3                         | 35                   | 702    |        |
| 3 N. Carolina companies.                           | 1                         | 10                   | 141    |        |
| 4 Maryland companies.                              | 1                         | 15                   | 270    |        |
| 1st Battalion } Penn'a.                            | 3                         | 41                   | 755    | }      |
| 2d do. } Regiment                                  | 3                         | 40                   | 666    |        |
| 3d do. }                                           | 3                         | 46                   | 771    |        |
| The three lower Counties,                          |                           |                      | 263    |        |

Total, 5980

Detachments on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and the road of communication.

|                                     |                                      |   |    |           |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|----|-----------|
| From the Penn'a. Regiment. }        | 1 Major. 10 Captains. 17 Subalterns. |   |    | Total     |
| From the North Carolina Regiment. } |                                      |   |    | 563       |
|                                     | 1                                    | 3 | 61 | Total 624 |

### WESTERN BOUNDARY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Among the Kennedy papers we find a draught of the Southern part of Pennsylvania, and the Northern parts of Maryland and Virginia; the following note on its face will explain its object.

"The design of the above draught was formed by the Rev. Mr. John Ewing and Mr. Alexander Stuart, and their computations are contained in the following remarks made by them respectively, on their own draughts."

MR. EWING'S REMARKS.—That part of the river Delaware which is in the same Latitude with Pittsburgh is *two miles* to the Eastward of the

meridian of Philadelphia. The city of Philadelphia is *twenty-two miles* East of the mouth of Christiana creek. That part of the river Monongahela, which crosses the Southern boundary of the province of Pennsylvania, is 256 miles West of the meridian of Philadelphia, or 234 West of the mouth of Christiana creek. And according to Mr. Evans' map, Pittsburg is five miles Eastward of the said part of the river Monongahela. As the province extends  $33\frac{3}{4}$  miles West of the said part of the Monongahela, or  $267\frac{3}{4}$  miles West of the mouth of Christiana creek; Pittsburg, according to this computation must be  $14\frac{3}{4}$  miles in the province, distant from the Western boundary, and 51.65 miles from the Southern boundary.

But by J. S's map of the river Monongahela made from actual survey, Pittsburg is  $1\frac{1}{4}$  mile West of the said part of the Monongahela, which is intersected by the Southern boundary of the province, which places Fort Pitt  $6\frac{1}{4}$  miles further to the West than is done by Mr. Evans' map. So that Pittsburgh is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles in the province. This is more to be depended upon than the former estimation: as Mr. J. S. took all the courses of the Monongahela with a compass from Fort Pitt to the junction of Cheat and Muddy rivers.

MR. STUART'S REMARKS.—“That part of the river Delaware which is in the same Latitude as Pittsburg, is *one mile* Eastward of the meridian of Philadelphia; and that city is 22 miles East of the meridian of the mouth of Christiana creek. That part of the river Monongahela which crosses the Southern boundary of the province of Pennsylvania is 256 miles West of the meridian of Philadelphia, or 234 miles West of the mouth of Christiana creek. And by Mr. J. S's map of the river Monongahela made from an actual survey, Pittsburgh is  $1\frac{1}{4}$  mile West of the part of the Monongahela which is intersected by the Southern boundary of the province of Pennsylvania. So that Pittsburg is *nine* miles and a half within the province of Pennsylvania, distant from the Western boundary.”

The draught itself embraces all that portion of Pennsylvania which lies South of a line drawn due East and West through Pittsburg and between the river Delaware on the East and a meridian line run by Messrs St. Clair and McLean, which is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles West of the meridian of Pittsburg.

The Latitude of Pittsburg is fixed at 40 deg. 28 min. 30 sec., and the distance along that parallel from Pittsburg to the Delaware is stated to be  $258\frac{1}{4}$  miles. Mason and Dixon's line is placed in Latitude 39 deg. 43 min. 18 sec. The Western boundary of Pennsylvania is represented by a curved line parallel to the Delaware, which crosses the Monongahela four times, twice above *Fort Burd*, now Brownsville, and as often below that place. The meridian line drawn through Fort Pitt, crosses the Monongahela four times, first at that place, and last precisely opposite the mouth of Cheat river. From another draught among the “Kennedy

papers" we learn that the initials J. S., in the remarks of Mr. Ewing, meant *Joseph Shippen*.

We were pleased to see the authoritative settlement of the latitude of Mason and Dixon's line. The books differ about the seconds. In a lecture upon the controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, republished in the first volume of the Olden Time, we preferred 39 deg. 43 min. 42 sec. The draughts satisfy our mind that the true latitude is 39 deg. 43 min. 18 sec., and we rejoice to acknowledge and correct our error.

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#### SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

We extract from Mrs. Grant's beautiful and lady like "history of an American Lady," the following notice of this remarkable man, who was a statesman and diplomatist in his intercourse with the Indians, and a successful soldier by intuition. The important influence which he once exercised over the Iroquois, naturally connect his history with that of this country. He died in 1774, before our revolution.

"By the advice of the Schuylers there was now (1757) on the Mohawk river a superintendant of Indian affairs; the importance of which charge began to be fully understood. He was regularly appointed and paid by government. This was the justly celebrated Sir William Johnson, who held an office difficult both to define and execute. He might indeed be called the tribune of the five nations; their claims he asserted, their rights he protected, and over their minds he possessed a greater sway than any other individual had ever attained. He was indeed calculated to conciliate and retain the affections of this brave people; possessing in common with themselves many of those peculiarities of mind and manners that distinguished them from others. He was an uncommonly tall, well made man, with a fine countenance; which, however, had rather an expression of dignified sedateness, approaching to melancholy. He appeared to be taciturn, never wasting words on matters of no importance, but highly eloquent when occasion called forth his powers. He possessed intuitive sagacity, and the most entire command of temper, and of countenance. He did by no means lose sight of his own interest, but on the contrary raised himself to power and wealth, in an open and active manner; not disdaining any honorable means of benefiting himself; but at the same time the bad policy, as well as meanness of sacrificing respectability, to snatching at petty present advantages, were so obvious to him, that he laid the foundation of his future prosperity on the broad and deep basis of honorable dealing, accompanied by the most vigilant attention to the objects he had in view; acting so as, without the least departure from integrity on the one hand, or inattention to his affairs on the other, to give, by his manner of conducting himself, an air of magnanimity to his character, that made him the object of universal confidence. He purchased from the Indians (having the grant confirmed by his sovereign,) a large and fertile tract of land upon the Mohawk river; where, having cleared

and cultivated the ground, he built two spacious and convenient places of residence ; known afterwards by the names of Johnson Castle and Johnson Hall. The first was on a fine eminence, stockaded round, and slightly fortified ; the last was built on the site of the river, on a most fertile and delightful plain, surrounded with an ample and well cultivated domain ; and that again encircled by European settlers, who had first come there as architects, or workmen, and had been induced by Sir William's liberality, and the singular beauty of the district to continue. His trade with the Five Nations was very much for their advantage ; he supplying them on more equitable terms than any trader, and not indulging the excesses in regard to strong liquors, which others were too easily induced to do. The castle contained the store in which all goods meant for the Indian traffic were laid up, and all the peltry received in exchange. The hall was his summer residence, and the place round which his greatest improvements were made. Here this singular man lived like a little sovereign ; kept an excellent table for strangers, and officers, whom the course of their duty now frequently led into these wilds ; and by confiding entirely in the Indians, and treating them with unvaried truth and justice, without ever yielding to solicitation what he had once refused, he taught them to repose entire confidence in him ; he, in his turn, became attached to them, wore in winter almost entirely their dress and ornaments, and contracted a kind of alliance with them ; for, becoming a widower in the prime of life, he had connected himself with an Indian maiden, daughter to a sachem, who possessed an uncommonly agreeable person, and good understanding ; and whether ever formally married to him according to our usage, or not, contrived to live with him in great union and affection all his life. So perfect was his dependence on those people, whom his fortitude and other manly virtues had attached to him, that when they returned from their summer excursions, and exchanged the last year's fur for fire-arms, &c., they used to pass a few days at the castle ; when his family and most of his domestics were down at the hall. There they were all liberally entertained by their friend ; and five hundred of them have been known, for nights together, after drinking pretty freely, to lie around him on the floor, while he was the only white person in a house containing great quantities of everything that was to them valuable or desirable.

While Sir William thus united in his mode of life, the calm urbanity of a liberal and extensive trader, with the splendid hospitality, the numerous attendance, and the plain though dignified manners of an ancient baron, the female part of his family were educated in a manner so entirely dissimilar from that of all other young people of their sex and station, that as a matter of curiosity, it is worthy a recital. These two young ladies, his daughters, inherited, in a great measure, the personal advantages and strength of understanding for which their father was so distinguished. Their mother dying when they were young, bequeathed the care of them to a friend. This friend was the widow of an officer who had fallen in

battle ; I am not sure whether she was devout, and shunned the world for fear of its pollutions, or romantic, and despised its selfish, bustling spirit: but so it was, that she seemed utterly to forget it, and devoted herself to her fair pupils. To these she taught needlework of the most elegant and ingenious kinds, reading and writing ; thus quietly passed their childhood; their mistress not taking the smallest concern in family management, nor indeed the least interest in any worldly thing but themselves: far less did she inquire about the fashions or diversions which prevailed in a world she had renounced ; and from which she seemed to wish her pupils to remain forever estranged. Never was any thing so uniform as their dress, their occupations, and the general tenor of their lives. In the morning they rose early, read their prayer book, I believe, but certainly their bible, fed their birds, tended their flowers, and breakfasted; then they were employed for some hours with unwearied perseverance, at fine needlework, for the ornamental parts of dress, which were the fashion of the day, without knowing to what use they were to be put, as they never wore them; and had not, at the age of sixteen, ever seen a lady, excepting each other and their governess; they then read, as long as they chose, either the voluminous romances of the last century, of which their friend had an ample collection, or Rollin's ancient history, the only books they had ever seen; after dinner they regularly, in summer, took a long walk; or an excursion in the sledge, in the winter with their friend; and then returned and resumed their wonted occupations, with the sole variation of a stroll in the garden in summer, and a game at chess, or shuttlecock in winter. Their dress was to the full as simple and uniform as very thing else; they wore wrappers of the finest chintz, and green silk petticoats; and this the whole year round without variation. Their hair which was long and beautiful, was tied behind with a simple riband; a large calash shaded each from the sun, and in winter they had long scarlet maniles that covered them from head to foot. Their father did not live with them, but visited them every day in their apartment. This innocent and uniform life they led till the death of their mistress, which happened when the eldest was not quite seventeen. On some future occasion I shall satisfy the curiosity which this short but faithful account of these amiable recluses has possibly excited.



# THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

JULY, 1847.

NO. 7.

## LETTERS ON THE IROQUOIS.

We continue the re-publication of these very able and interesting letters, about that remarkable people, who once exercised such absolute authority over the country which we now inhabit. The beauty and vigor of the style of these letters, and the philosophical cast of mind displayed by the author in his comparison and contrast of the form of government of the Six Nations and those of other nations, would command much attention; but when we bear in mind that these Indians were the occupants of the banks of the Ohio and Allegheny, when Europeans first visited those streams; their history and institutions must become subjects of absorbing interest to every liberal and inquiring mind.

The specimen of the language, and the illustration of the modes of variation, are those of that very tribe, the Seneca, who had their homes along the Allegheny and the Ohio rivers. The language is that of Washington's early friend Tanacharison, of Guyasutha, and of the wise and venerable Cornplanter. It will be ere long a dead language, and the sole remaining memento of the former occupants of the soil we now occupy.

## LETTERS ON THE IROQUOIS.

BY SKENANDOAH.

ADDRESSED TO ALBERT GALLATIN, LL.D., PRESIDENT NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

### LETTER IX.

Original Institutions of the Iroquois—The Different Species of Government—A Progressive Series from Monarchy to Democracy—Rise and Progress of Grecian Institutions, and their termination in Universal Democracy—Liberalization of the British Government—The Government of the Iroquois an Oligarchy—Reasons for not treating it as an Aristocracy—Its Stability—Personal Freedom—Power of Gain never felt by the Red Man.

The origin of the League, the Ruling Body and its powers, the division of the people into Tribes, with the Tribal Bond or cross-relationship between them, the Laws of Succession with their incidents, and the Councils of the Hodénosaunee, with their powers, mode of proceeding, spirit and effects, have severally been brought under consideration. Upon the facts derived from these sources of investigation, the true character of the



Iroquois government must be settled. If it is referable to any determined species, the constituent parts and general features of the confederacy, which have formed the subjects of the preceding Letters, will determine its position in the scale of civil organization established by political writers.

In their original well-developed institutions, and in the government, so systematic in its construction and so liberal in its administration, there is much to enforce a tribute of respect to the intelligence of our Indian predecessors. Without such institutions, and without that animating spirit which they nourish and diffuse, it would be difficult to account for the production of such men as have sprung up among the Iroquois. The development of national intellect depends chiefly upon external reciprocal influences, and is usually proportionate to the vitality and motive which the institutions of a people possess and furnish.

To illustrate, substantially, the nature of their government, it will be necessary to notice, somewhat at length, the several species which have been instituted among men; the natural order of their origination; the relations in which they mutually stand to each other; and their general characteristics. In no other way can a clear conception be obtained of the character of the Iroquois government, and the relation which it sustains to other political fabrics. No apology, therefore, will be necessary for the digression.

Aristotle, and other Grecian political writers, recognised but three species of government: the Monarchical, the Aristocratical and the Democratical; the rule of "one," the "few," and the "many." Every other variety was regarded as the wreck, or perversion of one of the three. If for example the first was corrupted, it became a Tyranny; if the second degenerated, it was styled an Oligarchy; and if the last became turbulent or tumultuous, it was called an Ochlocracy. A Polity or the rule of a large body of select citizens, was milder form of Oligarchy. This classification admits of a limitation to the definition of an aristocracy and oligarchy hereafter to be noticed.

Modern political writers also recognize three species, as laid down by Montesquieu: the Despotic, Monarchical, and the Republican. The Aristocracy, and Democracy of the Greeks are included in the Republican form of modern times; while the monarchical government of the present day—"the rule of a single person by fixed laws"—was entirely unknown to the ancient Greeks. It is further observable that a despotism, as defined by Montesquieu corresponds precisely with the monarchy of Aristotle.

The order of their origination suggests an important general principle; that there is a regular progression of political institutions, from the monarchical, which are the earliest in time on to the democratical, which are the last, the noblest, and the most intellectual. The position can be established by the rise and development of the Grecian institutions; and

may be further illustrated by the progressive changes in the spirit and nature of the British government.

An unlimited monarchy, or "the rule of a single individual according to his own will," is the form of government natural to a people when in an uncivilized state, or when just emerging from barbarism. In the progress of time by the growth and expansion of civil liberty, the monarchy became liberalized or limited, and a few steps forward introduce universal democracy. Hence it is noticeable in the rise of all races, and in the formation of all states that the idea of chief and followers, or sovereign and people; was of spontaneous suggestion. This notion may be regarded as inherent to society in its primitive state; for it would be the first suggestion, if several families sought to institute a political organization, by which to bind themselves together for mutual protection.

It will be remembered that when the Hellenic tribes came down from Thessaly, and finally settled themselves upon the shores of the Mediterranean, their political relations were those of chief and follower. After they had become subdivided into a large number of petty states, and migrations and intermixtures had subsided, leaving each principality under its own ruler, and to the formation of its own institutions, the monarchical form of government became fully established. The small territory of Greece was parceled out between near twenty petty kingdoms. During the Heroic ages which are understood to have commenced with this inundation of the Grecian territory by the Hellenes, and to have terminated with the Trojan war—a period of about two hundred years—the kingly government was the only one among the Greeks.

At the close of the Heroic ages, a new state of affairs became apparent. Around the reigning families in the several kingdoms there had sprung up a class of Eupatrids, or nobles, who were in possession of most of the landed estates. Having elevated themselves far above the mass of the people, in the social scale, they gradually absorbed political powers which had before been vested in the kings. By the silent but natural growth of this aristocracy, continued encroachments were made upon the prerogatives of royalty, until at last the kings were brought down to a level with their Eupatrids. An aristocracy was thus substituted for monarchy; and nearly all the states of Greece, in their political progress towards democracy, passed out of the monarchical into the aristocratical form of government.

This form, although indicative of more liberality than the former, and adapted to the states of civil society then existing, pressed heavily upon the people; and, while it existed, was unfavorable to the elevation of the race. The Demos, or common people, were free but were excluded from all political privileges; hence, with the increase of their intelligence, would be excited jealousies of the incumbent class. At times, the very existence of the aristocracy depended upon the forcible subjection of the

Demos; for when the great and just sentiment of "political" began to be coupled with that of "personal liberty," no form of government could rest in permanent security, which limited the one or denied the other. The Grecian mind was eminently progressive. No power could subdue or enslave that native energy which had exemplified itself in the hardy enterprises of the Heroic ages. Nothing could repress or lastingly fetter that majestic intellect out of which, even then had sprung a system of mythology, destined to infuse itself into the literature of all generations, and to quicken the intellects of every clime—a system so remarkable as an exhibition of the unguided devotional nature of man, and so brilliant as a creation of the imagination, that it may be characterized as the greatest production of genius and credulity which ever emanated from the human mind.

In the progress of events, the aristocracies were successfully invaded by an uprising of men of wealth, or of capacity, from among the common people. These ambitious plebeians demanded a place in the ruling body, and if refused, they became the champions of the people, and engaged in measures for the overthrow of the government. Such difficulties were usually avoided by admitting these new families to a place among the Eupatrids, and to a participation in the administration. In this way the aristocracy of wealth and talent was in a measure placed upon an equality with that of birth; and by the act of the government itself was widened or liberalized.

These inroads upon the aristocracy, which generally resulted in the infusion of the popular element, may be regarded as the introduction, or commencement, of the oligarchy. The difference between the two species is to be sought in the spirit by which each respectively was actuated, and not in their forms; for the same body of aristocrats usually became oligarchs by a change in the spirit of the government. When an aristocracy became corrupt and odious to the people, and sought only to perpetuate its own power, it became, in the Grecian sense, a faction, an oligarchy. It ceased to be the rule of the "best men," and became the rule of the "few". This definition admits of a qualification. When an aristocracy became widened or liberalized, by the admission of men of capacity to an equal position, and the government assumed a milder spirit, the aristocracy would, in effect, be changed, but not into a faction. It would be as unlike a rigorous aristocracy as an oligarchical faction, and may be denominated a simple or liberal oligarchy. The government of the Iroquois falls under this precise definition. It cannot be called an aristocracy, because the sachems of the league possessed no landed estates, which, it is well known, are the only true foundation of an aristocracy; neither were their titles and privileges hereditary, in the strict sense; which is another important element of an aristocracy. Their government, however, was the rule of "the few." It was an aristocracy liberalized, until it stood

upon the very verge of democracy. It answers to the idea of an oligarchy, which is the last form of government but one in the progressive series.

The governments of the Grecian States appear to have oscillated between rigorous aristocracies, oligarchical factions, and milder oligarchies, for centuries. These forms were rather transitions than permanent conditions of their civil institutions. During the period of their prevalence, the people, who, as before remarked, were personally free, but debarred from political privileges, were gradually improving their condition by the accumulation of wealth, and consolidating their strength by the uprearing of flourishing cities. With the increase of their respectability, and the expansion of their power, the struggle with the incumbent class was continued with greater and still greater success. Principles of government became better understood; and more enlarged views of the rights of man continued to quicken the Grecian mind. Every successive age added to the popular intelligence; and the people gradually, but constantly, continued to repossess themselves of their original authority. The growth of liberty and free institutions among the Greeks was slow, but irresistible. The struggle of the people for emancipation lasted from generation to generation, from century to century; until, having emerged from the darkness of barbarism, and worked their way through every species of government ever devised by the genius of man, they achieved at last a triumph; and their institutions, which had been planted and nourished during this march of ages, finally ripened into universal democracy.

In the history of the States of Greece, there is noticeable, in the midst of a wide diversity of events, a great uniformity of progress—with a difference in the period of the development of political changes, a marked tendency to the same results. Every change in their institutions, from the era of absolute monarchy, made them more liberal; but it required upward of seven centuries to liberalize them into a "finished democracy" which fully satisfied the Greek nation; one in which every attribute of sovereignty might be shared, without respect to rank or property, by every freeman.\* The Greeks began with monarchy; and having passed through all the intermediate species and shades of government in the progressive series, they finally developed their highest capacities, their most brilliant genius, under the bounding pulse of an extreme, even enthusiastic democracy. How truthful the exclamation of Herodotus; "Liberty is a brave thing."

\* The Trojan war closed 1184 B. C., and the states of Greece soon afterwards passed out of the monarchical form of government. At Athens it was abolished in 1068, B. C. But not until about the year 470 B. C., when Aristides the Just removed the last Aristocratical features from the Athenian Institutions, could Athens be called a "finished democracy." He broke up the distinctions between the classes which Solon had established, and opened all the dignities of the State to every citizen. Between the Trojan war and this last period, the Athenians had passed through Monarchy, Tyranny, Aristocracy, Faction, Anarchy, Oligarchy, Polity, and limited Democracy. With the legislation of Aristides, commenced the rapid elevation and the solid grandeur of the city of Minerva, and of that noble, unequalled race.

The same tendency of institutions towards democracy, as races elevate themselves in the scale of civilization, can be observed in the progressive improvement of British institutions. No people have been subjected to such test, civil and religious; and issued from the throes of revolution with more majesty of intellect, for achievements in legislation, science, and learning than our parent Anglo-Saxon race. Their career, with all its vicissitudes, from the union of the Heptarchy's under Egbert, down to the final settlement of the Government on the expulsion of the second James, is full of instruction—full of great lessons. They have tested monarchy in all its degrees of strength and weakness, of popularity and odium, of oppression and dependence. Their nobles have enjoyed all the privileges, immunities, and powers, which possession of the landed estates, the vassalage of the people, and independence of the crown could secure; while in turn they have been humble and submissive, even servile, under the arbitrary sway of tyrannous kings. The people, before the time of Edward the First, were cyphers in the States. Since then, they have suffered religious bondage, and the oppressions of a feudal aristocracy. In the progress of events, however, they have constantly enlarged the quantity of their liberty, and strengthened the guaranties of personal freedom which the Grecian citizen never lost, they never have secured that "equality of privileges" which was the constant aspiration of the Greek, until attained; which was the watchword in the struggle for American freedom, and now lies at the base of our political edifice.

The English monarchy, being originally unlimited in its powers, the first encroachments upon the crown, as among the Greeks, were made by the barons, who had sprung up around it, and entrenched themselves under the shelter of the feudal system. In the reign of John they brought the government to the verge of an aristocracy, when at Runnimeade they wrested the great charter from the unwilling hands of despotism. Again under Henry the Third, it will be remembered that the confederate barons, for the second time, held the executive powerless; and were on the point of substituting an aristocracy.

About this period a new power began to manifest itself in the State, the rise of the "Middling Class," to whose presevering struggles with the crown and with the incumbent aristocracy, England owes the most of her freedom. The building of cities, which are always favorable to liberal sentiments, and the introduction of some of the arts of industry, and of commerce, increased the wealth, and enlarged the influence of this constantly increasing class. With them may be said to have originated the true spirit of English liberty. After some centuries of improvement in character, rights, and property, they finally wrought that great ferment of popular feeling, which resulted in the abolition of the kingly office, and the substitution of a commonwealth.

The government was brought upon the verge of a democracy as it was loosened from its ancient foundations, and borne along upon the tide of

passion and fanaticism, commingled with intelligence and ardent aspirations for freedom. Unfortunately for the people, it was as much a religious as a political revolution; and the utter chaos of opinion into which society fell, prevented the overthrow of the aristocracy, and the establishment of the government upon a republican basis. The restoration of the royal executive, carried with it the necessity of the second revolution, which resulted in the expulsion of James, and the settlement of the government upon its present foundation.

The British government has been liberalized from age to age, until it may now be said to stand intrenched upon the borders of free institutions. As a monarchy, all unite in pronouncing it the highest specimen of the species ever constructed by the genius of man. The exact limitation of its powers, and the liberal and enlightened views of government which it entertains, justly entitle it to pre-eminence over all other monarchies. It was, however, a great misfortune to the people, that when the government stood upon the verge of democracy, the hereditary aristocracy were too firmly seated to be overthrown. In this overpowering, incumbent class, are rooted all the evils of the British government. It is a system which works vast injustice, and which renders the elevation, or respectability of the mass of the people impossible. It is a mill-stone around their necks, which they can neither cast off nor bear, without feeling its vast obstructions. Society, as now constituted—with its cunningly devised gradations, from the King through the five orders of nobility, as many orders of the "middling class," and down to the common multitude, who sit beneath this vast pyramid—presents a subject for contemplation almost beyond the power of mind to comprehend. The incitements to ambition; the high rewards of talent; the possibility of self elevation, displayed on the bright side of the picture; the insolence of caste; the barbarity of arrogance; the real oppression, even degradation of the uncultivated, untalented mass, which necessarily pertain to the other; all conspire to render British society a complex and stupendous fabric, a mighty and profound system of influences—stimulating, while it oppresses; improving, while it scourges; bearing up the man of intellect, who both resisted and overcame the pressure, into the highest regions of personal distinction; while, at the same moment, it sinks the multitude, who, under such adverse influences, are capable of but slight intellectual enlargement, deeper, and yet deeper into the mire of ignorance, poverty, and moral degradation. Political equality is a vital principle, and the great inheritance of man. No people can reach its highest perfection if this principle be not written upon all its institutions.

Returning from this digression, which was designed to illustrate the position, not very recondite, of a progression of institutions, from the monarchical, the earliest of political society, on to the democratical, the last, and most truly enlightened; we can now take up the government of



the Iroquois, and determine the position which it occupies between the two extremes, of monarchy on the one hand, and democracy on the other.

The Iroquois had passed out of the earliest form of government, that of chief and follower, which is incident both to the Hunter and Nomadic state, into the oligarchical form. It is obvious that the hunter life is incompatible with monarchy except in its miniature form of chief and follower; and the Hodénosaunee, in improving upon this last relation, passed over the monarchical into the "rule of the few." Several tribes first united into one nation. The people mingled by intermarriage, and the power of the chiefs ceased to be several, and became joint. This gave to the nation an aristocratical or oligarchical form of government, according to the spirit by which it was actuated. But by a still brighter effort of legislation, several nations were united in a league, or confederacy; placing the people upon an equality, and introducing a community of privileges. The national rulers then became an united body, the rulers of the league. In this manner would be constituted oligarchies within an embracing oligarchy,—*"imperium in imperio,"*—presenting the precise government of the Iroquois; and with great probability the exact manner of its origination, growth and final settlement.

The Grecian oligarchies do not furnish an exact type of that of our Indian predecessors. In its construction the latter was more perfect, systematic and liberal, than those of antiquity. There was more of fixedness, more of dependence upon the people, more of vigor in the Indian fabric. It would be difficult to find a fairer specimen of the government of the few, than the one under consideration, in the happy constitution of its ruling body, and in the effective security of the people from misgovernment. In assigning to this government its specific name, it will be sufficient to adopt the etymology of the word Oligarchy, the "rule of the few," rejecting the usual Grecian acceptance of the term, "a degenerate aristocracy." The substitution of the female line for the male, effecting thereby the disinheritance of the son; the partially elective character of the sachemships; the absence of landed estates; and the power of deposing sachems lodged with the tribes, are reasons conclusive for regarding the government of the Iroquois as an Oligarchy, rather than an aristocracy.

The spirit which prevailed in the nations and in the confederacy was that of freedom. The people appear to have secured to themselves all the liberty which the hunter-state made either desirable or necessary. They fully appreciated its value, as is evinced by the liberality of their institutions. The red man was always free from political bondage; and more worthy still of remembrance, his free limbs never wore a shackle—his spirit could never be bowed in servitude. It would be difficult to describe any political society, in which there was less of oppression and discontent—more of individual independence and boundless freedom. The absence of family distinctions, and of all property, together with the



irresistible inclination for the chase, rendered the social condition of the people peculiar to itself. It secured to them an exemption from the evils as well as denied to them the refinements, which flow from the possession of wealth, and the indulgence of the social relations.

At this point the singular trait in the character of the red man suggests itself: that he never felt the "power of gain." The "*auri sacra fames*."\* of Virgil, the "*studium lucri*"† of Horace, never penetrated his nature. To him alike the gold and brass, the luxuries and the vanities of life. This great passion of civilized man, in its use and abuse, never roused the Indian mind. It was doubtless the great reason of his continuance in the hunter-state; for the desire of gain is one of the earliest manifestations of progressive mind, and one of the most powerful passions of which the mind is susceptible. It clears the forest, rears the city, builds the merchantman—in a word, it has civilized our race.

All things considered, the Iroquois oligarchy excites a belief of its superiority over those of antiquity. Those of Greece were exceedingly unstable, and therefore incline us to regard them as transition states of their institutions; while that of the Hodenosaunee was guarded in so many ways for the resistance of political changes, that it would have required a very energetic popular movement for its overthrow. The former retained many elements of aristocracy, while the latter had become so far liberalized as to be almost entirely free. Without the influence of cities, which no people construct who live in the hunter-state, and the important consequences which result from the aggregation of society into large communities, the government of the Iroquois would doubtless have retained its oligarchical form through many generations. It would have lasted until the people had abandoned the hunter state; until they had given up the chase for agriculture—the arts of war for those of industry—the hunting-ground and the fishing encampment, for the village and the city.

#### LETTER X.

The office of Chief of Modern Institution—Reasons for its Creation—The Sachems of the Iroquois have not figured in history—their celebrated men were Chiefs—Position of the Chiefs in the Confederacy—Stability of the Oligarchy of the Hodenosaunee—Difficulty of attaining the title of Sachem—Sa-go-ye-wat-ha—Thay-en-dan-e-gea—Dominion of the Iroquois.

At the establishment of the confederacy, the office of chief (*Há-sel-no-wah-neh*, "an elevated name") was entirely unknown among the Iroquois. Their traditions affirm that this title was instituted long subsequent to the foundation of the fifty sachemships, and the full adjustment of the league. The necessity in which this office had its origin, and the illustration which it furnishes of a position elsewhere introduced, that all political institutions as they unfold, progress from monarchy towards democracy, leads to the presentation of this subject in a separate place.

\* *Æneid*, Lib. iii. 57.

† *Horace*, Lib. iv. Ode xii. 25.

When the power of the Hodenosaunee began to develope under the new system of oligarchies within an oligarchy, there sprung up around the sachems a class of warriors, distinguished for enterprize upon the war-path and eloquence in council, who demanded some participation in the administration of public affairs. The serious objection to the enlargement of the number of rulers, involving, as it did, changes in the frame-work of the government, for a long period enabled the sachems to resist the encroachment. In the progress of events, this class became too powerful to be withstood; and the sachems were compelled to raise them up in the subordinate station of chiefs. The title was purely elective, and the reward of merit. Unlike the sachemships, the name was not hereditary in the tribe or family of the individual, but terminated with the chief himself; unless subsequently bestowed by the tribe upon some other person, to preserve it as one of their illustrious names. These chiefs were originally invested with very limited powers; their principal office being that of advisers and counsellors of the sachems and war-chiefs. Having thus obtained a foot-hold in the government, this class, to the number of which there was no limit, gradually enlarged their influence, and from generation to generation drew nearer to an equality with the sachems themselves.\* By this innovation the government was liberalized to the sensible diminution of the power of the sachems, which, at the institution of the league, was extremely arbitrary.

It is a singular fact that none of the sachems of the Iroquois, save Logan,† have ever become distinguished in history; although each of the fifty titles or sachemships have been held by as many individuals as generations have passed away since the foundation of the confederacy. If the immortality of men, "worthy of praise," is committed to the guardianship of the Muse—

"Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori,"

—the muse of tradition, if such a conception may be indulged, has been enabled, out of this long line of sachems, to record the deeds of none, save the military achievements of the first Tádodáhóh, the wisdom in legislation of the first Dagánowedá,‡ and the sacred mission of Gá-ne-o-di-yoh, who had received a revelation from the Great Spirit. The residue, if worthy of praise, have left behind them no remembrances conferring special dignity upon the sachemships entrusted to their keeping.

The celebrated orators, wise men, and military leaders of the Hodenosaunee, are all to be found in the class of chiefs. One reason for this

\* At the present time among the dismembered fragments of the Iroquois nations, the chiefs are found to be nearly, if not in all respects, upon an equality with the sachems, although the offices are still held by different tenures, as anciently.

† Logan was one of the ten Cayuga sachems, but which of the ten names or sachemships he held, is not at present ascertained. His father, Shikellimus or Shikalimo, who is usually mentioned as a Cayuga sachem, was but a chief.

‡ Da ga-no-we-da, the founder of the confederacy, and Ha-yo-went-ha, his speaker, through whom he laid his plans of government before the council which framed the league, were both "raised up" among the fifty original sachems, and in the Mohawk nation; but after their decease these two sachemships were left vacant, and have since continued so. The reason has not been ascertained.

may exist in the organic provision which confined the duties of the sachems exclusively to the affairs of peace; another, that the office of chief was bestowed in reward of public services; thus casting it by necessity upon the men highest in capacity among them. In the list of those chiefs who have earned a place upon the historic page, as well as in the "unwritten remembrance" of their tribe and race, may be enumerated Sagoyewatha, (Red Jacket,) Thayendanegea, (Brant,) Piskaret, Gonnesseronton, Thurensera, Decanesora, Skenandoah, Karistagia, (Steeltrap,) Hojagath, (Fish Carrier,) Cannehoot, Sosehawah, (Jimmy Johnson,) Honeyawus, (Farmer's Brother,) and Gyautwaha or Corn-planter.\* This number could be largely increased; and some in the catalogue have left behind them a reputation which will not soon fade from remembrance.

By the institution of this office, the stability of the government was increased rather than diminished. In their own figurative enunciation of the idea, the chiefs served as braces in the Long-House—an apt expression of the place they occupied in their political structure. It furnished a position and a reward for the ambitious, and the means of allaying discontent, without changing the ruling body. In this particular the oligarchy of the Iroquois appears to have enjoyed some superiority over those of antiquity.

"In aristocratical governments," says Montesquieu, "there are two principal sources of disorder: excessive inequality between the governors and the governed, and the same inequality between the different members of the body that governs."† The government of the Hodelosainnee was exposed to neither of these difficulties. Between the people and the sachems the chiefs formed a connecting link; while the sachems themselves were perfectly equal in political privileges.

The unchangeable number of the rulers, and the stability of the tenure by which the office itself is held, are both sources of security in an oligarchy. To the former safeguard the Iroquois adhered so firmly, that upon the admission of the Tuscarora as the sixth nation of the league, they were unwilling to increase the original number of sachemships; and the Tuscaroras have not to this day a sachem who is admitted to all the privileges of a sachem of the confederacy. The latter is established by the career of Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, the most gifted and intellectual of the race of the Iroquois—and perhaps of the whole Indian family. With all the influence which he exercised over the people by the power of his eloquence, and with all the art and intrigue which his capacity could suggest, he was never able to elevate himself higher than the title of Chief. To attain even this dignity, it is said he practiced upon the superstitious fears of the people. The Senecas themselves aver that it would have been unwise to raise up a man of his intellectual power and extended influence to the office of sachem; as it would have concentrated

\* The name of GUYASUTHA might well have been added—ED. O. T.

† Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, b. 5, c. 8.

in his hands too much authority. Nearly the same observations apply to the celebrated Thayendanegea, whose abilities as a military leader secured to him the command of the war parties of the Mohawks during the Revolution. He was also but a chief, and held no other office or title in the nation, or in the confederacy. By the force of his character, he acquired the same influence over the Mohawks which Sa-go-ye-wat-ha maintained over the Senecas by his eloquence. The lives of these two distinguished chiefs, both equally ambitious, but who pursued very different pathways to distinction, sufficiently prove that the office of sachem was surrounded by impassable barriers against those who were without the immediate family of the sachem, and the tribe in which the title was hereditary.\*

It will not be necessary to extend the inquiry to exhibit more fully the gradual changes in the government of the Iroquois, by which it was brought upon the verge of free institutions. The evidences of its extreme liberality have already been sufficiently exhibited in the structure of the government itself. Reflections could be multiplied upon its spirit, its influence upon the people, and its adaptation to produce its historical results. Enough, however, has been advanced, and these topics are passed over without further remark.

An outline of the government and institutions of the Hodenosaunee having thus been presented in the preceding letters, accompanied by such observations as the facts appeared to suggest, we here dismiss the subject for the present with a few parting words.

Under this simple but beautiful fabric of Indian construction arose the power of the Iroquois, reaching in its day of vigor over a large portion of our republic. A terror to the Narragansett in the East, and the Illinois upon the West, to the Adirondak on the North, and the Algonquin on the South, they extended their dominion far and wide.

"Over hill and plain and valley—

Over river, lake and bay—

On the water, in the forest,"

"ruled and reigned" this vigorous and hardy race. In their Long-House, which opened its door upon Niagara, they found shelter in the hour of attack, resources for conquest in the seasons of ambitious projects, and happiness and contentment in the days of peace. In adaptation to their mode of life, their habits and their wants, no scheme of government could have been devised by the genius of man better calculated for their security against outward attack, their triumph upon the war-path, and their internal tranquility.

But their council-fires have been extinguished, their empire has terminated, and the shades of evening are now rapidly gathering over the scattered and feeble remnants of this once powerful confederacy. Race

\* Neither of their names are in the table of sachemships.

has yielded to race, the inevitable result of contiguity of place. The Hodenosaunee will soon be lost in that night of impenetrable darkness which knows no rising sun, and in which so many Indian races have been enshrouded. Even now their country has been appropriated, their forests cleared, their trails obliterated. The residue of this proud people who still linger around their native seats, are destined to fade away like the summer's cloud. It will soon be our wont to look backward for the Iroquois as for a race which has been blotted from existence: remembering them as our predecessors—the people whose sachems had no cities—whose religion had no temple—whose government had no record.

### LETTER XI.

Language of the Hodenosaunee—Alphabet—Notices of the Parts of Speech—Intricacy of its Declensions and Conjugations—Contains no Labials—Numerals—Voice—Compounding Words—Proper Names an integral part of the Language, and consequently significant—Singular evidence of Migrations—Interest in our Aboriginal Names.

The language of the Iroquois, like all unwritten languages, is imperfect in its construction, and scarcely admits of comparison, except on general principles, with those which have been systematized and perfected. It would be apt to be characterized by the schoolmen as a barbarous jargon, although entitled to some portion of the indulgence which is due to all primitive or uncompounded language in the early stages of their formation. To us, however, there is an interest incident to these dialects which rises above mere literary curiosity. Through all generations their language will be spoken in our geographical terms: "Their names are on our waters, we may not wash them out." The earth indeed changes its appearance—*mutat terra vices*—but the landmarks of nature are ever the same. Within our borders the Iroquois have written them over; and through coming time will our hills and vales and ever-flowing rivers speak.

" Their dialect of yore."

The Hodenosaunee were eminently fortunate in engrafting their names upon the features of nature, if they were desirous of a living remembrance. No one can behold the lake, or river, or streamlet to which they have bequeathed an appellation, without confessing that the Indian has perpetuated himself by a monument more eloquent and imperishable than could be fabricated by human hands.

From such considerations there arises a sufficient interest in the language of our predecessors to incite an inquiry into its principal features.

Of the six dialects in which it is now spoken, the Mohawk and Seneca are regarded as having the greatest dialectical differences, the Cayuga and Seneca the least. In the estimation of the Iroquois, the Onondaga is the most finished and majestic, the Oneida the least vigorous in its expressions; while to the English ear the former is harsh and

pointed, and the latter liquid, harmonious and musical. The Tuscarora language is admitted to be a dialect of the Iroquois; but it has not as close affinity to either of the remaining five as the latter have interchangeably. In conversation, they are enabled to understand each other with readiness, unless words intervene which have been naturalized into one of their dialects from foreign languages.

The alphabet consists of seventeen letters: A, C, D, E, G, H, I, J, K, N, O, Q, S, T, U, W and Y. In addition to several elementary sounds which require a combination of letters, the Seneca occasionally employs the sound of Z; but it is so closely allied to the sound of S as not to be distinguishable except by careful observation. The Mohawk sometimes uses the liquid R, the Tuscarora F, and the Oneida the liquid L; or rather the last abounds in the Oneida dialect. The number of their elementary sounds is below that of the English language—but twenty-three having been ascertained in the Seneca, while in the latter it is well known there are thirty-eight.

In taking up the parts of speech, to give them a cursory examination, and in elucidating the declensions and conjunctions, the illustrations will be drawn from the Seneca dialect.

It is supposed by those who have inquired philosophically into the formation of language, that the noun substantive would be the first part of speech in the order of origination; inasmuch as the objects of nature must be named, and perhaps classed, before relations between them are suggested, or actions concerning them expressed. Some reference to the declension of Iroquois nouns will be made in connection with the preposition. In most, if not all languages, the idea of singular and plural is conveyed by an inflection of the word itself, or by some addition. To illustrate in the language under consideration: O-on-dote is the name of a tree—O-on-do-do, trees. Ga-no-sote, a house—Ga-no-so-do, houses. Je-da-o, a bird—Je-da-o-suh-uh, birds. It is said that the dual number originated in the difficulty of inventing the numerals, one, two, three, four, &c., which are in themselves extremely abstract and metaphysical conceptions. The idea of one, two and more, which corresponds with singular, dual and plural, would be far more easily formed in the mind than number in general; and the most simple mode of expressing the idea would be by a variation of the word itself. Hence in the Hebrew and Greek, which are original or uncompounded languages, the dual is found to exist; while in the Latin, and in modern languages, which are compounds, and were formed subsequent to the invention of numerals, the dual number is discarded. The Iroquois is an uncompounded language, and has the dual number both in its verbs and nouns. Gender was very happily indicated in the Latin and Greek by final letters or terminations. In English, by giving up the ancient declensions, this mode of designating gender was also laid aside, and two or three modes substituted; thus,



by varying the word, as tiger, tigress ; by names of the same animal entirely different as buck and doe ; but more frequently still by prefixing words which signify male and female. The Iroquois nouns have three genders, and they are indicated in the manner last mentioned.

In some respects the adjective would be a simple part of speech to invent ; as quality is an object of external sense, and is always in concrete with the subject. But to discover and adopt a classification founded upon the similitudes of objects would be more difficult, since both generalization and abstraction would be required. The dialects of the Hodenosaunee appear to be sufficiently furnished with this part of speech, on which so much of the beauty of a language is known to depend, to express nearly every shade of quality in objects. Comparison is affected by adding another word, and not by an inflection of the word itself ; thus, We-yo, good ; Wa-ate-kah, bad ; A-gus We-yo, the best ; A-gus Wa-ate-keh, the worst. In connecting the adjective with the noun, the two words frequently enter into combination, and lose one or more syllables. This principle, or species of contraction, is carried throughout the language, and, to some extent, presents prolixity. To illustrate ; O-ya, fruit ; O-ga-uh, sweet ; O-ya-ga-uh, sweet fruit ; O, the first syllable of sweet being dropped. Again, E-yose, a blanket ; Ga-geh-ant, white ; Yose-a-geh-ant, white blanket ;—literally “fruit sweet” and “blanket white,” illustrative of that natural impulse in man, which leads him to place the object before the quality. The adjective is also as frequently used uncompounded with the noun, as Ga-na-dike-ho E-yose, a green blanket.

It is a matter of great doubt whether the article, as a distinct part of speech, can be said to exist in the language of the Hodenosaunee. There are numerous particles, as in the Greek, without significance in themselves, separately, which are employed for euphony, and to connect words. Thus, na, neh, and ne, are frequently introduced before nouns, and in some instances limit their signification ; but yet, if these, and other particles, should be submitted to a critical examination, none of them would answer to our idea of the definite, or indefinite article.—They may answer all the ends of this part of speech, and doubtless do, so far as the framers of this language had any notion of its office. The existence in completeness of this refined part of speech would indicate greater maturity and finish than the dialects of the Iroquois possess.

Of the adverb nothing need be introduced, except that the language appears to be furnished with the usual variety.

The preposition is allowed to be so abstract and metaphysical in its nature, that it would be one of the last and most difficult parts of speech to invent. It expresses relation “considered in concrete with the correlative object ; and is of necessity very abstruse. The prepositions, *of*, *to*, and *for*, are regarded as the most abstract from the character of the

relations which they indicate. Declension it is supposed, was resorted to by the Greeks, and adopted by the Latins, to evade the necessity of inventing these prepositions; as it would be much easier to express the idea by a variation of the noun than to ascertain some word which would convey such an abstract relation as that indicated by *of* or *to*. By the ancient cases, this difficulty was surmounted, and the preposition was blended with the correlative object, as in *Sermonis*, of a speech; *Sermoni*, to a speech. Modern languages have laid aside the ancient cases, for the reason, it is said, that the invention of prepositions rendered them unnecessary. In the Iroquois language, the prepositions above mentioned are not to be found; neither have its nouns a declension like the Greek and Latin. Some traces of a declension are discoverable; but the cases are too imperfect to be compared with those of the ancient languages, or to answer fully the ends of the prepositions. This part of speech is the most imperfectly developed of any in the language; and the contrivances resorted to to express such of these relations as were of absolutely necessity, are too complex to be easily understood. The language, however, contains the simple prepositions, as *Da-ga-o*, across; *No-get*, after; *Na-ho*, at; *O-an-do*, before; *Ho-go-kuh*, with; *Dose-ga-o*, near, &c. It must be inferred that the framers of the language had no distinct idea of the relations conveyed by the deficient prepositions otherwise they would be found in the language. From the number of particles employed in the language, and the complexity of its combinations, it would be impossible to analyze the word, or phrase, for example, in which *on* occurs, and take out the specific fragment which has the force of the preposition. Thus the word *Onondaga* has *O-non-dote*, "a hill," for its radix; *O-non-da-geh*, its next inflection gives to it the signification, "on the hills;" and the final word, *O-non-da-geh-o-noh*,\* the true name of that nation, is translated, "the people who live on the hills."

Interjections are extremely numerous in the Iroquois language, and appear to be adapted to all the passions. It has also the ordinary conjunctions. Of the pronouns but little need be added, except that they are very defective: thus, *E* signifies I, we, me, and us; *Ese*, thou, ye, or you, and thee. He and they are wanting, except as expressed in the verb by its inflection. The personal pronouns make the possessive case very regularly, thus: *Ah-ga-weh*, mine; *Sa-weh*, thine; *Ho-weh*, his; *Go-weh*, hers; *Ung-gwa-weh*, ours; *Swa-weh*, yours; *Ho-nau-weh*, theirs; &c. Similar variations can be made on some of the relative pronouns.

Next and last, the verb presents itself. This part of speech, in the nature of things, must have been one of the first invented, as without its aid there could be no affirmation, no expression of action or passion. Among primitive languages, the conjugation of the verb is extremely complex. Grammarians assign, as a reason, that the tenses and moods of the verb would be more easily indicated by its inflection, than by con-

triving or inventing the abstract substantive verb, *I am*: possessive verb, *I have*: and the auxiliaries, *do, will, would, shall, can, and may*; all of which are necessary in the conjugation of an English verb. It will be remembered that the English verb admits of but three variations in itself, as *press, pressed, pressing*; and its conjugation is completed by the verbs above mentioned; while the Greek, Latin, and Iroquois verbs are conjugated, except some part of the passive voice in Latin, by the variation throughout of the verb itself; thus *Legeram*, I had read; *Che-wa-ge-ya-go*, I had shot; *Legero*, I shall have read; *A-wa-ge-ya-go*, I shall have shot. In this manner the conjugation not only dispensed with the pronouns *I, thou, and he*, with their plurals; but also with the auxiliary verbs, which have introduced such prolixity into modern language.

The Iroquois verbs have some part of the optative mood, but are entirely destitute of the infinitive, and of the participles. It is difficult to determine upon what principle the absence of the infinitive mood, and of all participles, which, in a written language, would be a fatal blemish, shall be accounted for; and much more difficult to ascertain the nature of the substitute in an unwritten language.

The origin of the dual number has been adverted to. In the active voice of Iroquois verbs, the dual number is well distinguished; but in the passive voice, the dual and the plural are the same. The presence of this number is indicative of the intricate nature of their conjugations.

To convey a distinct notion of the mutations through which an Iroquois verb passes in its conjugation, and to furnish those who are curious as linguists, with a specimen for comparison with the conjugations of other languages, one of their verbs is subjoined. Its great regularity, even harmony, of inflection, conveys a favorable impression of the structure of the language; but it does not, nor would it be expected to possess the elegance and beauty of the Greek, or the brevity and solidity of the Latin conjugations.\*

It has been laid down as a maxim, that "the more simple any language is, in its composition, the more complex it must be in its declensions and conjugations; and on the contrary, the more simple it is in its declensions and conjugations, the more complex it must be in its composition."† The position is thus illustrated:—When two people, by uniting, or otherwise, blend their languages, the union always simplifies the structure of the resulting language, while it introduces a greater complexity into its materials. The Greek, which is uncompounded, and is said to have but three hundred primitives, is extremely intricate in its conjugations. On the other hand the Latin, which is a compound of Greek and Tuscan, laid aside the Middle Voice, and the Optative Mood, which are peculiar to the Greek; and also the dual number. This simplified its conjugations. In its declensions, the Latin, although it has an additional case in the

\* Smith's Moral Sentiments, ii. 146.

† We regret exceedingly that the publishers of the *Olden Time* are compelled by the want of the accented letters, to omit this specimen of the Iroquois mode of conjugation.—Ed. O. T.

ablative, is yet much more simple than the Greek, as it has no contract nouns. The English, which is a mixture of several languages, is more simple than either in its declensions, which are made by the aid of prepositions alone; and in its conjugations, which are made by the aid of other verbs. With this general principle in mind, the regularity, fullness, and intricacy of the Iroquois conjugations are not particularly remarkable. Its primitive words are doubtless very few, and their language has been formed out of them by a complex system of combinations.

The language of the Hodenosaunce has the substantive or neuter verb, *E-neh-gat, I am*, although imperfect in some of its tenses. This verb is regarded by philologists as extremely difficult of invention, as it simply expresses being. Impersonal verbs, also, are very numerous in the language. *O-guh-do*, it snows; *O-na-ya-us-do-da*, it hails; *Go-na-us-dos*, it thunders. It is supposed by those who have inquired into the formation of language, that most of the verbs in primitive tongues originally took the impersonal form; for the reason that such a verb expresses in itself an entire event, while the division of the event into subject and attribute, involves some nice metaphysical distinctions.

Before closing upon this subject, it will be necessary to advert to some of the peculiarities of the language. In the first place it has no labials, and consequently the Iroquois in speaking never touch their lips together. This fact may be employed as a test in the pronunciation of their words and manes.

Their language possesses the numerals firstly, secondly, thirdly, &c.; also the numbers one, two, three, ascending to about one hundred. For sums above this their mode of enumeration was defective, as mathematical computation ceased and some descriptive term was substituted in its place.

The voices of the Hodenosaunee are powerful, and capable of reaching a high shrill key. The natural pitch in conversation is considerably above that in our language; while in sounding the warwhoop they reach a key entirely above the capacity of the English voice. Their women in conversation frequently raise their voices an octave above the ordinary pitch, by a natural transition, and sustain a conversation upon a tone to which the English voice could not be elevated, and retain a distinct articulation. Not the least singular fact is the clear musical tone of their voices upon this elevated key.

In verbal languages the words appear to be literally strung together in an endless chain, if the one under inspection may be taken as a specimen of the class. Substantives are consolidated, perhaps contracted, in the formation of a new one; particles next are suffixed, either varying or adding to the signification of the compound, and the principles upon which these combinations are effected, are too much involved to be systematized or generalized. To illustrate: *Gwe-u-geh* signifies *mucky land*; by suffixing *o-noh*, which conveys the idea of *people at*, *Gwe-u-*

gueh-o-noh, results—literally, *the people at the mucky land*. Next by adding the particle geh, itself without significance, but when conjoined, conveying the idea of territory or place, it gives the compound—Gwe-u-gueh-o-no-geh, *the territory of the people at the mucky land*. In this manner the actual name of the Cayugas, Gue-u-gueh-o-noh, originated. \* I-car-ne-o-die signifies *a lake at*: Gue-u-geh I-car-ne-o-die, *the lake at the mucky land*. In like manner originated the name of the Seneca nation, Nun-da-war-noh. Nun-da-wa-o means *a great hill*; Nun-da-war-o-noh *the people at the great hill*; and lastly, Nun-da-war-o-noh-geh, *the Seneca Country*.† These names, therefore, are geographically descriptive.

Their names of places, as well as of persons, form an integral part of their language, and hence are all significant. It furnishes a singular test of their migrations; for accurate descriptions of localities become in this manner incorporated into their dialects. The Tuscaroras still adduce proof from this source to establish a common origin with the Iroquois, and pretend to trace their route from Montreal (Do-te-a-ge,) to the Mississippi, (O-nau-we-yo-ka,) and from thence to North Carolina, out of which they were driven in 1712. The era of their separation from the parent stock, and of their migration, they have entirely lost; but they consider the names of places on this extended route, now incorporated in their language, a not less certain indication of a common origin than the similarity of their languages.

Many of the names now in use, of our mines, lakes, and villages, are of Iroquois origin, and not only significant, but usually descriptive. The pronunciation of some of them has greatly departed from the original, but yet the words themselves have their radices in the dialects of the Iroquois; thus Ohio is an Iroquois word, rendered from O-hee-yo, the beautiful river. Genesee is derived from Gen-nis-hee-yo, the beautiful valley. Tioga, from Da-ya-o-geh, the place where the river divides. To resuscitate the significations of these geographical names, now rapidly gliding into obscurity, is at least worthy of an effort. If the future scholar in ascending to our poetic era, to search out the christening of the works of nature by the Hodenosaunee, shall discover that the generation which witnessed the final extinction of their council-fires, accepted this rich legacy of names without securing the chart whereby they might be interpreted, he would have reason to censure a negligence which threw away the substance, while it retained the sound—which apparently received, because it could not decently decline.

\* By the "mucky land," is to be understood the Montezuma marsh at the foot of the Cayuga lake, and the loamy or mucky soil contiguous. The Cayugas were scattered on both sides of the lake, although their main settlements were on the East bank, near Aurora (Ga-yun-de-e-yo, a beautiful village,) and at the inlet near Ithaca. They occupied all the adjacent territory for hunting and fishing purposes.

† The "great hill" referred to, is at the head of the Canadawaga lake, (Ga-nun-da-gwa-I-car-ne-o-die,) and has always been famed among the Senecas as the place of their origin.

## COL. BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION.

This expedition was designed at first to co-operate with General Sullivan, in his well known and successful march into the territory of the Six Nations by way of the Susquehanna river, but for the reasons assigned in the annexed letter from General Washington, the plan of co-operation was abandoned.

The campaign of Sullivan was well conducted and highly successful in the destruction of Indian towns, fields of corn, and other means of subsistence, and thus contributed to embarrass all the future operations of Butler and Brandt and other English Tories with their Indian allies against our more Eastern and Northern frontier. It commenced in August 1779, and terminated in October,—and of course was almost simultaneous with Brodhead's expedition up the Allegheny.

The *Buckaloons*, spoken of in Brodhead's dispatch, was a town situated on the Allegheny, at the mouth of a stream of the same name, and which we believe is now called Broken Straw; *Yohroonwago* we think it probable was the place, which was in 1784 granted to Cornplanter, and where that sagacious and upright old chief closed his long and eventful life.

*Head Quarters, Middle Brook, 21st April, 1779.*

Dear Sir:—Since my last letter, and upon a further consideration of the subject, I have relinquished the idea of attempting a co-operation between the troops at Fort Pitt, and the bodies moving from other quarters, against the Six Nations. The difficulty of providing supplies in time, a want of satisfactory information of the route and nature of the country up the Allegheny, and between that and the Indian settlements, and consequently the uncertainty of being able to co-operate to advantage, and the hazard which the smaller party might run for want of a co-operation, are principal motives for declining it. The danger to which the frontier would be exposed by drawing off the troops from their present position, from the incursions of the more Western tribes, is an additional though a less powerful reason. The post at Tuscarawas is therefore to be preserved, if, under a full consideration of circumstances it is judged a post of importance, and can be maintained without running too great a risk—and the troops in general under your command disposed in the manner best calculated to cover and protect the country on a defensive plan.

As it is my wish, however, as soon as it may be in our power, to chastise the Western savages by an expedition into their country; you will employ yourself in the mean time in making preparations, and forming magazines of provisions for the purpose. If the expedition against the Six Nations is successfully ended, a part of the troops employed in this will probably be sent, in conjunction with those under you to carry on another that way. You will endeavor to obtain in the mean time and transmit me every kind of intelligence, which will be necessary to direct



our operations, as precise, full, and authentic as possible. Among other points you will try to ascertain the most favorable season for an enterprise against Detroit. The frozen season in the opinion of most is the only one in which any capital stroke can be given, as the enemy can derive no benefit from their shipping, which must either be destroyed or fall into our hands.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Col. Daniel Brodhead.

*Pittsburgh, September 23d, 1779.*

I am honored with your favor of the 30th of last month.

I take the liberty to inclose you the copy of a letter herewith sent to his excellency the Commander in Chief, containing an account of the expedition I lately made against the Seneca and Muncy nations, and wish the relation may give you pleasure.

I likewise send a return of the officers of the 8th Pa. regiment, with their respective claims to promotion, and beg you be pleased to send their commissions accordingly, and the arrangement of the Pennsylvania line.

I also inclose you the talks of the Delawares, Wyondats, and the Maquichees tribe of Shawanese; and I flatter myself that there is a great share of sincerity in their present professions.

Since my last this frontier has enjoyed perfect tranquility, but the new settlements at Kentucky has suffered greatly.

I have the honor to be, with the highest regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD,

Col. commanding W. D.

Hon. Timothy Pickering, Esq., President of the Board of War.

*Pittsburgh, September 16th, 1779.*

Sir:—I returned from the expedition against the Senecas and Muncy nations the 14th inst., and now do myself the honor to inform you how far I have succeeded in prosecuting it.

I left this place the 11th of last month, with 605 rank and file, including the militia and volunteers, and one month's provisions, (our all) which, except the livé cattle, was transported by water, under the escort of 100 men, to a place called Mahoning, about fifteen miles above Fort Armstrong, where, after four days' detention by excessive rains and the straying of some of the cattle, the stores were loaded on pack-horses, and the troops proceeded on the march for Conowago, on the path leading to Cusheushing. At ten miles this side the town, one of the advance guards, consisting of fifteen white men, (including the spies) and eight Delaware Indians, under the command of Lieutenant Harding, of the eighth Pennsylvania regiment, (whom I have before recommended to your excellency for his great bravery and skill as a partizan) discovered between thirty and forty warriors coming down the river in seven canoes. These warriors having likewise discovered some of the troops, immediate-

ly landed, stripped off their shirts, and prepared for action, and the advance guard immediately began the attack. All the troops, except one column and flankers being in the narrows between the river and a high hill, were immediately prepared to receive the enemy; which being done, I went forward to discover the enemy, and saw six of them retreating over the river without arms, at the same time the rest ran away, leaving their canoes, blankets, shirts, provisions, and eight guns, besides five dead, and, by the signs of blood, several went off wounded; only two of our men, and one of the Delaware Indians (Nanowland) were wounded, and so slightly that they are already recovered and fit for action.

The next morning the troops proceeded to Buckloons, where I ordered a small breastwork to be thrown up of felled timber and fascines. A Captain and forty men were left to secure our baggage and stores, and the troops marched immediately to Conowago, which I found had been deserted about eighteen months past. Here the troops seemed much mortified, because we had no person to serve as a guide to the upper towns, but I ordered them to proceed on a path which appeared to have been travelled on by the enemy some time past, and we continued marching on it about twenty miles before any discoveries were made, except a few tracks of their spies, but immediately after ascending a high hill, we discovered the Allegheny river, and a number of corn fields, and descending, several towns which the enemy had deserted on the approach of the troops; some of them fled just before the advanced guard reached the town, and left several packs of deer-skins. At the upper Seneca town we found a painted image, or war post, clothed in dog-skin; and John Montour informed me, this town was called Yoghroonwago: besides this we found several other towns, consisting in the whole of 130 houses, some of which were large enough for the accommodation of three or four Indian families. The troops remained on the ground three whole days, destroying the towns and corn fields. I never saw finer corn, although it was planted much thicker than is common with our farmers. The quantity of corn and other vegetables destroyed at the several towns, from the best accounts I can collect from the officers employed to destroy it, must certainly exceed 500 acres, which is the lowest estimate; and the plunder taken is estimated at 3000 dollars. I have directed a sale to be made of it for the benefit of the troops, and hope it will meet your approbation. On my return I preferred the Venango road. The old towns of Conowago, Buckloons, and Maghinquechahocking, about twenty miles above Venango, on French Creek, consisting of thirty-five large houses, were likewise burnt.

The greatest part of the Indian houses were greater than common, and were built of square and round logs and frame work. From the great quantity of corn in the ground, and the number of new houses built and building, it appears that the whole of the Seneca and Muncy nations in-

tended to collect to this settlement, which extends about eight miles on the Allegheny river, between one hundred and seventy and two hundred miles from hence; the river, at the upper town, is little, if any, larger than Kiskamantes Creek. It is remarkable, that neither man nor beast has fallen into the enemy's hands on this expedition. I have a happy presage that the counties of Westmoreland, Bedford, and Northumberland, if not the whole Western frontiers, will experience the good effect of it.

Too much praise cannot be given to both officers and soldiers of every corps during the whole expedition; their perseverance and zeal during the whole march (through a country too inaccessible to be described, can scarcely be equalled in history,

On my return, I found here the chiefs of the Delawares, the principal chiefs of the Hurons, and now the King of the Macquichees tribe of Shawanese is likewise come to treat with me.

The Wyandots, and the Macquichees tribe of the Shawanese, promise very fair, and I have promised them peace, provided they take as many prisoners and scalps from the enemy as they have done from us, and on every occasion join us against the enemies of America, which they have engaged to do.

The bearer, Captain M'Intire, has some private as well and public business to transact at Philadelphia; I have therefore directed him to proceed to head quarters, and he will have the honor to wait on you with this letter.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect regard and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

P. S. The Delaware Chiefs have just now called on me to build some block-houses at Coochoking for the protection of their women and children, whilst they are out against the English and Mingoes, and I have agreed to send a detachment for that purpose, agreeable to the articles of confederation.

His Excellency General Washington.

Published by order of Congress,

CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec'y.

#### COL. BRODHEAD'S CONFERENCE WITH THE INDIANS.

*The Speech of Doonyontat, the Wyandot Chief, to Maghingive Kees-huch,\**

September 17th, 1779.

Brother, listen to me.

Brother, It grieves me to see you with the tears in your eyes. I know it is the fault of the English.

\* MAGHINGIVE KEESHUCH, The Indian name for Colonel Brodhead.—ED. O. T.

Brother, I wipe away all those tears, and smooth down your hair, which the English and the folly of my young men has ruffled.

Now, my Brother, I have wiped away all the stains from your clothes, and smoothed them where my young men had ruffled them, so that you may now put on your hat, and sit with that ease and composure which you would desire.

*(Four strings of white wampum.)*

Brother, Listen to the Huron Chiefs.

Brother, I see you all bloody by the English and my young men. I now wipe away all those stains and make you clean.

Brother, I see your heart twisted, and neck and throat turned to the one side, with the grief and vexation which my young men have caused, all which disagreeable sensations I now remove, and restore you to your former tranquility, so that now you may breathe with ease, and enjoy the benefit of your food and nourishment.

Brother, your ears appear to be stopped, so that you cannot listen to your brothers when they talk of friendship. That deafness I now remove, and all stoppage from your ears, that you may listen to the friendly speeches of your brothers, and that they may sink deep into your heart.

*(Seven strings of white wampum.)*

Brother, Listen to me.

When I look around me, I see the bones of our nephews lie scattered and unburied.

Brother, I gather up the bones of all our young men on both sides, in this dispute, without any distinction of party.

Brother, I have now gathered up all the bones of our relations on both sides, and will bury them in a large deep grave, and smooth it over so, that there shall not be the least sign of bones, or any thing to raise any grief or anger in our minds hereafter.

Brother, I have now buried the bones of all our and your relations very deep. You very well know that there are some of your flesh and blood in our hands prisoners : I assure you that you shall see them all safe and well.

*(Eight strings of white wampum.)*

Brother, I now look up to where our Maker is, and think there is still some darkness over our heads, so that God can hardly see us, on account of the evil doings of the King over the great waters. All these thick clouds, which have raised on account of that bad King, I now entirely remove, that God may look and see in our treaty of friendship, and be a witness to the truth and sincerity of our intentions.

*(Four strings of white wampum.)*

Brother, As God puts all our hearts right, I now give thanks to God Almighty, to the chief men of the Americans, to my old father the King

of France, and to you, Brother, that we can now talk together on friendly terms, and speak our sentiments without interruption.

*(Four strings of black and white wampum.)*

Brother, You knew me before you saw me and that I had not drawn away my hand from yours, as I sent word last year by Captain White Eyes.

Brother, I look up to Heaven, and call God Almighty witness to the truth of what I say, and that it really comes from my heart.

Brother, I now tell you that I have for ever thrown off my Father the English, and will never give him any assistance; and there are some amongst all the nations that think the same things that I do, and I wish they would all think so.

Brother, I cannot answer for all the nations, as I don't know all their thoughts, and will speak only what I am sure of.

Brother, Listen to me. I love all the nations, and hate none, and when I return home they shall all hear what you say, and what is done between us.

Brother, I have just now told you, that I loved all the nations, and I see you raising up the hatchet against my younger brothers the Shawanese. I beg of you to stop a little while, as he has never yet heard me; and when he has heard me, if he does not choose to think as we do, I will tell you of it immediately.

Brother, I intend to speak roughly to my younger brother, and tell him not to listen to the English, but throw them off, and listen to me and then he may live as I do.

Brother, I thank you for leaving the fortress at Tuscarawas, and am convinced by that you have taken pity on us, and want to make us your friends.

Brother, I now take a firmer hold of your hand than before, and beg that you will take pity upon other nations who are my friends, and if any of them should incline to take hold of your hand, I request that you would comply and receive them into friendship.

*(A black belt of eleven rows.)*

Brother, Listen. I tell you to be cautions, as I think you intend to strike the man near to where I sit, not to go the nighest way to where he is, lest you frighten the owners of the lands who are living through the country between this and that place.

Brother, You now listen to me, and one favour I beg of you is, that when you drive away your enemies you will allow me to continue in possession of my property, which if you grant will rejoice me.

Brother, I would advise you, when you strike the man near where I sit, to go by water, as it will be the easiest and best way.

Brother, If you intend to strike, one way is to go up the Allegheny and by Prisquille; another way is to go down this river and up the Wabash.

Brother, The reason why I mentioned the road up the river is, that there will be no danger of your being discovered until you are close upon them, but on the road down the river you will be spied.

Brother, Now I have told you the way by Prisqueille, and that it is the boundary between us and your enemies; if you go by Wabash your friends will not be surprised.

Brother, You must not think that what I have said is only my own thoughts, but the opinion of all the Huron Chiefs, and I speak in behalf of them all. If you grant what favours I have asked of you, all our friends and relations will be thankful and glad as far as they can hear all round.

Brother, The reason why I have pointed out these two roads is, that when we hear you are in one of them we will know your intentions without further notice, and the Huron Chiefs desired me particularly to mention it that they may meet you in your walk, and tell you what they have done, who are your enemies and who are your friends, and I in their name request a pair of colors to shew that we have joined in friendship.

*(Fourteen strings of black wampum.)*

Brother, The Chiefs desired me to tell you that they had sent Montour before to tell you their intentions, and they leave him to go with you, that when you meet your brothers, you may consult together, and understand one another by his means.

*Head quarters Pittsburgh Sept. 19, 1779.*

*Maghingive Keeshuch to Doonyontat, Principal Chief of the Wyandots.*

Brother, Yesterday I had the pleasure to hear you speak, but when I had heard all, and you had taken no notice of what I mentioned to you before against the English I could not tell what to think.

Brother, The Chiefs of the Wyandots have lived too long with the English, to see things as they ought to do. They must have expected, when they were counselling, that the Chief they sent to this Council fire, would find the Americans asleep, but the sun, which the Great Spirit has set to light this island, discovers to me they are much mistaken.

*(Four strings of black and white wampum.)*

Brother, I will tell you why they are mistaken; they have thought that it was an easy matter to satisfy us, after doing all the mischief they could. They must have heard, that the English were getting weaker, and the Americans stronger, and that a few flattering words would, with giving up our prisoners, secure to them their lives, the lives of their women and children, and their lands, and the wicked Shawanese, who have so often embued their hands in the blood of the Americans; and that in my military operations, they had a right to mark out the road I should march on.

*(Six strings of black and white wampum.)*

Brother, I, however, thank you for wiping away the blood and burying the bones of our young men, and for casting off that bad Father, the King of Britain, over the great lake.



*(Three strings of white wampum.)*

Brother, I left the fort at Tuscarawas, because it gave uneasiness to several of the Indian nations, which I pitied, and promised to save, if they would do what was right before God, and I still intend to do it: but I have said they must do what is right and they must send some of their great men to me to remain as hostages, until they have complied with their terms. If this is not done, all words will be considered as wind. And though I love peace, and could wish to save the lives of my countrymen of this island I am not afraid of war.

*(Four strings of black wampum.)*

Brother, I will now tell you what I conceive to be right, and I will leave it to all the world to judge of it: I think the nations you mention, and wish me to receive into friendship, ought to send hostages to me, as I said before, until they have killed and taken as many from the English and their allies, as they have killed and taken from the Americans, and return whatever they have stolen from their brothers, together with their flesh and blood, and on every occasion join us against our enemies.— Upon these terms which are just, they and their posterity may live in peace, and enjoy their property without disturbance from their brethren of this island, so long as the sun shines, or the waters run.

*(A black belt,—rows.)*

Brother, I have now spoke from my heart. I am a warrior as well as a counsellor. My words are few, but what I say I will perform. And I must tell you, that if the nations will not do justice, they will not be able, after the English are driven from this island, to enjoy peace and property.

*(Four strings of black wampum.)*

Brother, When I go to war, I will take my choice of roads. If I meet my friends, I shall be glad to see them; and if I meet my enemies, I shall be ready to fight them.

Brother, You told me you had not yet spoken to the Shawanese. You likewise say that you had not yet let slip my hand, if so, why did you not speak to them? They have heard their grandfathers, the Delawares, and they have heard me. I sent them a good talk, but they threw it into the fire.

Now, brother, I must tell you, that I cannot now prevent the Shawanese being struck by Colonel Clark. I hear he is gone against them, and will strike them, before I can send to call him back. But if the Shawanese do what is right, as I have told you, they shall enjoy peace and property.

This belt confirms my word.

*(A white and black belt,—rows.)*

*Kelleleman\* to Maghingive Keeshuch.*

September 21, 1779.

Brother, I told my grand-children, the Shawanese, when they came to me yesterday, to remain with their grandfathers, until they had spoken to their brothers, the Americans. They answered, they would comply with the request of their grand-fathers. This our grand-children spoke to us, and said, grandfathers, we are humble, and are now come unto you — Now I am come to you, I take my hands and wipe your eyes, that you may clearly see the light, and that these are your grand-children who now appear before you, and likewise remove every obstruction from your ears, that you may hear and understand me. I also compose your heart, that you may be disposed to pity your poor grand-children, as your ancient Chiefs used to pity their grand-children, the Macquichees, when they were poor or humble before them. Now my grand-fathers, I tell you to pity your grand-children, the Macquichees, and whatever you direct them to do, will be done. Now you have heard your grand-children speak, and you will judge what to say to your brother Maghingive Keeshuch.

*(Two strings of white wampum.)*

Now grand-fathers, here is a little tobacco to fill your pipes, that you may consider and pity your grand-children Macquichees.

*Keeshmattsee, to his grand-fathers, the Delawares.*

Grand-fathers, I now take my Chief and Councillor Nimwha, and set him down on the ground before you that he may assist you in considering the distressed situation of your grand-children.

*Killbuck to Colonel Brodhead.*

Brother Maghingive Keeshuch, listen to me.

You always told me, that when any nations came to treat of peace, I should first speak to them, and tell you my sentiments of them, which I am now come to do, in regard to my grand-children, the Macquichees.

I told them I was much obliged to them, for clearing my eyes, my ears, and composing my heart, and that it was time, that many bad things enter my ears.

I remember you told me to pity you, and it is true, I have pitied you, my grand-children, the Shawanese.

Now, I tell you, my grand-children, it is very well you put me in mind of my wise ancestors, who, out of pity to you, took you up, and placed you before them.

My grand-children, the Maquichees, it is true, you have done no harm, but I see some stains of blood upon you, which the mischief and folly of your young men have occasioned. Now, my grand-children, I will advise you how to be cleansed from your bloody stains, deliver to our brother Maghingive Keeshuch, all his flesh and blood which are prisoners in your hands, and the horses you have stolen from the Americans.

\* Better known as KILLBUCK: sometimes spelt GALLALIMEND.

My grand-children, when you have done this, you will then be clean, your flesh and heart will be the same as mine, and I can again take you up, and set you down before me, as our wise Chiefs formerly did.

Now, my grand-children, I tell you, for several years past you have been fraught with lies, which I am tired of hearing, and in future you must tell me nothing but truth.

Now listen to me, my grand-children, you see how dreadful the day looks, and how thick the clouds appear; don't imagine this day to be like that on which you first came to your grand-fathers. I tell you that I have finished the chain of friendship. The thirteen United States and I are one. I have already assisted my brother, in taking the flesh of the English and the Mingoos. You told me just now, that whatever I told you, you would do; now I offer you the flesh of the English and Mingoos to eat, and that is the only method I know of, by which your lives may be preserved, and you allowed to live in peace, (delivering them a string of wampum and two scalps.) They received the string and scalps, and said they were glad to know this, and as they had before said, whatever their grand-fathers told them, they would do, so they told them again on receiving the scalps. They said, now grand-father, I am very glad to hear what you have said; I have got in my hand what you say will save my life, and immediately sung his war-song. The speaker, having danced, delivered the scalps to the King, who likewise rose and sung his war-song, and said, Now grand-fathers, although you have often sent good speeches to the other tribes of the Shawanese nation, yet they would not receive them, but still took up the tomahawk to strike your brothers, I will now go and deliver them what I have in my hands, which I suppose they will receive.

*Delaware Chief to Maghingive Keeshuch.*

Brother, We are come to let you know the result of our Council, respecting the Maquichees.

Brother, Listen, This is the way I have considered the matter, and if I am mistaken, I am very sorry for it. Brother, let us both consider of it. I thought, when I looked in his eyes, that he was sincere.

Brother, I think the Maquichees are honest. In former times they were the best of the Shawanese nations. I think we may take them by the hand; and you know, you told me, that any nation I took by the hand, you would also receive.

## FORCIBLE REGULATION OF PRICES.

In tracing the history of transactions at this place during the year 1779, our attention was attracted to an attempt made by the military stationed in Fort Pitt to regulate the prices of all articles then for sale at this place. This was in fact an attempt to sustain the Continental money, against that depreciation which is a necessary consequence of a superabundant issue. It was not at this place alone, but in various other quarters, such fruitless attempts to force the money into the confidence of the people generally, were made.

A full account of the rise and progress of such efforts must be useful as one of those lessons which history teaches. Such an account is also an act of sheer justice to the glorious men who carried our country through that desperate and protracted struggle, which a few feeble colonies sustained against the mighty British empire. That man knows but little of the merits of the heroes and sages of the American Revolution, who is disposed to sit down contented with a mere knowledge of desperate battles, defeats and victories, bloodshed and death occurring during that time. Days and nights of toil and anxiety, pressed with a heavy and wearying hand upon the sages; while embarrassments and privations of every kind oppressed those who fought for the privileges we now enjoy. The editor of the *Olden Time* conceives that every American who neglects to avail himself of all convenient means of becoming acquainted with the difficulties and privations endured in the struggle for independence, so as to be able to appreciate correctly the services of the actors in that contest, is guilty of absolute injustice to those patriotic men.

He, at least, feels that he is doing an act of justice to the memories of the departed patriots in every exhibition of their services and sufferings.

Mr. William B. Reed of Philadelphia, grandson of Joseph Reed, President of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, one of the purest, ablest, and most active patriots of the Revolution, has recently given to the world a work in two volumes, containing the "Life and Correspondence of that gentleman." The work is alike worthy of the memory of the departed patriot, and of the reputation of the accomplished scholar and gentleman who makes this addition to the literature of the country.

The indefatigable author is too intelligent and judicious to overlook so important an event in our revolutionary history as the attempt to arrest by force, the natural tendency of things to settle the value of paper money by the proportions which the supply and demand bear to each other.

We extract a large portion of Mr. Reed's chapter as an introduction to the proceedings in this place about the same time.

Public feeling in Philadelphia—The Embargoes—Tender laws—Price regulations—Mr. Reed's opinion—Resolutions of Congress—Washington's opinion as to Foresters—Proclamations of Council—Memorial to Congress—Town Meetings in Philadelphia—Progress of Popular Discontent—Committee of Prices—Robert Morris.

No one can study minutely the history of the Revolution, without seeing that its great and leading events convey but a faint idea of the ac-

tual difficulties and embarrassments which the public men of those times had to encounter and overcome. The orderly books and private correspondence of Washington, and his fellow-soldiers, show this to a remarkable degree, and illustrate the homely truth that there was as much heroism, and power of endurance shown in encountering these vexatious details as in the planning of sieges and the fighting or gaining of battles. Nothing was well ordered or arranged in the affairs of the Continent. The forms of State administrations were equally defective. Though constitutions existed, and government was, in form, administered, yet the institutions were of so recent origin, so slightly and inadequately constructed, so much subjected to popular influence, that no one was sure how far they could be relied on in the way of restraint or punishment. In Pennsylvania, to whose tangled politics it is necessary to recur, this was eminently the case, and in order to do justice to those to whom the executive administration was entrusted, it will be requisite to narrate the progress of the popular excitement, which, having its origin in pretexts at least plausible, matured to the most deplorable excess. The progress of these discontents it is desirable somewhat minutely to trace. It was Mr. Reed's fate to administer the government at a time when this popular excitement was at its height.

Among the measures of false policy to which the legislators of the Revolution very naturally resorted were those of embargoes, commercial restrictions of all sorts, tender laws, and limitations of prices. The last were most habitually relied on, and were certainly, in their effects, most pernicious. There were, in fact, comparatively few who reasoned at all calmly and deliberately, on these subjects. It was a prevalent delusion, affecting alike Congress, the State Assemblies, and the mass of the people, that the only mode of appreciating the paper currency, was to prescribe a strict limitation of prices, and in spite of its invincible worthlessness, to force a given value on a depreciated and fast depreciating paper dollar. We may now wonder, with abundant harvests, flourishing commerce, peaceful prosperity, and a universally convertible currency, at the strange delusions which led to so long a perseverance in this false policy, but in our wonder as well as our condemnation, we must admit that there was some apparent justification of it. In the instance of Pennsylvania, for example, it should be remembered that the embargoes which cut off her commerce, were forced upon her, and had their origin in Congress, to whose authority her citizens had been in habits, from their very position, of paying very implicit obedience. They were taught to believe that it was the part of patriotic wisdom to carry Congressional mandates into thorough execution. The local Assembly had pursued a similar course of restriction. The area of cultivated land was comparatively limited, less, by two thirds, than it now is, the Juniata and Susquehanna being frontier boundaries. Agriculture had, in a measure,

failed, or was seriously interrupted by invasion, and the necessities of war. Out of a comparatively limited population, Pennsylvania had sent a very large proportion of her active laboring men into military service. Commerce was, in great measure, at an end. The remnant of credit and capital in Philadelphia, was in the hands of few individuals, and those, unfortunately, generally obnoxious to popular prejudice and resentment. Besides this, it should not be forgotten, that, for a long time, the bitter waters of political controversy, in its most virulent form, had spread over her people, and penetrated every channel of society. Such, briefly, was the state of things in the early part of the year 1779, when the progressive excitement, about to be described, may be said to have begun.

Mr. Reed's opinions were well defined, and such as might have been expected from his well-balanced intelligence. In writing to General Greene, 1779, he said: "There have been great pains taken from East to West to regulate the produce and commerce of the country. I viewed the thing as impracticable from the beginning. It was rather to be wished for than expected; how it will terminate is yet uncertain. But from what I hear and see from almost every quarter, I think the measure will fail. The attempt has been made again and again in Europe and America, but to no purpose. The commerce of mankind must be free, or almost all kinds of intercourse will cease. Regulation stagnates industry, and creates an universal discontent. Men value themselves not less upon the privilege of exercising their industry in trade than on the gains they derive from it. Even the market-people would be very unhappy to be cut off from the opportunity of making the most of their commodities. There is a pride in every class of people in displaying their ingenuity in their transactions; to be deprived of this makes them restless and uneasy. Give men even more than they ask for a thing, and they will not be satisfied without the liberty of still trying to make more of it."\*

Placed at the head of the executive department, with a Legislature that was thoroughly imbued with the erroneous doctrines of the most stringent restrictions; Mr. Reed's opinions had necessarily but little influence. So far, they probably were operative as to enable him to administer liberally such measures of restraint as were forced upon him, so as least to embarrass the natural course of industry and trade. Speaking of them some years later, he said with strong feeling; "The committees for regulating prices, inquiring into the sales of goods, were the effusions of honest but intemperate zeal to preserve the credit of the paper money. Time and experience have shown their futility, but every person concerned in them will do me the justice to say I neither originated nor conducted them."\* It was, as will be seen, the principal argument to justify the re-institution of the popular committee, in 1779, that they were meant to reach cases and provide for wrongs which government either could not or would not provide for.

\* Johnson's Greene, vol. i. p. 146.

† Pamphlet of 1762.



The legislation of Congress and the States on those and kindred subjects had been such as to stimulate popular excitement, and no one can read the language of the various enactments and resolutions, and then wonder that, ineffectual as they were in results, they should have produced irritation. The Resolution of Congress, (among the first,) of 23d November, 1777, was in these words:

“In order to introduce immediate economy in the public expense; the spirit of sharpening and extortion, and the rapid and excessive rise of every commodity being confined within no bounds; and considering how much time must unavoidably elapse before the plan directed by the preceding resolution can be carried into effect.

“Resolved, that it be earnestly recommended to the respective Legislatures of the United States, without delay, by their separate authority to adopt and effectually enforce a temporary regulation of the prices of provisions and other commodities for the supply of the army, in such manner as they shall judge reasonable; and to continue in force until the general regulation before proposed should be adopted.”\*

In October, 1778, Washington wrote to one of his friends: “Want of virtue is infinitely more to be dreaded than the whole force of Great Britain, assisted as they are by Hessian, Indian, and negro allies: for certain I am, that unless extortion, forestalling, and other practices, which have crept in and become exceeding prevalent and injurious to the common cause, can meet with proper checks, we must inevitably sink under such a load of accumulated oppression. To make and extort money in every shape that can be devised, and at the same time to decry its value, seems to have become a mere business and an epidemical disease, calling for the interposition of every good man and body of men.”†

To Mr. Reed he had written: “It is most devoutly to be wished that some happy expedient could be hit upon to restore credit to our paper emissions, and punish the infamous practice of forestalling and engrossing such articles as are essentially necessary to the very existence of the army, and which by this means, come to it through the hands of these people at fifty per cent. advance, to the great injury and depreciation of our money, by accumulating the quantum necessary for ordinary purposes to an amazing sum, which must end in a total stagnation of all purchases, unless some remedy can be soon and effectually applied. It is also most devoutly to be wished that faction was at an end, that those to whom everything dear and valuable is entrusted would lay aside party views and return to first principles. Happy, happy, thrice happy country, if such were the government of it! But, alas! we are not to expect that the path is to be strewn with flowers. That great and good Being who rules the universe has disposed matters otherwise, and for wise purposes, I am persuaded. As my letter to Congress of this date has given

\* Journals, 1777, p. 532.

† Spark's Washington, vi. 91.

a full account of the cantonment of the troops, and other matters of public concernment, I have no need to repeat it to you as an individual member. The conduct of the enemy at New York and Rhode Island is too mysterious to be accounted for by any rules of common sense. The transports containing their second embarkation, still remain in the harbour, for what purpose it is not easy to conjecture.

"I shall hope, when the army gets a little settled in winter quarters, that the Committee of Arrangement will perfect the good work they began in the summer, and draw order from the chaos we have been in for a long time past. It is eleven o'clock at night, and I am to set out early in the morning; for which reason I shall only add my thanks for the favorable sentiments you are pleased to entertain for me, but in a more especial manner for your good wishes and prayers."\*

On the 19th of January, 1779, the Executive Council issued a proclamation against forestalling, threatening the heaviest penalties of the law against those who, by engrossing quantities of flour, had enhanced the price of bread and other necessities of life. Its tone, and the necessity which called it forth, certainly were not calculated to allay excitement. In the interval, the depreciation of the Continental money rapidly increased, and the only body which could afford relief, Congress, by securing foreign loans and restricting new emissions of paper, were engaged in a profitless and discreditable controversy, arising out of the conduct of Silas Deane, in which it happened that his apologists were generally of that party which in the politics of Pennsylvania had not conciliated popular favour. This was especially the case with Robert Morris, who honestly supporting Mr. Deane's cause, made himself the object of the most virulent obloquy.

By the middle of May, matters seemed to be approaching a crisis, and popular discontent on the point of breaking through all control. On the 26th, Mr Reed, as President of the Council, accompanied by the Speaker of the Assembly and other gentlemen, presented a memorial to Congress representing the urgency of the case in the strongest terms, and assuring them of the co-operation of the State authorities in any measures of taxation that might be thought necessary. This was meant as an effort to solicit the interposition of Congress, so as to avert the popular movement which seemed to be impending. It was at once taken into consideration, and the effect was an Address to the people of the United States from a Committee of which John Dickinson, then a Representative from Delaware, was Chairman, which was at once adopted, and issued in handbills to the people. After setting forth the necessities of past emissions of paper currency, the rapid depreciation, the inability to impose taxes or to procure loans, the following paragraphs occur.

"But to this cause alone we do not impute the evil before mentioned. We have too much reason to believe it has been in part owing to the

\* Sparks' Washington, vi. p. 127.

artifices of men who have hastened to enrich themselves by monopolizing the necessities of life, and to the misconduct of inferior officers employed in the public service. The variety and importance of the business entrusted to your Delegates, and their constant attendance in Congress, necessarily disable them from investigating disorders of this kind. Justly apprehensive of them, they by their several resolutions of the 22d of Nov. and 20th of December, 1777, and of the 3d and 9th of February, 1778, recommended to the legislative and executive powers of these States a due attention to these interesting affairs. How far those recommendations have been complied with, we will not undertake to determine but we feel bound in duty to you to declare, that we are not convinced there has been as much diligence used in detecting and reforming abuses as there has been in committing or complaining of them. With regard to monopolizers, it is our opinion that taxes judiciously laid on such articles as become the objects of engrossers, and those frequently collected, would operate against the pernicious tendency of such practices. As to inferior officers employed in the public service we anxiously desire to call your most vigilant attention to their conduct with respect to every species of misbehavior, whether proceeding from ignorance, negligence, or fraud, and to the making of laws for inflicting exemplary punishments on all offenders of this kind.

"We are sorry to hear that some persons are so slightly informed of their own interests as to suppose that it is advantageous to them to sell the produce of their farms at enormous prices, when a little reflection might convince them that it is injurious to their interests and the general welfare. If they expect thereby to purchase imported goods cheaper they will be egregiously dissatisfied; for the merchants, who know they cannot obtain returns in gold, silver, or bills of exchange, but that their vessels, if loaded at all, must be loaded with produce, will raise the price of what they have to sell in proportion to the price of what they have to buy, and consequently the landholders can purchase no more foreign goods for the same quantity of his produce than he could before."

In this tone did Congress address a people already highly inflamed. The progress of things was very rapid and natural. On the next day (27th) a large town meeting was held in the State House Yard, at which Daniel Roberdeau presided. His speech on taking the chair was highly inflammatory, the burden of it being that monopolizers were grinding down the people by heavy taxes in the form of high prices, that the disease of monopoly had its origin in Philadelphia, that large amounts of foreign goods were known to be secreted, and withheld from public use, and that the only mode to make money good was forcibly to reduce the prices of goods and provisions. The response to this appeal was the adoption of a series of resolutions asserting the right of the people to inquire into, and punish abuses aside from the law—a determination "not

to be eaten up by monopolizers and forestallers," demanding that all excess of price beyond that which was paid on the 1st of May, should be taken off, and finally organizing two committees, one to inquire into certain alleged abuses, and the other a permanent one, whose duty it was to ascertain prices at certain past days, to which hereafter all dealings were to conform.

The institution of this committee is a leading incident in the local history of these times. Its members were numerous, and its sessions nearly permanent. The control it exercised seems to have been absolute and severe. Its plan of action, as indicated in the published resolutions, was to ascertain the price of articles at certain periods more and more remote, and then, by a sort of sliding scale, reduce current rates accordingly. The prices of 1st of May were to be the prices till 1st of July, after which, they were to be reduced to the standard of 1st of April. Nor was this example without its influence. Not only did every township and county in Pennsylvania organize its committee of prices, but neighboring and distant States followed in the train of mistaken policy.\*

\*The following table may not be without interest. It was published by authority 26th of June, 1779.

*Prices of the following articles on the 1st of April, which are to continue for the month of July.*

| WHOLESALE.                               |   |              | RETAIL.                   |   |                |
|------------------------------------------|---|--------------|---------------------------|---|----------------|
| Coffee per lb.                           | - | 0l. 15s. 0d. | per lb.                   | - | 0l. 16s. 0d.   |
| Chocolate, do.                           | - | 1 17 6       | do.                       | - | 2 0 0          |
| Bohea Tea, do.                           | - | 4 10 0       | do.                       | - | 4 15 0         |
| Common Green, do.                        | - | 5 10 0       | from 6l to                | - | 7 10 0         |
| Best Hyson, do.                          | - | 18 0 0       | -                         | - | 20 0 0         |
| West India Rum, per gal.                 | - | 6 5 0        | -                         | - | 6 12 6         |
| Country, do.                             | - | 4 10 0       | -                         | - | 4 15 0         |
| French, do.                              | - | 4 10 0       | -                         | - | 4 15 0         |
| Muscovado Sugar, from 70l. to 95l.       | - | -            | -                         | - | -              |
| per cwt.                                 | - | -            | from 15s. to 20s.         | - | per lb.        |
| Loaf Sugar, from 2l. 2s. 0d. to 2l. 10s. | - | -            | -                         | - | -              |
| per lb.                                  | - | -            | from 47s. 6d. to 52s. 6d. | - | per lb.        |
| Rice,                                    | - | -            | -                         | - | 3 "            |
| French Indigo, per lb.                   | - | 2l. 15s. 0d. | -                         | - | 60 "           |
| Carolina, " "                            | - | 2 0 0        | -                         | - | 45 "           |
| Black Pepper,                            | - | 1 17 6       | -                         | - | 42 6d. "       |
| Cotton, from 40s. to 55s.                | - | -            | -                         | - | 45 to 60s.     |
| Hemp,                                    | - | -            | -                         | - | 8 "            |
| Candles,                                 | - | 14s. 6d.     | -                         | - | 15 "           |
| Best Hard Soap,                          | - | 10 6         | -                         | - | 12 6d. "       |
| Butter,                                  | - | -            | -                         | - | 15 "           |
| Bloomery Bar Iron, per ton, 500l.        | - | -            | -                         | - | per cwt., 28l. |
| Refined, " " 700                         | - | -            | -                         | - | 38             |
| Nail Rod Iron, " 1000                    | - | -            | -                         | - | 55             |
| Sheet Iron, per lb.                      | - | 12s.         | -                         | - | 15s.           |
| Best Dintle Sole Leather, per lb.        | - | -            | -                         | - | 20             |

On the 31st May, the committee determined on various and characteristic details of action, strongly illustrative of the temper of the times. Some of them are curiously ill-defined. They resolved, among other things, that any inhabitant offering or giving an *extravagant* price for market produce, was to be summoned to the Coffee-house on the following market day, or before the next town-meeting, and if any persons were detected in unjustly imposing on market-people, by obliging them to take prices much below their value, "*such person shall be held up accordingly.*"\* House-rent was to be inquired of and adjusted; in short, every transaction of mercantile dealing was to be regulated by this self-constituted and irresponsible body. The reasoning by which this severe supervision was justified, was quite satisfactory to an excited and suffering populace.

"I had money enough," says one anonymous writer, "some time ago, to buy a hogshead of sugar. I sold it again, and got a great deal more money than it cost me; yet what I sold it for, when I went to market it again, would buy but a tierce. I sold that, too, for a great deal of profit, yet the whole of what I sold it for would afterwards buy but a barrel. I have now more money than I ever had, and yet I am not so rich as when I had less. I am sure we shall grow poorer and poorer unless we fall on some method to lower prices, and then the money we have to spare will be worth something. I am glad the good work is begun."†

Occasional embarrassments, as might have been expected, occurred even in this apparently effective action. In their first organization, the Committee had recommended to their fellow-citizens "to be slack in making sales and purchases." On the 2d of June, the Committee determined to go in person to the holders and dealers in flour, to advise them to sell at regular prices, but not more than one barrel to each family, and those to such only as should declare they have but one barrel, and sellers, who would sell in small quantities, were to receive one dollar per quarter above the regulated price, and poor families were recommended to divide the barrel.

Mingled with these vexatious, and, as it ended, ineffectual efforts to set things right, were personal suspicions and party animosities. Several leading merchants rendered themselves obnoxious to popular suspicion, and were summoned before committees. In the case of Mr. Morris, the

|                                              |                     |                     |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Neats' Leather, by the side,                 | - - - - -           | 150s.               |
| A Calfskin that will cut four pair of Shoes, | - - - - -           | 150                 |
| Best Boot legs, per pair,                    | - - - - -           | 180                 |
| Harness Leather,                             | - - - - - per lb.   | 20                  |
| Bridle "                                     | - - - - - per side, | 150                 |
| Boots per pair.                              | - - - - -           | from 37l. to 40l.   |
| Men's best Leather Shoes,                    | - - - - -           | from 135s. to 150s. |
| Women's Shoes,                               | - - - - -           | 120.                |

\* Pennsylvania Packet, 1 June, 1779.

† Pennsylvania Packet, 5 June, 1779.

supervision was singularly and unwarrantably severe, and was carried so far as to give rise to a difficulty with the French commercial agents who, for the supply of Count d'Estaing's fleet, had made, or were supposed to have made, purchases of flour above the regulated prices.\* "Four or five poor women," said Mr. Morris, in an elaborate vindication which he published, "with sacks under their arms, came to me this morning, demanding supplies of flour, alleging they were directed to me by the committee for that purpose, and were informed by them I had received two wagon-loads of flour from the country yesterday. I confess this surprised me a good deal at first, but on reflecting a little, it seems highly improbable the committee, or any of the members, would be capable of giving such directions, because some of them had before been informed by my clerks that the flour under my care belonged to his most Christian Majesty."†

The following is a notice of the proceedings in the same spirit at this place. In our next number we shall re-publish a portion of the correspondence of Colonel Brodhead, the Commandant at Fort Pitt, which will exhibit the destitution of the troops here in a strong light.

*Pittsburgh, October 5, 1779.*

The officers of the line and staff in the western department, having long beheld with concern the growing evils produced by the avaricious and grasping trader, now commonly known and distinguished by the disgraceful epithet of speculator, find themselves under the necessity of forming and adopting a system of regulations, similar to those formed and adopted by their brother officers, and the main army. And in doing this—

9. We, the officers of the western department, beg leave to declare that our motives are pure and disinterested. We have no sinister views. Our happiness is to see our country happy; our pride to give her peace and safety; and our glory is to render her independent. In this we have happily succeeded, and were it not for the encouragement held out to our hardened, obstinate and inveterate enemy, by the depreciation of our money—in a great degree, if not wholly occasioned by the wicked arts of the disaffected, and the mean tricks of speculators, the olive branch would long e'er this have happily expanded its influence over this bleeding land: nor should we now have seen our towns in flames; nor heard of ravished, virtuous, insulted matrons, nor of British bayonets being pointed at the breasts of our patriots. Similar causes will ever produce similar effects; to prevent the latter, the former must be removed. Mischiefs of such enormity, can no longer be winked at, or dispensed with. The soldier and the citizen, who have sacrificed their all; who have fought, and bled, and conquered; who have humbled the arrogant and haughty Briton, as well as the fierce and barbarous savage, cannot now tamely submit to see their well-earned laurels unwove, and all their great and good deeds

\* Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, vol. x. p. 324.

† Pennsylvania Packet, July 8, 1779.



blasted, overturned, and undone, by caterpillars of states, and muckworms of royalty ; such are the insects that are preying on the vitals of America, and who are living and fattening on the core of her credit ; and therefore we are determined, with the blessing of our God, and the approbation of our Commandant, to effectually remove and smother them, so that they shall no longer feed on the fair and tender blossom of freedom, nor hereafter be a pest to our posterity.

The civil laws have been found inadequate to the removal of these growing evils. Therefore, to stop the rapid progress of such despoilers of their country, as well as to support the credit of our currency, and give it a fixed and permanent value, we have at last found it absolutely necessary to call a meeting of officers of the line and staff, when after some deliberation a committee was moved for, which met with unanimous concurrence ; a motion was then made for the nomination of a chairman, which was also agreed to, and Colonel John Gibson, of the ninth Virginia regiment, was appointed. The committee accordingly met on Tuesday the 5th October, and proceeded to business ; and as the prices of every article were daily, rapidly, and shamefully increasing ; and some time must necessarily elapse, before the necessary papers, town regulations, and traders invoices could be procured, so that a reasonable and living profit might be allowed them, on the regulated sale of their goods.

Therefore resolved, That a select committee be appointed to collect all papers, and get what information they can possibly obtain, relative to the regulations which may have taken place down the country, and by them endeavor to ascertain the price of goods as they ought to sell at this place, and lay them, with what other matters they may conceive necessary, before the committee at the next meeting.

Resolved, That two gentlemen of the committee, viz. Captain Tannihill, and Captain Fridlay,\* be deputed to wait on the traders of Pittsburgh, and acquaint them that the sale of their goods were prohibited and forbid by the committee, till the regulations could be formed with accuracy, and transmitted them, under the pain and penalty of being held up as inimical to their country, as well as forfeiting the countenance protection and trade of the army, whereupon the committee adjourned.

Wednesday the 6th of October, the committee having met, and the select committee having made their reports, the following resolutions were agreed to, viz:

Resolved, That at the present enormous prices, unless dire and absolute necessity compels, to buy shall be deemed as criminal as to sell, and should the traders refuse to sell at the regulated prices, agreed on and fixed by this committee.

Resolved, That the Commandant of the western department be waited upon by a committee, and earnestly requested for the good of the community as well as the army, that said traders be immediately ordered to

\* This, no doubt, should be Findlay, Captain John Findlay, son-in-law of David Duncan.

withdraw themselves and property from this post, being fully determined to have a reasonable trade or no trade, and live upon our rations and what our country can afford us; and should it be necessary, clothe ourselves with the produce of the forests, rather than live upon the virtuous part of the community, to gratify our sanguinary enemies, and enrich rapacity; and as it is the unanimous opinion of this committee, that the specious designing speculator is a monster of a deeper dye, and more malignant nature than the savage Mingo in the wilderness, whose mischiefs are partial, while those occasioned by the speculator, have become universal. The trade of a Mingo is blood, and they are in alliance with Britons. But speculating monsters, who are deemed and treated as citizens of America, and partake of her benefits, sweep all before them; tears up our credit by the root; travels like a pestilence; and carry destruction to every corner of the continent. And in a time of public danger, like the present, when the subjects of a free state can have but one interest, and ought to have but one wish and one sentiment.

Resolved, That any person whatever, holding a commission, place or employment under the United States, who shall directly or indirectly be concerned in trade or speculation of any kind, shall not be kept company with, or even spoke to by any person in the public service, that is on the footing of a gentleman, excepting at such time when necessary duty may require: and those who countenance a speculator shall be deemed by this committee as accessory, and held up to the world in the same colours, and be treated with the same degree of scorn and contempt.

The invoices of the traders being produced to the committee, they were carefully perused and maturely considered, and after some debate thereon, the committee at last unanimously determined, that from the exorbitant prices affixed to the greatest part of the different articles contained therein, no regulations could be made on invoices: Therefore,

Resolved, That said traders be not permitted to sell any part of said merchandize specified in said invoices, at any post or garrison, on this side the Allegheny mountains.

And this committee particularly considers the conduct of such traders as injurious, by their engrossing and forestalling large quantities of grain, thereby enhancing and raising the price thereof: in order to prevent the evil consequences, that must naturally flow therefrom, as well as to prohibit trade in general, till a reasonable trade can be obtained, and traders become satisfied with a moderate profit.

Resolved, That a guard be placed over the stores of the traders of Pittsburgh, and that they be not permitted to sell to any person on any account whatever, and that circular letters with the resolutions of this committee, be transmitted to the principal gentlemen of the different counties on this side the Allegheny mountains, requesting their approbation, assistance, and concurrence therein.

And this committee wishing to deal tenderly with all, to avoid, (as much as in their power) injuring any, and to act on such principles as may convince all mankind of their impartiality, as well as to prevent future adventurers from making use of the plea of ignorance.

Resolved, That until such times as traders will conform to the regulations entered into and published by the virtuous part of the community at Philadelphia, Boston, and the generality of the principal trading towns on the continent, no goods whatever shall be purchased, or offered for sale, at any post or garrison, on this side the Alleghany mountain; and that all trading adventurers, who wish for the countenance, protection and trade of the army, are hereby required by this Committee to obtain a permit as well as certificate, specifying the regulated prices, at the time of purchase, from the Secretary of the Committee, previous to the opening of their goods for sale, and they shall also confine themselves to such profits on their sales, as were formerly allowed ample at this place. And provided trading adventurers will comply with the regulation and restrictions.

Resolved, That they shall be treated with the respect due to worthy citizens, and friends to their country, and shall meet with every indulgence the commandant at this post or the committee can possibly grant them, and all those of different complexions, whatever appellation they may choose to assume, whether monopolizers, forestallers, engrossers, or speculators are hereby cautioned and advised not to cross the Alleghany mountain, as this Committee cannot answer for the conduct of an insulted public, nor for the resentment of the army.

#### THE MANOR OF PITTSBURGH.

Many persons have noticed that the titles to lots within the limits of our city, and some distance south-east of it, and for lots on the South side of the Monongahela river, down to the mouth of Saw Mill run, and up above Birmingham, and back into the country two or three miles, are derived from the heirs of Penn. On the other hand, all the titles for lots or lands in the residue of our county, are derived from the Commonwealth. Lots, for instance, in Pittsburgh, are all derived from the Penns, while those in Allegheny city are all granted by the State. An explanation of the cause of this difference belongs very properly to a history of the country round the Head of the Ohio, and we now propose to give that explanation.

The proprietaries of Pennsylvania had, of course, a right to withdraw any particular portion of the territory from market, and appropriate it to their own private use or estate.

On the 5th day of January 1769, a warrant was issued for the survey of what was called "the Manor of Pittsburg." On the 27th of March the survey was made, and returned the 19th of May, 1769. The survey embraces five thousand seven hundred and sixty-six acres, and allowance of six per cent. &c. The survey began at a Spanish oak on the South

bank of the Monongahela, thence South 800 perches to a hickory, thence West 150 per's. to a White Oak, thence North  $35^{\circ}$  W. 144 per's. to a White Oak, thence West 518 perches to a White Oak, thence North 758 perches to a post, thence East 60 perches to a post, North  $14^{\circ}$  East 208 perches to a White Walnut on the bank of the Ohio, thence up the river 202 perches to a White Walnut, thence crossing the river and up the South side of the Allegheny 762 perches to a Spanish oak at the corner of Croghan's claim, thence South  $60^{\circ}$  East 249 perches to a Sugar Tree, South  $85^{\circ}$  East 192 perches to a Sugar Tree, thence by vacant land South  $18^{\circ}$  East 236 perches to a White Oak, thence South  $40^{\circ}$  West 150 to a White Oak, thence West by claim of Samuel Sample, 192 perches to a Hickory, thence South  $65^{\circ}$  West 74 perches to a Red Oak on the bank of the Monongahela, thence obliquely across the river S.  $78^{\circ}$  West 308 perches to the Spanish Oak, the beginning.

Through the kindness of our esteemed fellow-citizen Mr. R. E. McGowan, City Regulator and Surveyor generally, we are enabled to give to our readers a more intelligible and modern account of this survey, than is presented by reference to Spanish Oaks, and Hickories and Sugar Trees, which have long since disappeared.

The Spanish Oak, the place of beginning, stood near the South bank of the Monongahela, just in the middle of the present McKee Street.—The Manor line is there, the Eastern boundary of the Gregg property. The Hickory Corner, South from the Spanish Oak, stood not far from the Buck Tavern, on the Brownsville road. The White Walnut Corner, on the Ohio, is a short distance above the mouth of Saw Mill Run, where the Washington and the Steubenville turnpike road unite. The White Walnut, the corner where the line starts to cross the river; stood near the old Glass House, erected by James O'Hara and Isaac Craig, and now owned by Mr. Frederick Lorenz. The Spanish Oak, on the Allegheny River, stood near the line between Croghansville and the Springfield Farm. From that point the Manor line passes along the Western side of the Springfield Farm, crosses the Fourth Street Road 500 or 600 yards beyond the colony, makes a corner near Mrs. Murray's Tavern, and strikes the Monongahela three or four hundred feet above the mouth of the two mile run.

By this survey and its return, the land included in it was set apart from the larger portions of the territory of the province, became as it were private property of the proprietaries, and as such it was regarded in the Act of Assembly of November 27th, 1779, entitled "An Act for vesting the estates of the late Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in this Commonwealth."

From the "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed," by Wm. B. Reed, we extract the following account of the proceedings in relation to this law.

By the Charter of Charles II., the absolute ownership of the soil within the assigned limits of Pennsylvania, was vested in the Proprietary and his heirs, with a reservation of the paramount sovereignty of the Crown of England. The political authority conferred on the Proprietaries during the interval from the settlement to the Revolution, was exercised by their nominees, or by members of the Proprietary family itself. It as well as the ownership of the soil, was undisputed till the period when, by the Revolution the paramount sovereignty was transferred. At that time it happened that the political authority delegated by the Charter was exercised by John Penn, the grandson of the first Proprietary, who had been for some years Deputy Governor. The ownership was vested in him and Thomas, a son of William Penn, who resided in Great Britain. Richard Penn, another of the family, who also had been deputy-governor, returned to England in the fall of 1775, being with Arthur Lee, the agent of Congress, and the bearer of its last petition to the King.\* In November of that year, he was examined at the bar of the House of Lords, and the testimony which he gave was so friendly to the Provincial cause as to call down strong rebuke from some of the ministerial peers.† He did not, I believe, ever return to America, certainly not till after the peace. Governor John Penn remained in Pennsylvania, and appears to have been a temperate and inoffensive man, who relinquished his political authority without a struggle, and was content to watch with unobtrusive vigilance the more substantial interests of his family. With the exception of his temporary removal to Virginia in the summer of 1777, he appears never to have been personally molested.

It was however, very soon manifest that the proprietary tenure of the vacant land within the limits of Pennsylvania, and the reserved right in the form of quit rents, could not be allowed to continue. The paramount sovereignty could not be superceded. The fealty at Windsor, with its emblems of two beaver skins, was supplanted by submission to more practical authority nearer at hand, and the "provincial seignory called Pennsylvania" had become an absolute and substantial sovereignty by itself. Under this change it was hardly reasonable that vast tracts of unappropriated lands should be suffered to remain under private control, and be utterly unproductive for public necessities, or that Proprietaries, recognizing in their very titles a foreign and adverse authority, should be left in undisturbed possession not only of this vacant territory, but still

\* This statement has reference to the beginning of the revolutionary disturbances. Thomas, the son of William Penn, died 21st March, 1775. At the time of the Divesting Act, in 1779, the Proprietaries were John Penn (the Governor,) and John Penn of Stoke Pogs, the son of Thomas. Richard Penn referred to in the text, was the second son of Richard, the third son of the original William Penn. The most intelligent statement of this intricate genealogy will be found in 2 Yeates' Reports: p. 550.

† Mr. Richard Penn's examination will be found, (in Parliamentary History, xviii p. 911.) When asked what was the military force of Pennsylvania, in 1775, he said. "When I left Pennsylvania, they had 20,000 men in arms, embodied, but not paid, and 4500 since raised. He said there were 60,000 men fit to bear arms, in Pennsylvania. In the debate which followed, Lord Lyttleton said, 'with all the caution with which Mr Penn guarded his expressions, he nevertheless betrayed through the whole of his examination, the strongest indication of the strongest prejudice.'"—Id., 928.

more offensively, of the quit rents to which they had subjected all the patented and improved land. These rents, too, it should be remembered, were no new grievance. From the time of William Penn downwards, they had been complained of, and had led to the most fierce controversies. The time had now come when a rude remedy was to be applied. It was applied with decision and with dignity—with much less precipitation, in fact, and with less apparent violation of decorum than commonly characterize revolutionary processes.

In February, 1778, President Reed in a message to Assembly said, "We shall now offer the last though not the least object of your public inquiry and deliberations; we mean the nature and extent of the claims or estates of the late proprietaries, and their consistency with the interests and happiness of the people under the late revolution. To reconcile the rights and demands of society with those of private justice and equity in this case, will be worthy your most serious attention, nor ought the magnitude of the object, or the splendor and influence heretofore annexed to the power derived from that source, deter you from the inquiry, or dazzle you in the pursuit. The just regard due to the suspended rights of many individuals of this State, and the common interests of all, do not admit that it should any longer be kept out of sight, though war, with its calamities and confusion, has hitherto excluded it from the notice of a government founded on the authority of the people only."\*

The house took the matter into early consideration, and directed notice to be given to Mr. Penn. At the instance of that gentleman, a more distant day was assigned, in order to give him a more reasonable time to determine what his course would be. On the 11th of March, the counsel for the Penns asked for further indulgence, which was allowed. Five days were subsequently devoted to the argument of the case before the Assembly. It is to be regretted that these arguments have not been preserved. They would throw much light on an interesting point in the juridical and political history of the State.†

On the 27th of March a series of questions were propounded by order of the House, to Chief Justice M'Kean, on the legal points in controversy. They relate to the authority of the Crown to give the Charter, the nature of the grant, the extent of the concessions to the first purchasers, the right to reserve the quit-rents, their proper appropriation, and the effect of the change of government on the pre-emption right of the Proprietaries.

These questions, which show either the doubts or the course of reasoning of the friends of the pending measure, were answered by the Chief Justice. In his answer, which he expressly and significantly desired may be taken in a legal and not a political light, Mr. M'Kean was of opinion that the right of the Crown was unquestionable, and the grant

\* Journals, 307.

† Journals of Assembly, 316, 323, 331, 339, 347. In the Pennsylvania Packet of 9th March 1779, is a very earnest essay or argument against the Divesting Act.



to Penn an absolute one.\* He affirmed the right to the quit-rents, and denied that the object of their reservation was the support of government, (a favorite theory of the anti-proprietary party in former times,) and on but one point of law seemed to agree with the popular party; the right of pre-emption he considered as vested in the new government. The report of the Committee asserted very different and more radical doctrines as to these proprietary tenures. Without pausing to inquire who, on these abstract questions, was right, it is obvious that the political reason was the active and controlling one; and no one, looking back to those times and their exigencies, will, for a moment, doubt that the continuance of these tenures, with pre-emptions and quit-rents, was wholly incompatible with the new institutions. It may be observed, in passing, that the abolition of the quit-rents, a prominent feature in the revolutionary measure, may be regarded as the means of saving Pennsylvania from the discredit and embarrassment of such a contest between tenantry and landlords, as in our day has occurred in a sister State.

The opinion of the Chief Justice, and the report of the Committee, were ordered to be printed on the 5th of April, 1779, and, the Legislature adjourning soon after, no action was had either then, or at the resumed session in the fall, except that, after the summer recess, a bill was reported and, after a certain consideration, ordered (according to the fashion of the times, and the requisitions of the constitution) to be printed in the newspapers for public approval. The new Legislature, which met in October, immediately resumed the subject, and a bill was soon matured, which, after passing to a second reading, was referred for examination to the Chief Justice and Attorney General. Their report has not, that I am aware of, been preserved, nor is there any allusion to it on the Journals. The bill was finally passed on the 24th November, by a vote of forty to seven. The minority entered a short protest, and, on the same day, Mr. Penn addressed a brief and decorous remonstrance to the Assembly, which, at his request, was printed in the Journal. The law, as is well known, divested all the proprietary public property, including the quit-rents, but carefully protected the Manors, and what could be distinguished as private property, and, with a liberality which may have given other less-favored individuals some reason to complain, allowed a compensation to the late Proprietaries of £130,000 sterling money of Great Britain, all of which, to the uttermost farthing, with interest, was discharged within eight years after the peace of 1783.† It will hardly be questioned that this was a measure of the most liberal justice. It was one too, which, after the first irritation of controversy had passed away, never, so far as I am aware, was complained of by the parties interested.‡

\* On this point his language is, "It rather appears to me the grant to Penn was an absolute one." In 1808 the question was judiciously determined in the affirmative in the case of Penn v. Kline, 4 Dallas, 402.

† 1 Smith's Laws, 499.

‡ The Council of Censors in their revision of the Legislation under the Constitution of 1776 found no fault with the Divesting Act.

This, however, is the less remarkable from the fact that the Penn family received additional remuneration from an estimated loss of half-a-million sterling from Great Britain in an annuity of £4,000.\* Few, either active or passive loyalists, were as fortunate in receiving compensation on both sides of the Atlantic.

### ARTHUR LEE.

The author of the subjoined Journal was a Virginian by birth and of one of the most distinguished families of the "Old Dominion." Two of his brothers Richard Henry Lee and Francis Lightfoot Lee were signers of the Declaration of Independence. Arthur Lee was in September 1776 appointed one of three commissioners to the Court of France, along with Franklin and Silas Deane; their letter of credence being the first ever given by an American Congress. In December 1777 he was appointed sole Commissioner to Spain. He was subsequently Commissioner to Prussia. In 1784 he was one of the Commissioners to hold treaties with the Indians, and in that capacity visited this place. He died on the 12th of December 1792 at his farm on the Rappahannock river.

Were he alive now to compare his own city of Richmond with Pittsburgh, he would no doubt be greatly surprised, by the growth of the village of "paltry log houses."

Extracts from the Journal of Arthur Lee, kept by him on his Journey to treat with the North Western Indians, and during the progress of treating with their different tribes.†

Carlisle is in the county of Cumberland, and has been settled about thirty-two years. It has about one hundred and fifty good stone houses. There is here a very complete set of buildings for arsenals; raised at continental expense, but not used, and therefore going to ruin. Gen. Armstrong, Gen. Irwin, and Gen. Butler, reside here, and several other gentlemen, forming a society; but they have neither coffee-house, post nor newspapers. I saw here a proof how much marriage is governed by destiny. A very handsome and genteel young lady, who had a good fortune, was joined to a man twice her own age, with neither family nor fortune, personal nor mental accomplishments to engage a lady's love.

The county of Cumberland is peopled almost entirely with Scotch and Irish, who have become rich by farming; the land producing wheat, which is their staple commodity.

Nov. 24th. We left Carlisle, and slept at Shippensburg; a handsome little town about four miles from the Conedogwinit, on the north, and the Yellow Breeches Creek, which issues from a small but very deep lake, on the south, and runs into the Susquehanna. From thence the road led us the next day across the North Mountain, into what is called the Horse Valley, made by that and the next mountain, which we crossed into the

\* Wilmot's Historical View of the Commission on Loyalists' Claims. London, 1815, p. 92. The debate on the subject will be found in the 28th vol. Parl. History, p. 813, May 14, 1790.

† The commencement of this journal has been lost. Mr. Lee set out from Philadelphia, and the extract begins with his arrival in Carlisle, Pennsylvania; now a flourishing town, in which is situated Dickinson College.

Path Valley, through which runs the Conagocheague, which empties into the Potomac. We crossed next the Tuscarora mountain, on the top of which the line runs, which divides the counties of Cumberland and Bedford; which latter we entered on descending the mountain, and lodged at Fort Lyttleton. These mountains are so steep that it is necessary to walk up and down them. Fort Lyttleton was built by the British in a former war, as a protection to the frontier settlements; but the Indians murdered both soldiers and inhabitants. At that time it was not uncommon with these savages, to murder, scalp, and cut out the hearts of the people they found defenceless. A very heavy fall of snow during the night of the 25th, detained us at Fort Lyttleton until the 27th.

27th. We crossed the mountain called Sideling Hill, and the Juniata, to Bedford. Nine miles before coming to this place we crossed Bloody Run, so called from the murder of several white people there by the Indians. Bedford is the capital of the county, and is a thriving little town on the Juniata, with good meadow grounds around it. There are yet traces of the redoubts thrown up here by the British, after Braddock's defeat. Gen. Forbes who commanded next, having made this the rendezvous of the army in 1758.

28th. Leaving Bedford, we again crossed the Juniata, and traversed the Allegheny mountain to Stony Creek. On the road we saw the marks of a most tremendous whirlwind which happened last year and in its course tore up by the roots or twisted off every tree, however large. Numbers of the largest were laid down by each other, as if strewn by the whirlwind with as much ease as so many straws scattered by a light wind. The ascent of this mountain is very steep, but it is rendered easy by trailing it properly. On the top is a level of many miles, and through it runs the principal branch of the Juniata. It is loaded with chesnut and oak, very large. The snow was about one foot deep on the mountain; and yet the weather so mild, that I travelled without a great coat. The road, on the top of this mountain, and in descending it, and thence to Stony Creek, is miry and stony, and leads through a number of dismal

"Fogs, bogs, fens, and shades of death."

From this and the preceding eminence you view the vast Apalachian Mountains, covered with snow. The ocean in a storm, with its billows and their white tops raising behind and above each other, resemble the various ridges of snow-capt hills which compose this immense chain.

On the 29th we traversed a part of the Alleghany, called Laurel Hill, from an abundance of what is called in Virginia ivy, growing upon it. On this mountain St. Jocelin\* was attacked and killed by the Indians; but his convoy was saved. On this mountain Capt. Bullet was attacked and put to flight by a party of Indians within two miles of Ligonier; and at another time the savages attacked the hospital, that was going from the fort, and massacred the sick. At night we reached Fort Ligonier, built in 1758, by Gen.

\* This is the first time we have seen any allusion to this person, or to any such attack.—Ed. O. T.

Forbes, as a station, in his progress against Fort Pitt. It was frequently attacked by the French and Indians, and many of its troops killed. A very good and capacious stockade fort was raised there during the late war, as a defence against Indian incursions. But they massacred the inhabitants as far as Bedford, having passed the fort, through the woods and over the mountains.

On the 30th we crossed the Loyalhanna, the Chesnut Hill, or Mountain, to Hannah's town. This place and the neighbourhood felt the weight of the late war. The Indians under the command of refugees and white men, to the number of three hundred, beset the town, burnt all the houses not under the protection of the stockaded fort, and carried away about twenty prisoners. From this place to Fort Pitt the inhabitants were almost all driven off by the Indians. From this neighbourhood a considerable body under the command of Col. Lockyer\* went down the Ohio, to join Gen. Clarke, in his intended expedition against Detroit; but mistaking an Indian encampment on the Ohio for that of Clarke, they landed inadvertently, and were cut off almost to a man.

The 1st December brought us across Turtle Creek, through its rich bottoms, and the Bull-pen Swamp, to Mr. Elliot's; when ourselves, our servants, several wagoners, his wife, and eight children, and a young daughter, all undressed and went to bed on the floor together, in a miserable log-house. Next day, we proceeded six miles to Fort Pitt, where we found Gen. Clark. About a mile from the fort you fall in with the Alleghany River, which comes from the north-east, and joining the Monongahela from the south-west, form the Ohio. On the very spot made by this junction was Fort du Quesne, and on the bank of the Monongahela close to it is Fort Pitt.

Dec. 3d. The commissioners met, and received from Mr. Lowry answers from their messages, with strings of wampum, from the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandotts, and Twightwees, declaring their readiness to meet at Cayahoga. At the same time two traders had arrived from thence directly, and brought a message from several chiefs assembled there, dated Nov. 26th, informing the commissioners that they had attended at Cayahoga from the 20th, had brought with them their wives and children, and had nothing to eat. These traders said there might be near six hundred at or near Cayahoga. One of our messengers had been despatched thither with beef and flour, immediately on the receipt of letter from Sunbury.

(The proceedings of the commissioners at Fort Pitt,† from the 3d to the 10th are omitted.)

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

\* This should be Loughrey.—ED. O. T.

† We have never seen these proceedings, but hope to get them.—ED. O. T.

# THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

AUGUST, 1847.

NO. 8.

## ARTHUR LEE'S JOURNAL, (CONTINUED.)

On the 10th Dec. we attempted a jaunt up the Allegheny River in a boat; but when we had rowed about six miles against its current, which is exceedingly strong, a violent snow-storm sent us back. Some of us landed on the north side, and hunted along the River, but found no game. The land upon the river is exceedingly rich, but narrow, the high lands being within two or three hundred yards of the banks. And indeed this strip of rich bottom, producing black walnut, locust, and sugar maple in abundance, seems to have been made by the gradual encroachment of the river on the southern bank, and consequent recess from its northern bed. About five miles up you come to what is called Kiosolos' Bottom, from having been formerly the residence of an Indian chief of that name. He has removed to the Seneca country near the Niagara. This Kiosolos\* was a very provident Indian, not only in fixing his seat in this most fertile valley, but in having two wives, (I mean as a savage) one well stricken in years, who paid great attention to his food and his clothes; the other a handsome young squaw, who served the special purpose for which Abraham took Hagar, and Isaac, Rebecca; so over pious divines with great gravity instruct us, and inculcate upon the minds of all whom they join together in holy wedlock. Kiosolo's Bottom, is a rich and beautiful spot. We saw wild hops there growing in the utmost luxuriance, and of a fine flavor

11th. We received an Indian express from Mr. Lowry, dated at Cayahoga, and informing us that the Indians had come as far as Cusculus within thirty miles of Mackintosh, but that they were unwilling to come further because of their wives and children. On the 12th I was seized with a smart fever, which confined me to my bed for two days, but it was subdued by copious bleeding and fasting. If exercise, temperance, and

\* This is, do doubt, the same person whose name is so variously spelt. Guyasutha, Kiasutha, Kiasola, &c.—ED. O. T.

change could have ensured me health, I might have expected it. But I experienced the truth of Dr. Young's observation, that

"Disease invades the chastest temperance.  
And punishment the guiltless,—and alarm  
Through thickest shades, pursues the fond of peace

The following epistle from our chief messenger, a member of the assembly of Pennsylvania, is too singular in its orthography not to receive a place in my Journal.

"Honaubl Comminisher of Indines affers at Mackentoy's or Fort Pitt. Genteel, —Wensday, at 2 a clot this minit met exprest from Mr. John Booggs, who writes me the Indines hays agreed to com and meet the comminishers at Cuscorgas (meaning Cuscuskis) in order to treat, but will not agree to go to Mackintosoh for the resins within his letter mouchaht. I have sent you Mr. Boggs is letter, and have ordered six loud of flower fored, and shall perseed till I meet the Indines and will assist Tawoys, Towopmieys, (meaning the Ottawas, Chipewas, and Potawatamies) as well as ean; nothing in my power shall wanting fullfill wishes of the commishnors."

All from your humble sarvant."

17th. We embarked on the Monongahela, and soon entered the Ohio, on our way to Fort McIntosh. The Ohio is a continuation of the Monongahela and the Alleghany. They enter it at right angles. This appears plainly when you have passed the mouth of the Alleghany. Upon looking back you see at some distance, directly up the Monongahela, but the point of the two banks only that form the mouth of the Alleghany is visible, none of its water. Yet it has often been said that the Ohio was a continuation of the Allegheny.

Four miles down the river brings you to Montour's Island; which is six miles long, and about half a mile broad on an average, and contains about two thousand acres of very good land, the greater part of it never overflowed. The assembly of Pennsylvania gave Gen. Irwin a right of pre-emption to this Island. They were moved to do it by an old and influential Presbyterian member, who with great gravity assured them he knew the island, and that it contained about one hundred and fifty acres. The property of it is contested between Gen. Irwin, Col. Neville, and Col. Sim of Alexandria. The next place is Loggstown, which was formerly a settlement on both sides of the Ohio, and the place where the treaty of Lancaster was confirmed by the western Indians. From Loggstown to the mouth of Beaver Creek, is — miles, and from thence to Fort McIntosh, one mile. This fort is built of well-hewn logs, with four bastions; its figure an irregular square, the face to the river being longer than the side to the land. It is about equal to a square of fifty yards, is well built, and strong against musketry; but the opposite side of the river commands it entirely, and a single piece of artillery from thence would reduce it. This fort was built by us during the war, and



is not therefore noted in Hutchins' map. The place was formerly a large Indian settlement, and French trading place. There are peach trees still remaining. It is a beautiful plain, extending about two miles along the river, and one to the hills; surrounded on the east by Beaver Creek, and on the west by a small run, which meanders through a most excellent piece of meadow ground, full of shell bark-hickory, black-walnut, and oak. About one mile and a half up the Beaver Creek, there enters a small, but perennial stream, very fit for a mill-seat; so that the possession of the land from there to the western stream, would include a fine meadow, a mill-seat, a beautiful plain for small grain, and rich, well-timbered uplands. It falls just within the western boundary of Pennsylvania; and is reserved by the state out of the sale of the land, as a precious morsel for some favorite of the legislature. The Ohio here is about four hundred yards wide. The Monongahela at Fort Pitt is about two hundred and eighty wide. The Allegheny, about two hundred. The former frequently overflows, and falls much sooner than the latter, owing to its rapidity and extent. The banks of the Monongahela on the west, or opposite side to Pittsburgh, are steep close to the water, and about two hundred yards high. About a third of the way from the top is a vein of coal, above one of the rocks. The coal is burnt in the town, and considered very good. The property of this and of the town is in the Penns. They have lotted out the face of the hill at thirty pounds a lot, to dig coal as far in as the perpendicular falling from the summit of the bank. Fort Pitt is regularly built, cost the Crown £600, and is commanded by cannon from the opposite bank of the Monongahela, and from a hill above the town called Grant's Hill, from the catastrophe which befel Gen. Grant at that place. He was advancing with some Highland regiments and Virginia light-infantry before the army under Gen. Forbes, took his station upon this hill, and had the folly to order his drums to beat and his bagpipes to play, in expectation of frightening the French and Indian garrison of the then Fort Du Quesne, to surrender. But the commandant sending a part of the Indians in his rear, sallied out upon him, killed all the Highlanders, and made him prisoner. The Virginia troops, under Col. Lewis, being more upon their guard, mostly escaped.

Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on; the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per cwt., from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take in the shops, money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel; so that they are likely to be damned, without *the benefit of clergy*. The rivers encroach fast on the town; and to such a degree, that, as a gentleman told me, the Allegheny had within thirty years of *his* memory, carried away one hundred yards. The place, *I believe*, will never be very considerable. Bat-

teaux pass daily, with whole families, stock, and furniture, for Kentucky. Those from Virginia take boat at Wheeling, which is situated on the Ohio, about ninety miles below Pittsburgh, and thereby avoid all the shoal water.

Mackintosh is thirty one miles down the river. About nine miles before you reach it, is a small island and a rift, on which loaded batteaux often get aground, especially if they attempt the southern shore; but the opposite side has generally water enough.

On the 19th Mr. Lowry came in, with John Montour and another Indian, who gave us reason to expect the Indians in a few days. Reflecting on what would be the best method to secure the country we obtain from the Indians, from being surveyed by the swarms of irregular settlers, it seemed to me that this purpose would be answered, by inserting in the treaty an article in these words:—"If any person shall attempt to survey or settle on any of the said lands, until the commissioners shall have informed the Indians that permission is given by Congress to such surveyors, or settlements, such person shall be out of the protection of the United States, and the Indians may drive them away." This prohibition being made public in a proclamation by the commissioners, would deter persons from attempting settlements, till Congress shall have formed such regulations, as will at the same time secure a reasonable profit to the public, and settle the country systematically and fully. For these purposes I shall propose this article to my colleagues.

Snow began this evening, and continued all the next day and night, with freezing. The river was floating ice.

22d. We despatched a person to Cuscutis with some rum, lead, and twenty-five pounds of powder, for the Indians. I had my doubts about the propriety of sending them so much powder; for there are about twenty-five hundred charges for a rifle in that quantity. On this subject of gunpowder I must observe that, as there was a great quantity in the public stores at Fort Pitt, the commissioners to save the expense of carriage, ordered what they required for the treaty to be furnished out of this store. But when their store-keeper came to examine it, he reported that it was all spoiled. Upon enquiry we found, that though there was a lieutenant and twenty-five men kept there as a garrison, on full pay and expenses, yet no care was taken of them. The commanding officer alleged, that it was the business of the garrison to guard the stores only, and not to keep them from spoiling; as if there was any advantage in guarding stores that were good for nothing. The expense to the public of this garrison is as follows; which is not only thrown away, but the commandant, though he will not take care of the stores, thinks he has a right to use them for himself and garrison as he pleases.

#### ESTIMATE.

|                                                      |          |
|------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| 25 non-commissioned and privates, at 50s. per month, | £62 10s. |
| Lieutenant commandant,                               | 10       |

|                                      |       |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Subsistence,                         | 3     |
| Rations for the whole,               | 67 10 |
| Sergeants' and Corporals' extra pay, | 8     |

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 151
 

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|                                     |      |
|-------------------------------------|------|
| Multiplied by 12 months, per annum, | 1812 |
| Clothing and arms, at £6 per man,   | 150  |

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 The annual expenses of this garrison, £1962

That at West Point consists of fifty men, commanded by a major; and the annual expense may be at least two thousand pounds. These have been kept up for two years with equal inutility; and have been a loss, independent of the stores they have consumed, of £7924. Much the same report of the condition of the stores at West Point, was made to us by those that we ordered to furnish them from thence for the western treaty. The persons to whom public stores are committed, give no security for the safe keeping and return of them, and do not hold themselves responsible for the same; but consume at pleasure, and let the rest perish. This would not be the case if they were obliged to give security for the safe return of what they took in charge. The same fate, for the same reason, attends the public stores in Philadelphia, under the care of Mr. S., and under the immediate eye of Mr. M. Gen. Butler, Mr. Montgomery, and Capt. Butler, our store-keepers, assured me, that bales of cloth, blanketing, &c., were so rotted, as to be, as it were, glued down to the floor; having never been moved, and nothing been laid between them and the damp floor. While the public stores are thus rotting, at a great loss, in the public magazines, we found the heads of departments laying out public money, to furnish the soldiers with those very articles. Soon after Gen. Butler had given me the above information, Col. Harmer, who commanded the troops that were equipping for the treaty, came in; and upon my asking him if the troops were provided with what was necessary, he said no, not even with blankets. The clothier-general, upon being applied to, had informed him that they must be purchased. We told him there were thousands rotting in the public store, and directed him to go there immediately and furnish his corps, which he did. But though there was a sloop freighted at Philadelphia to carry the stores for the treaty to West Point, and then to take in the New Jersey troops, instead of sending blankets for them out of the public store, they were purchased at New York, and sent for the troops to West Point. The reason of all this is, that there is a profit in purchasing, and none in issuing out of the public stores.

24th. Mr. Lowry informed us that the Western Indians were both discontented and angry with the Six Nations, for having made a treaty with us without consulting them. This was the object of the general confed-

eration which they mentioned, at Fort Stanwix; and these Indians charge the Six Nations with a breach of faith, plighted in this confederacy. It is certain this was the wish of the Six Nations, and the intent of their speech; but the decided language we held obliged them to an immediate determination, which bids fair to prostrate their confederation, and its diabolical objects.

I omitted to mention that while we were at Fort Pitt, being informed that a large quantity of gunpowder was gone down the Mississippi to be sold to the western Indians, the commissioners by my advice wrote to the magistrates at the falls, to seize and store the powder, and all ammunition destined for the Indians, till we had concluded peace with them, and permitted the trade.

25th. Mr. Evans, agent, and the Pennsylvania commissioners arrived. The boat in which they embarked with stores having run aground, and being nearly overwhelmed with ice, they and the crew almost frozen to death, before the ice became hard enough to bear them, got on shore, landed the goods, and brought them forward on pack horses.

28th. Some of the officers getting merry late at night, ordered the artillery company to draw out the cannon, and fire them in the midst of the garrison. One of them was accordingly fired. The commanding officer immediately ordered the whole garrison under arms, and the artillery officer to countermand the firing; he refused, upon which the other ordered him under arrest. The next officer in command of the artillery, walking aside, told the men to do as they thought proper; they hesitated to obey the commanding officer, and he ran his sword through one of them. This soon produced a withdrawal of the artillery. In the mean time the troops were all under arms, and drunken officers at the head of their companies, were giving contrary orders, swearing at and confounding the men. Upon this Gen. Butler and myself sent for Maj. T——, the commanding officer, Col. Harmer being at Fort Pitt, and directed him to order the garrison immediately to their quarters; which being done the tumult subsided.

The snow and frost continued very severe. I here experienced how much habit adds to our necessities. I had five blankets, (Indian ones I mean) of which I gave one to my servant, who complained of having nothing to cover him. With this one he slept perfectly contented, while I could hardly keep myself warm with the other four. He had laid down in his clothes, rolling himself up in the blanket, while I stript myself according to custom, and the room being accessible to the four winds of heaven, it was no easy matter to recover the warmth which was lost in uncasing.

27th. Mr. Boggs, another of our Indian messengers, arrived and reported that the Indians were on their way, and that some of them would be in the next day.

28th. Several Indians arrived. Orders were issued by the commissioners against selling or giving them rum. Mr. Boggs was directed to make a return day by day of the number present from the different tribes to Mr. Lowry, who was directed to order them provisions, agreeably to that return. This was done not only that they might be duly supplied with provisions, but that we might have a check upon the commissary.

This day Col. Harmar returned, and with him came Cols. Atlee and Johnston. They brought a melancholy report of Mr. Ohara the contractor, who had embarked with a load of flour, and been frozen up, himself and the crew frost-bitten, so that it was apprehended one of the soldiers must lose his legs.

So far back as the 3d the commissioners had directed the following orders to be sent Mr. Ohara: That Capt. Ohara be directed to remove the troops, stores, provisions, &c., for the treaty at Fort McIntosh as speedily as possible; yet by some unaccountable neglect, most of the stores and provisions were delayed till bad weather, and then sent with much risk and additional expense.

An increased portion of their divinity was ordered for the Indians. Had Mr. Pope seen these savages they could not have inspired him with those beautiful lines in his Essay on Man:

"Lo the poor Indian! whose untutored mind,  
Sees God in clouds, and hears him in the wind;  
His soul proud science never taught to stray,  
Far as the solar walk, or milky way,  
Yet simpler nature to his hopes hath given,  
Behind the cloud-topp'd hill an humbler heaven,  
Some safer world, in depth of woods embraced,  
Some happier island in the watery waste,  
Where slaves once more their native land behold;  
No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.  
To be content 's his natural desire,  
He asks no angel's wing, no seraph's fire;  
But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,  
His faithful dog shall bear him company."

Mr. Pope is speaking of the South American; but our Indians have got the idea that this is an island, and have certainly made a most manful resistance to every impression to the contrary; but as to another world, they do not appear to have any idea of it; nor do I believe that one coming from the dead to tell them that there was a place of happiness without rum, would gain any credit.

29th. Some chiefs of the Chippewas and Ottowas only have arrived. They came this morning requesting some spirits, two kettles, a tent, a blanket for an old man, some powder and lead for their young men to hunt with, and some paint. The commissioners ordered them some spirits, a blanket, the kettles, paint, and ammunition. The tent was refused, because every tribe would have expected the same; and as they

never return what they once get into their hands, it would be too expensive.

We were amused with the comments on the disturbance in the garrison, of the gentleman whose letter I have copied, and who takes the same liberties with the English language in speaking, as in writing. He said he never in his life saw such a rumpuss; that they were all running hurryscurry, and when their bagnits were all fixtured, they glomed so in the moon, as to pister one to death.

I am told that near the lower Shawnee town, on the Sciota, are the visible remains of a grand fortification. It consists of an oblong containing about — acres, enclosed by a rampart of clay fifteen feet high. It has eight gates; one at each angle, and one at the centre of each side. One of them is much larger than the rest, and opens into a trench, which leads into another that surrounds the fort, containing about eleven or twelve acres. From the top of the rampart to the bottom of the trench, is about fifteen feet; but it is much fallen, and filled up. The large timber growing upon it, shows it to be of great antiquity. The Indians have no tradition about it; no more than they have of the vast animal whose bones are dug up in this western country, but whose species is extinct.

#### INTENDED ATTACK UPON DETROIT IN 1780.

The British by the possession of Canada, and especially of Detroit and Niagara, were enabled to exercise a controlling influence over the Indians, and greatly to annoy and distress the frontier inhabitants from Pennsylvania to Kentucky. This rendered it necessary to take possession if possible, of the former of these posts. Colonel Brodhead was anxious to undertake an expedition from Fort Pitt, but Congress had not either troops or means sufficient for the purpose, and the state of Virginia resolved to make the attempt, with such aid as could be furnished from the Continental army. This aid consisted merely of two companies of artillery, under the command of Captain Isaac Craig. We extract the following notice of this enterprize and its failure from the Pittsburgh Daily American.

A friend has politely placed in our hands the following original letter, which has an abiding value from its date—its matter and the location of things to which it refers. It was addressed by General George Rogers Clarke to the late Major Isaac Craig of this city. The "enterprise" referred to, was an expedition planned by Gen. Clarke, in which Major Craig, then a captain of Artillery in the service of the United State, was to act a conspicuous part. It was nothing less than a march from Louisville, Ky., across the country, to capture the British Posts at and around Detroit. Captain Craig did complete his arrangements and joined Gen. Clarke at the place appointed, all furnished for the enterprise. Gen. Clarke had depended on the promises and well known gallantry of the "hunters of Kentucky," who were to have accompanied him, and no



little perhaps too, on his own renown as a commander, for a turn out of sufficient force from that quarter. In this, it seems however, he was doomed to meet with a sad and grievous disappointment.

The expedition had to be abandoned, and Major Craig returned to Fort Pitt.—On his way up, he missed one of his men, and unable, from the shortness of stores for his party, to delay, he hid a rifle, with ammunition and some provisions, and making a large fire on a point of land, where he stuck up a pole on which was fastened the necessary intelligence, he proceeded on his voyage.—He had the gratification afterwards to learn that the man discovered the fire, and secured the welcome stores left for him, by the aid of which he reached the settlements in safety.

We attach peculiar value to reminiscences and relics of this kind, of the master spirits of an age full of mighty incidents intimately connected with what we see and feel at this moment around us.

The superscription on the letter of which we give a literal copy, is as follows :

I. CRAIG, Esq.,

Captain of Artillery

Pittsburgh.

MR. RANDOLPH.

(Public service.)

*Crossings, March 23d, 1781.*

DEAR CAPTAIN:—Yours of the 23d came safe to hand. I much approve of your going down in order to take measures to Compleat yourself in stores wanting for your Dept., not only nessessary for the interprise, but to enable you to gain those Laurels I could wish to put in your power. I am sorry to find by the indent you Honored me with, the great defitieney of stores at Fort Pitt, but am in hopes it will be in your power to procure them in time; you may Rely on all nessessary assistance from his Excellency Genl. Washington if you should be obliged to make application to him. It would be advisable to get what artillery men and artificers You could below; we must indeavour to make up the defitieney (if any) otherways; there is a few pretty well trained in the Illinois thats on their way to Join you. I could wish you to be as Compleat as possible and am in hopes you will meet with no difficulty in procuring what you want. I am happy you have Consulted Col. Brodhead on the subject, by a letter he honored me with; he approves of the plan as Highly advisable. I hope that you will have a sufficient length of time between this and the first of May to compleat your Business. I heartily wish you success.

Am with much esteem

y'r very Obt Serv't

G. R. CLARK.

## PROJECTED EXPEDITION AGAINST DETROIT IN 1781.

A few days since we published a letter from that truly devoted patriot and able soldier, General George Rogers Clarke to Captain Isaac Craig, in relation to the expedition from the Falls of the Ohio, by the Wabash and Maumee to Detroit. Since then a friend who is familiar with the projected enterprise, has furnished us a copy of the 7th volume of Spark's writings of Washington in which we find two letters from him, on this subject, one to Mr. Jefferson, Governor of Virginia, the other to Gen. Brodhead, commandant at Fort Pitt, from which we make the annexed extracts showing the importance at that time attached to the enterprise. The project was certainly a very bold one and well suited to the daring and enterprising spirit of General Clarke. Captain Isaac Craig had two companies with him, who, after the failure of the expedition, had a long, wearisome and perilous voyage back to Fort Pitt, liable at every bend of the river to attacks from the Indians, who were no doubt greatly encouraged by the failure of the projected expedition. However, either from the prudent precautions of Captain Craig, or from some other cause, no serious attack was made upon his detachment, and upon his arrival at Fort Pitt, he found a Major's commission awaiting him.

## LETTERS OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

TO GOVERNOR JEFFERSON,

*New Windsor, 28th December, 1780.*

SIR:—Your Excellency's favor of the 13th reached me this day. I have ever been of opinion, that the reduction of the post of Detroit would be the only certain means of giving peace and security to the whole western frontier, and I have constantly kept my eye upon that object; but such has been the reduced state of our continental force, and such the low ebb of our funds, especially of late, that I have never had it in my power to make the attempt, I shall think it a most happy circumstance, should our State, with the aid of Continental stores which you require, be able to accomplish it. I am so well convinced of the general public utility with which the expedition, if successful, will be attended, that I do not hesitate a moment in giving directions to the commandant at Fort Pitt to deliver to Colonel Clarke the articles which you request; or so many of them as he may be able to furnish. I have also directed him to form such a detachment of Continental troops as he can safely spare, and put them under the command of Colonel Clarke. There is a continental company of artillery at Fort Pitt, which I have likewise ordered upon the expedition, should it be prosecuted. The officers of this company will be competent to the management of the mortar and howitzers,

I do not know for what particular purpose Colonel Clarke may want the six pound cannon; but if he expects to derive advantage from them

in the reduction of works of any strength, he will find himself disappointed. They are not equal to battering a common log-block-house, at the shortest range. This we have found upon experience. I would therefore advise him to consider this point and leave them behind, unless he sees a probability of wanting them in the field. I have enclosed the letter for Colonel Brodhead, commandant at Fort Pitt, which Col. Clarke may deliver whenever he sees fit. It is possible, that some advantage may arise from keeping the true destination of the expedition a secret as long as circumstances will admit. If so, the fewer who are entrusted the better.

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TO COL. DANIEL BRODHEAD.

*New Windsor, 29th December, 1780.*

DEAR SIR:—The State of Virginia have determined to undertake an expedition which I have ever had in view, and which I wished to carry into execution by a continental force ; but you are sufficiently acquainted with the situation of our affairs, both as to men and supplies, to know that it has been impossible to attempt it. It is the reduction of the post of Detroit. His Excellency Governor Jefferson informs me, he thinks they shall be able, with the aid of some artillery and stores at Fort Pitt, to accomplish this most desirable object, and that, should they even fail of carrying their point, much good will result from creating a diversion, and giving the enemy employ in their own country. The artillery and stores required by Governor Jefferson are four field-pieces. and sixteen hundred balls suited to them ; one eight-inch howitzer, and three hundred shells suited to it, two royals ; grape shot ; necessary implements of furniture for the above ; five hundred spades ; one travelling forge ; some boats ; should the State not have enough prepared in time ; some ship-carpenters' tools.

Colonel Clarke, who is to command the expedition, will probably be the bearer of this himself ; and you are to deliver to him, or his order, at such time as he shall require them, all or so many of the foregoing articles as you shall have it in your power to furnish. You will likewise direct the officers with the company of artillery, to be ready to move when Colonel Clarke shall call for them ; and as it is my wish to give the enterprise every aid, which our small force can afford, you will be pleased to form such a detachment as you can safely spare from your own and Gibson's regiments, and put it under the command of Colonel Clarke also. I should suppose the detachment cannot be made more than a command for a captain or major at most. You know the necessity of confining it to a continental officer of inferior rank to Colonel Clarke.

Your good sense will, I am convinced, make you view this matter in its true light. The inability of the continent to undertake the reduction of Detroit, which, while it continues in possession of the enemy, will be

a constant source of trouble to the whole western frontier, has of necessity imposed the task upon the State of Virginia, and of consequence makes it expedient to confer the command upon an officer of that State. This being the case I do not think the charge of the enterprise could have been committed to better hands than Colonel Clarke's, I have not the pleasure of knowing the gentleman; but, independently of the proofs he has given of his activity and address, the unbounded confidence which I am told the western people repose in him, is a matter of vast importance; as I imagine a considerable part of his force will consist of volunteers and militia, who are not to be governed by military laws, but must be held by the ties of confidence and affection to their leader.

### THREATENED ATTACK UPON FORT PITT, IN 1782.

It might be supposed that when that restless and indefatigable enemy of the country, Dr. John Connolly was arrested at Frederick, sent to Philadelphia and confined in jail by order of Congress, that he would never again be in a position to annoy or alarm the friends of independence in this quarter. The facts turn out to be different. He was exchanged in the winter of 1780-1, and immediately entered into a scheme for the capture of Fort Pitt, with a force composed of refugees, Canadians and Indians, under the joint command of himself and Sir John Johnson, the successor of Sir William Johnson as superintendent of affairs among the Six Nations.

It seems from the letter from General William Irvine, which we publish in the present number of the Olden Time, that a force was actually collected on Lake *Chautauque*, called *Jadaque* by the General, but dispersed upon learning that the Fort had been repaired.

This proposed attack upon this point by a force composed of Canadians Tories and Indians, commanded in part by one of the Johnson's, and descending the Allegheny, is a singular and striking instance of mutation in national relations. Less than thirty years previous, a force composed of Indians and Canadians had descended that same river, captured this place, and thus commenced a war which resulted in the exclusion of English and Americans from this region for several years. Again, five years later, when this place was once more in possession of British and American troops, another force of Indians, French and Canadians was organized on French Creek, a fleet of canoes prepared and everything ready to embark on an expedition against Fort Pitt, when the project was exploded by the arrival of the intelligence that an army of English and American troops under the command of General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson, were marching against Niagara.\* Again twenty two years later, this place being in possession of Americans, another expedition is planned against it by a force of Canadians, refugees and Indians, under

\* See Vol. 1, p. 194-5.

the direction in part of a relative of Sir William Johnson. Fortunately intelligence arrived in time to arrest the expedition, and thus saved this place from the annoyance and trials of a hostile visit, whose result might have been very injurious, even had it been unsuccessful, and whose success seems not at all improbable, when we recollect the great scarcity of provisions at this point, as so strongly exhibited in the correspondence of Colonel Brodhead.

The only information we have found on this subject, is contained in the annexed letters. The first from General Washington to George Rogers Clarke which we find in Spark's writings of that great man. The second is an interesting letter from General William Irvine to Washington, for which we are indebted to the politeness of Dr. W. A. Irvine, of Warren county.

The latter document proves the writer to have been exceedingly familiar with much of the country between this place and Lake Erie, so long ago as 1788.

The account which he gives of the east branch of Connewango creek, and the country between it and Lake Erie is new to us. The New York and Erie Rail Road must pass near that region and will no doubt supersede the necessity for a canal; but rail-roads had never entered into the imagination of General Irvine in 1788.

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#### TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

*New Windsor, 25 April. 1781.*

SIR:—At the request of Governor Jefferson, I have already given orders to the commandant at Fort Pitt to afford you every assistance in his power, in the prosecution of your intended expedition.\* A few days ago I received a piece of intelligence from New York, which it may be material for you to know. It is, that Colonel Connolly, who formerly lived upon the Ohio, who was taken in the year 1775, and lately exchanged is to proceed to Quebec, as soon as the season will permit, with as many refugees as he can collect at New York; that he is to join Sir John Johnson in Canada; and that they are to proceed, with their united forces, by the route of Birch Island and Lake Ontario to Venango. Their object is to be Fort Pitt and the western posts. It is also said, that Connolly carries blank commissions, which are to be given to persons already in the country, and that there are several hundred persons now in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, who are to join him. As this last corresponds with a suspicion, which Colonel Brodhead entertains, I have written to him to take measure to secure or remove every suspected person.

I am Sir, &c.

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\* See the letter to Colonel Brodhead, dated December 29th, 1780.

## LETTER FROM GEN. IRVINE, TO GEN. WASHINGTON

*New York, January 27th 1788.*

SIR:—I have been honored by your letter of the 11th inst., I need not tell you how much pleasure it would give me to answer your questions to your satisfaction; but I am persuaded, that no observation short of an actual survey, will enable you to gratify your correspondents abroad, (particularly in relation to your third quere) with such accuracy as to state any thing positively. I will, however, relate to you such facts as have come within my own knowledge, as well as the accounts of persons whom I think are to be confided in.

From a place called Mahoning, on the Big Beaver, to the falls of Cuyahoga, it is about thirty miles—although the country is hilly, it is not mountainous—the principal elevation is called the beach-ridge, which is not high, though pretty extensive; being several miles over, with a flat and moist country on the summit, and some places inclining to be marshy. The difficulty of travelling is much increased by the beech-roots, with which timber it is heavily incumbered. The Cuyahoga, above the great falls, is rapid and rocky, and is interrupted by several lesser falls; on the branch which heads towards that part of the Big Beaver called Mahoning. This information I have from an intelligent person, then loading a sloop at the mouth of the Cuyahoga for Detroit. He added, that an old Indian assured him it was only fifteen miles across from the Mahoning to a navigable creek, a few miles east of the Cuyahoga; that he had employed the Indian to blaise a road, and when that was done, he intended to explore the country himself. I presume this service was not performed, as this gentleman, men and horses, were all destroyed, and his store-house burned by the Indians soon after.

Captain Brady, a partizan officer informed me, that the sources of the Big Beaver, Muskingum, and a large deep creek which emptied into Lake Erie, fifteen or twenty miles above Cuyahoga, are within a few miles of each other, (perhaps four or five) and the country level. Several other persons of credibility and information, have assured me, that the portage between Muskingum and the waters falling into the Lake, in wet seasons, does not exceed fifteen miles—some say two; but I believe the first named distance is the safest to credit.

At Mahoning, and for many miles above and below, I found the course of the Big Beaver to be East and West, from which I conclude, this stream to be nearest to the main branch of the Cuyahoga, and on comparing the several accounts, I am led to think that the easiest communication between the waters of Beaver, Muskingum and Lake Erie, will be found to be East and West of Cuyahoga.

I have also been informed by a gentlemen, that the sources of Grand River, and a branch of Beaver, called Shenango, are not twelve miles apart—the country hilly—I know the Shenango to be a boatable stream at its confluence with the Beaver, twenty miles from the Ohio.



I dropped down the Beaver from the Mahoning to the great fall, (about seven miles from the Ohio) in a canoe, on the first day of July, 1784, without the least difficulty; at this season all the western waters are remarkably low, and although some ripples appear, there is nothing to cause any material obstruction. The falls at first view appear impracticable at low water, indeed too difficult at any season, nevertheless, they have been passed at all seasons. I met two men in a flat-bottomed boat a few miles above the falls, who had carried their cargo a half-a-mile on shore, and then warped up the empty boat—they set with poles the rest of the way to Mahoning—the boat carried one and a half tons; but in some seasons there will be water enough for boats of five tons. Canoes it is said, have ascended twenty-five miles higher than Mahoning, which certainly must be near one branch of Muskingum, as it continues in a westerly course, and the most easterly branch of that river, it is agreed by all who have been in these quarters, approaches very near to the waters falling into the lake; and agree likewise that the rivers north of the dividing ridge, are deep and smooth, the country being level.

Following the Indian path, which generally keeps in the low ground along the river, the distance from the mouth of the Big Beaver to Mahoning is about fifty miles; which, with the computed distance thence to Cuyahoga, gives 80 miles in all. But I am certain a much better road will be found by keeping along the ground which divides the waters of the Big and Little Beaver—but this digression I must beg your pardon for.

To your fourth querie I think I shall be able to afford you more satisfaction, as I can point out a more practicable and easy communication, by which the articles of trade\* you mention can be transported from Lake Erie, than by any other hitherto mentioned route, *at least until canals are cut*. This is by a branch of the Allegheny which is navigable by boats of considerable burthen to within eight miles of Lake Erie. I examined the greatest part of the communication myself, and such parts as I did not, was done by persons before and subsequent to my being there, whose accounts can scarce be doubted.

From Fort Pitt to Venango by land on the Indian and French path, is computed to be 90 miles; by water it is said to be one-third more; but as you know the country so far, I will forbear giving a more particular account of it; but to proceed to inform you, that I set out and travelled by land from Venango, though frequently on the beach or within high water mark, the country being in many places impassable for a horse, to the confluence of a branch of the river called Conewango, which is about 65 miles from French Creek—the general course of the Allegheny between these two creeks is north-east—the course of the Conewango is very near due north; it is about — yards wide, thirty miles from its confluence with the Allegheny at a fork. It is deep and not very rapid—to the Conewango fork of the Allegheny the navigation is rather better than

\* Peltries.

from Venango to Fort Pitt. I travelled about twenty-five miles a day, two Indians pushed a loaded canoe, and encamped with me every night; as the Conewango is crooked, I think it must be 40 miles from the Allegheny to its fork by water. One of the forks continues in a north direction, about seven miles, to a beautiful lake—the lake is noticed on Hutchins map, by the name of *Jadaque*—the map is badly executed. It extends from the best information I could obtain, to within nine miles of Lake Erie; it is from one to two miles broad, and deep enough for navigation. I was taken sick, which prevented my journey over to Lake Erie.

The following account I have from a Chief of the Seneca tribe, as well as from a white man named Mathews, a Virginian, who says that he was taken prisoner by the Indians at Kanawha in 1777. He has lived with the Indians since that time. As far as I could judge, he appeared to be well acquainted with this part of the country. I employed him as interpreter. He stated that from the upper end of *Jadaque* Lake that it was not more than nine miles along the path or road to Lake Erie, and that there was formerly a waggon road between the two Lakes.

The Indian related, that he was about fourteen years old, when the French went first to establish a post at Fort Pitt; that he accompanied an uncle who was a chief warrior, on that occasion, who attended the French; that the head of Lake *Jadaque* was the spot where the detachment embarked; that they fell down to Fort Duquesne without any obstruction, in large canoes, with all their artillery, stores, provision, &c. He added, that French Creek was made the medium of communication afterwards—why, he could not tell, but always wondered at it, as he expressed himself, knowing the other to be so much better. The Seneca related many things to corroborate and convince me of his truth. He stated, that he was constantly employed by the British during the late war, and had the rank of captain, and that he commanded the party which was defeated on the Allegheny by Colonel Brodhead: that in the year 1782, a detachment composed of three hundred British, and five hundred Indians, was formed and actually embarked in canoes on Lake *Jadaque*, with twelve pieces of artillery, with an avowed intention of attacking Fort Pitt. This expedition he says, was laid aside, in consequence of the reported repairs and strength of Fort Pitt, carried by a spy from the neighborhood of the fort.

They then contented themselves with the usual mode of warfare, by sending small parties on the frontier, one of whom burned "Hannastown." I remember very well, that in August 1782, we picked up at Fort Pitt, a number of canoes, which had drifted down the river; and I received repeated accounts in June and July, from a Canadian who deserted to me, as well as from some friendly Indians, of this armament; but I never knew before then, where they had assembled. Both Mathews and the Seneca desired to conduct me, as a further proof of their veracity, to the

spot on the shore of Lake Jadaque where lie one of the four pounders left by the French. Major Finley, who has been in that country since Mathews was, informed me that he had seen the gun. Mathews was very desirous that I should explore the east fork of the Conewango, but my sickness prevented. His account is, that it is navigable about thirty miles, up from the junction of the north and east branch, to a swamp which is about a half mile wide; that on the north side of this swamp, a large Creek, has its source, called "*Cataraque*," which falls into Lake Erie, forty miles from the foot of the Lake, that he has several times been of parties, who crossed over, carrying the canoes across the swamp. He added, that the Cataraque watered much the finest country, between Buffalo and Presque isle.

A letter has been published lately in a Philadelphia newspaper, written by one of the gentlemen employed in running the boundary line between New York and Pennsylvania, which fully supports these accounts—as well as I can remember, his words are: "We pushed up a large branch of the Allegheny called Conewango, to a beautiful lake, called Chataughque, (so he spells the name) which is from one half mile to two or three wide; and near twenty long. The country is level, and the land good to a great extent on both sides—we ascended the dividing ridge between the two lakes—from this place a most delightful prospect was opened before us." He then dwells on the scene before him, and future prospects, &c., not to the present purpose; but concludes by saying, that the waters of the Lake Erie cannot be brought to the Ohio, as the summit of the dividing ridge is 700 feet higher than Lake Erie. We travelled, he continues, along through Indian paths to the Lake, which is only nine miles, though very crooked—a good waggon road may be made, which will not exceed seven miles, as the hill is not steep.

This gentleman has overlooked the eastern branch of the Conewango, which is strange, if his view was to find out a communication by water *from the Lake to the Ohio*.

I suppose that the commissioners have reported to the executive of New York and Pennsylvania, which I doubt not I can have access to. If I find any thing more particular than what is herein mentioned, I will inform you.

I regret that this detail has been extended to so great a length. I fear it will rather weary than afford you satisfaction. Being obliged to blend the information of others, with that which came within my own observation, in some degree rendered it unavoidable.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

(Signed,) WILLIAM IRVINE.

To his Excellency George Washington.

## THE DESTRUCTION OF HANNA'S TOWN.

In the letter of General Irvine it is stated that when the intended attack upon Fort Pitt was abandoned, parties of Indians were sent to make incursions upon the frontiers in different quarters. One of these parties, under the command of that almost ubiquitous Seneca Chief, (whose name seems almost as various as his deeds,) sometimes called Guyasootha, Kiasutha, Kiasola, &c., lead that party which directed its march towards this region. In July, 1782, they made the attack upon Hanna's town, of which we find the following account, in the *Greensburgh (Pa.) Argus*.

"About three miles from Greensburgh, on the old road to New Alexandria, there stand two modern built log tenements, to one of which a sign-post and a sign is appended, giving due notice that at the *seven yellow stars*, the wayfarer may partake of the good things of this world. Between the tavern and the Indian gallows hill on the west, once stood Hanna's town, the first place west of the Allegheny mountains where justice was dispensed according to the legal forms by the white man. The county of Westmoreland was established by the provincial legislature on the 26th of February, 1773, and the courts directed to be held at Hanna's town. It consisted of about thirty habitations, some of them cabins, but most of them aspiring to the name of houses, having two stories of hewed logs. There were a wooden court house, and a jail of the like construction. A fort stockaded with logs, completed the civil and military arrangements of the town. The first prethonotary and clerk of the courts was Arthur St. Clair, Esq., afterwards general in the revolutionary army. Robert Hanna, Esq., was the first presiding justice in the courts; and the first Court of Common Pleas was held in April 1773. Thomas Smith, Esq., afterwards one of the judges on the supreme bench, brought quarterly, from the east, the most abstruse learning of the profession, to puzzle the backwoods lawyers; and it was here that Hugh Henry Breckenridge, afterwards also a judge on the supreme bench, made his debut, in the profession which he afterwards illustrated and adorned by his genius and learning. The road first opened to Fort Pitt by General Forbes and his army, passed through the town. The periodical return of the court brought together a hardy, adventurous, frank, and open-hearted set of men from the Redstone, the Georges creek, the Youghiogheny, the Monongahela, and the Catfish settlements, as well as from the region, now in its circumscribed limits, still called "Old Westmoreland." It may well be supposed that on such occasions, there was many an uproarious merry-making. Such men, when they occasionally met at courts, met joyously. But the plough has long since gone over the place of merry-making; and no log or mound of earth remains to tell where justice had her scales.

"On the 13th July, 1782, a party of the townfolk went to O'Connor's fields, about a mile and a half north of the village, to cut the harvest of

Michael Huffnagle.\* \* \* \* The summer of '82 was a sorrowful one to the frontier inhabitants. The blood of many a family had sprinkled their own fields. The frontier northwest of the town was almost deserted; the inhabitants had fled for safety and repose towards the Sewickly settlement. At this very time there were a number of families at Miller's station, about two miles south of the town. There was, therefore little impediment to the Indians, either by way of resistance, or even of giving warning of their approach. When the reapers had cut down one field, one of the number who had crossed to the side next to the woods, returned in great alarm, and reported that he had seen a number of Indians approaching. The whole reaping party ran for the town, each one intent upon his own safety. The scene which then presented itself may more readily be conceived than described. Fathers seeking for their wives and children, and children calling upon their parents and friends; and all hurrying in a state of consternation to the fort. Some criminals were confined in jail, the doors of which were thrown open. After some time it was proposed that some person should reconnoitre, and relieve them from uncertainty. Four young men, David Shaw, James Brison,† and two others, with their rifles, started on foot through the highlands, between that and Crabtree creek, pursuing a direct course towards O'Connor's fields; whilst Captain J——, who happened to be in the town, pursued a more circuitous route on horseback.

"The captain was the first to arrive at the fields, and his eye was not long in doubt, for the whole force of the savages was there mustered. He turned his horse to fly, but was observed and pursued. When he had proceeded a short distance, he met the four on foot—told them to fly for their lives—that the savages were coming in great force—that he would take a circuitous route and alarm the settlements. He went to Love's, where Frederick Beaver now lives, about a mile and a quarter east of the town, and assisted the family to fly, taking Mrs. Love on the horse behind him. The four made all speed for the town, but the foremost Indians obtained sight of them, and gave them hot pursuit. By the time they had reached the Crabtree creek, they could hear the distinct footfall of their pursuers, and see the sunbeams glistening through the foliage of the trees, upon their naked skins. When, however, they got into the mouth of the ravine that led up from the creek to the town, they felt almost secure. The Indians, who knew nothing of the previous alarm given to the town, and supposed that they would take it by surprise, did not fire, lest that might give notice of their approach; this saved the lives of David Shaw and his companions. When they got to the top of the hill, the strong instinct of nature impelled Shaw to go first into the town, and see whether his kindred had gone into the fort, before he entered it himself. As he reached his father's threshold and saw all within desolate, he turned

\* Afterwards jailor of this County.

† Afterwards Prothonotor of this County.

and saw the savages, with their tufts of hair flying in the wind, and their brandished tomahawks, for they had emerged into the open space around the town, and commenced the war-whoop. He resolved to make one of them give his death halloo, and raising his rifle to his eye, his bullet whizzed true, for the stout savage at whom he aimed bounded into the air and fell upon his face. Then, with the speed of an arrow, he fled for the fort, which he entered in safety. The Indians were exasperated when they found the town deserted, and after pillaging the houses they set them on fire. Although a considerable part of the town was within rifle range of the fort, the whites did but little execution, being more intent upon their own safety than solicitous about destroying the enemy. One savage, who had put on the military coat of one of the inhabitants, paraded himself so ostentatiously that he was shot down. Except this one, and the one laid low by Shaw, there was no evidence of any other execution, but some human bones found among the ashes of one of the houses, where they, it was supposed, burnt those that were killed. There were not more than 14 or 15 rifles in the fort; and a company having marched from the town some time before, in Lochry's ill-fated campaign, many of the most efficient men were absent; not more than 20 or 25 remained. A maiden, Jennet Shaw, was killed in the fort; a child having run opposite the gate, in which there was some apertures through which a bullet from the Indians occasionally whistled, she followed it, and as she stooped to pick it up, a bullet entered her bosom—she thus fell a victim to her kindness of heart. The savages, with their wild yells and hideous gesticulations, exulted as the flames spread, and looked like demoniacs rejoicing over the lost hopes of mortals.

“Soon after the arrival of the marauders, a large party of them was observed to break off, by what seemed concerted signals, and march towards Miller's station. At that place there had been a wedding the day before. Love is a delicate plant, but will take root in the midst of perils in gentle bosoms. A young couple, fugitives from the frontier, fell in love and were married. Among those who visited the bridal festivities, were Mrs. H——, and her two beautiful daughters, from the town. John Brownlee, who then owned what is now the fine farm of Frederick J. Cope, and his family, were also there. This individual was well known in frontier, forage, and scouting parties. His courage, activity, generosity, and manly form, won for him among his associates, as they win everywhere, confidence and attachment. Many of the Indians were acquainted with his character, some of them probably had seen his person. There were in addition to the mansion a number of cabins, rudely constructed, in which those families who had been driven from their homes resided. The station was generally called Miller's town. The bridal party were enjoying themselves in the principal mansion, without the least shadow of fear of approaching danger. Some men were mowing in the meadow—people in the cabins were variously occupied—when sud-



denly the war-whoop, like a clap of thunder from a cloudless sky, broke upon their astonished ears. The people in the cabins and those in the meadow, mostly made their escape. One incident always excites emotions in my bosom when I have heard it related. Many who fled took an east course, over the long steep hills which ascend towards Peter George's farm. One man was carrying his child, and assisting his mother in the flight, and when they got towards the top of the hill, the mother exclaimed they would be murdered, that the savages were gaining space upon them. The son and father put down and abandoned his child, that he might more effectually assist his mother. Let those disposed to condemn, keep silence until the same struggle of nature takes place in their own bosoms. Perhaps he thought the savages would be more apt to spare the innocence of infancy than the weakness of age. But most likely it was the instinct of feeling, and even a brave man had hardly time to think under such circumstances. At all events, Providence seemed to smile on the act, for at the dawn of the next morning, when the father returned to the cabin, he found his little innocent curled upon his bed, sound asleep, the only human thing left amidst the desolation. Let fathers appreciate his feelings: whether the Indians had found the child and took compassion on it, and carried it back, or whether the little creature had been unobserved, and when it became tired of its solitude, had wandered home through brush and over briers, will never be known.—The latter supposition would seem most probable from being found in its own cabin and on its own bed. At the principal mansion, the party were so agitated by the cries of women and children, mingling with the yell of the savage, that all were for a moment irresolute, and that moment sealed their fate. One young man of powerful frame, grasped a child near him, which happened to be Brownlee's, and effected his escape. He was pursued by three or four savages. But his strength enabled him to gain slightly upon his followers, when he came to a rye-field, and taking advantage of a thick copse, which by a sudden turn intervened between him and them, he got on the fence and leaped far into the rye, where he lay down with the child. He heard the quick tread of the savages as they passed, and their slower steps as they returned, muttering their guttural disappointment. That man lived to an honored old age, but is now no more. Brownlee made his way to the door, having seized a rifle; he saw however, that it was a desperate game, but made a rush at some Indians who were entering the gate. The shrill clear voice of his wife, exclaiming, "Jack, will you leave me!" instantly recalled him, and he sat down beside her at the door, yielding himself a willing victim. The party were made prisoners, including the bridegroom and bride, and several of the family of Miller. At this point of time, Capt. J——, was seen coming up the lane in full gallop. The Indians were certain of their prey, and the prisoners were dismayed at his rashness. Fortunately he noticed the peril in which he was placed in time to save himself.

Eagerly bent upon giving warning to the people, his mind was so engrossed with that idea, that he did not see the enemy until he was within gun-shot. When he did see them, and turned to fly, several bullets whistled by him, one of which cut his bridle rein, but he escaped. When those of the marauders who had pursued the fugitives returned, and when they had safely secured their prisoners and loaded them with plunder, they commenced their retreat.

"Heavy were the hearts of the women and maidens as they were led into captivity. Who can tell the bitterness of their sorrow? They looked, as they thought, for the last time, upon the dear fields of their country, and of civilized life. They thought of their fathers, their husbands, their brothers, and, as their eyes streamed with tears, the cruelty and uncertainty which hung over their fate as prisoners of savages overwhelmed them in despair. They had proceeded about half a mile, and four or five Indians near the group of prisoners in which was Brownlee, were observed to exchange rapid sentences among each other, and look earnestly at him. Some of the prisoners had named him; and, whether it was from that circumstance or because some of the Indians had recognized his person, it was evident that he was a doomed man. He stooped slightly to adjust his child on his back, which he carried in addition to the luggage which they had put on him; and, as he did so, one of the Indians who looked so earnestly at him, stepped to him hastily and buried a tomahawk in his head. When he fell, the child was quickly dispatched by the same individual. One of the women captives screamed at this butchery, and the same bloody instrument and ferocious hand immediately ended her agony of spirit. God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, and He enabled Mrs. Brownlee to bear that scene in speechless agony of wo. Their bodies were found the next day by the settlers, and interred where they fell. The spot is marked to this day in Mechling's fields. As the shades of evening began to fall, the marauders met again on the plains of Hanna's town. They retired into the low grounds about the Crabtree creek, and there regaled themselves on what they had stolen. It was their intention to attack the fort the next morning before the dawn of day.

"At nightfall thirty yeomen, good and true, had assembled at George's farm, not far from Miller's, determined to give, that night, what succor they could to the people in the fort. They set off for the town, each with his trusty rifle, some on horseback and some on foot. As soon as they came near the fort the greatest caution and circumspection was observed. Experienced woodsmen soon ascertained that the enemy was in the crabtree bottom, and that they might enter the fort. Accordingly, they all marched to the gate, and were most joyfully welcomed by those within. After some consultation, it was the general opinion that the Indians intended to make an attack the next morning; and, as there were but about 45 rifles in the fort, and about 55 or 60 men, the contest was

considered extremely doubtful, considering the great superiority of numbers on the part of the savages. It became, therefore, a matter of the first importance to impress the enemy with a belief that large reinforcements were arriving. For that purpose the horses were mounted by active men and brought full trot over the bridge of plank that was across the ditch which surrounded the stockading. This was frequently repeated. Two old drums were found in the fort, which were new braced, and music on the fife and drum was kept occasionally going during the night. While marching and counter-marching, the bridge was frequently crossed on foot by the whole garrison. These measures had the desired effect. The military music from the fort, the trampling of the horses, and the marching over the bridge, were borne on the silence of night over the low lands of the Crab-tree, and the sounds carried terror into the bosoms of the cowardly savages. They feared the retribution which they deserved, and fled shortly after midnight in their stealthy and wolf-like habits. 300 Indians, and about 60 white savages in the shape of refugees, (as they were then called,) crossed the Crab-tree that day, with the intention of destroying Hanna's town and Miller's station.

"The next day a number of the whites pursued the trail as far as the Kiskiminetas without being able to overtake them.

"The little community, which had now no homes but what the fort supplied, looked out on the ruins of the town with the deepest sorrow. It had been to them the scene of heartfelt joys—embracing the intensity and tenderness of all which renders the domestic hearth and family altar sacred. By degrees they all sought themselves places where they might, like Noah's dove, find rest for the soles of their feet. The lots of the town, either by sale or abandonment, became merged in the adjoining farm; and the labors of the husbandman soon effaced what time might have spared. Many a tall harvest have I seen growing upon the ground: but never did I look upon its waving luxuriance without thinking of the severe trials, the patient fortitude, the high courage which characterized the early settlers.

"The prisoners were surrendered by the Indians to the British in Canada. The beauty and misfortune of the Misses H—— attracted attention; and an English officer—perhaps moved by beauty in distress to love her for the dangers she had passed—wooed and won the fair and gentle Marian. After the peace of '83 the rest of the captives were delivered up and returned to their country."

# ENGLISH ANECDOTES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.\*

A short time ago we received through the Post Office, postage paid, a communication with the following note :

*Philadelphia, 7th August 1847.*

N. B. Craig, Esq.—SIR: Being an interested reader of the "Olden Time," it has occurred to me that the following extracts would be suitable to its pages: more especially as owing to its cast and subject, the work referred to is not much known in this country. Although there are several corrections, I hope the article is clear enough for printing; and with many excuses for intruding on your time, and for concealing my name, I remain sir, Yours very respectfully,

O. P. R.

The communication scarcely comes strictly within the scope of our undertaking, yet as it contains much information, which for the reason mentioned in the note, cannot be generally known in this country, and as it is penned with great ability, and much liveliness and spirit, we have concluded that many of our readers will peruse it, with the same delight which it has afforded us; we give it a place in the "Olden Time." We have, too, a very faint hope, that we may induce the author of the communication to improve the excellent opportunities, which he manifestly enjoys, to make still farther gleanings for the use and gratification of our readers.

## ENGLISH ANECDOTES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

A distinguished literary gentleman, in his late Letter on American History, says, "One meets odds and ends of American History in very out-of-the-way places. The memoirs of George Selwyn contain curious letters on the American Revolution." As this work is not generally known in this country, it is thought that a careful compilation of all its contents immediately interesting to a cisatlantic reader, may not be amiss. Of George Selwyn, who has not heard? He was born in 1719, of one of the leading families in Gloucestershire; was educated at Eton and subsequently at Oxford, whence he was expelled. In 1847 he entered Parliament and his elder brother dying he in 1751 succeeded to the paternal estate of Matson: a seat of historical note in the Great Rebellion.—Doubtless he was one of the most witty of men: but had he not been the possessor of two or three seats in the House of Commons, and a man of importance, we would not be so familiar with his peculiar traits; his love of children; his indifference to female attractions; and his mania for corpses, executions and things of that nature. Selwyn died quite wealthy, (an anomaly in the history of wits,) in 1791 aged 72. We will now proceed to the topic which gives a title to this paper.

\* Memoirs of George Selwyn and his contemporaries, with notes, by John Heneage Jesse, author of "Memoirs of the Court of England, under the reign of the Stuarts," &c., &c. London: Bently, 1844. Four volumes octavo.

The first notice in these volumes of the troubles in America, occurs in a letter from the Earl of March, afterwards Duke of Queensberry, dated November, 1766, where he says:—"It is imagined that we shall be obliged to send troops to North America, to bring them to a proper obedience."—A slight difference of opinion between the colonists and his lordship as to the distinction between a proper and an improper obedience, rendered the mission of the troops tolerably useless. To this letter the editor has added a note, in which he mentions the blindness as to the true result of the contest which afflicted all the statesmen of the day, and from which even the great Earl of Chatham was not exempt. "One person alone, the celebrated single-speech (William Gerard) Hamilton, seems to have been keenly and sensibly alive to the impolitic and tyrannical conduct of England towards her powerful colonies." To Mr. Calcraft he writes: "In the Massachusetts government in particular, there is an express law, by which every man is obliged to have a musket, a pound of powder, and a pound of bullets, always by him; so there is nothing wanting but knapsacks, (or old stockings, which would do as well) to equip an army for marching, and nothing more than a Sertorius or Spartacus at their head, requisite to beat your troops and your Custom House officers out of the country, and to set your laws at defiance. There is no saying what their leaders will put upon them; but if they are active clever people, and love mischief as well as I do peace and quiet, they will furnish matter of consideration to the wisest among you, and perhaps dictate their own terms to you at last, as the Roman people formerly did in their famous secession upon the Sacred Mount. For my own part, *I think you have no right to tax them*, and that every measure built upon this supposed right stands upon a rotten foundation, and must consequently tumble down, perhaps upon the heads of the workmen." According to Mr. Hamilton's calculation there were at this period at least 200,000 men in America who were not only capable of bearing arms, but were actually provided with them.

It is not singular that the majority of the nation thought America incapable of resistance. "*Le vrai n'est pas toujours vraisemblable*;" and it was very improbable that a people educated to sustain a system of Hereditary Honors should adopt one of perfect equality. But the time was rapidly approaching, when, so far as America was concerned—

Sceptre and Crown  
Must tumble down,  
And in the dust be equal made  
With the poor crooked scythe and spade.

From this date we do not find anything relative to American affairs, worth transcribing until 1777, when Burgoyne's defeat reached London. The effect of these tidings will be seen from the following extracts. Anthony Morris Storer, who will be speedily introduced to the notice of our readers, was the son of Thomas Storer, Esq., a wealthy West India plan-

ter. Among the wits that Eton sent forth in those days, he seemed to have been the admirable Crichton. In 1779 he accompanied Lord Carlisle on his American mission, and died on the 4th July, 1799.

Lieutenant General John Burgoyne was a natural son of Lord Bingley. He was a man of genius, education and wit, and seems to have succeeded in literary matters much better than "in the tented field." Although Junius has not spared him, he was much beloved in England, where he lost little by his failure in America; of which the tone of the letters below is an exemplification. There is an anecdote of his reviewing some troops, while Commander in Chief in Ireland. Observing one man on the ground, after the different regiments had filed off, General Burgoyne rode up and asked him why he remained. "This regiment has not been ordered off," said the soldier. "Not ordered off," replied the General, "to what regiment do you belong?" "Please your honor," says Pat, "I am the skeleton of the 35th regiment of foot, just returned from America." Death, sickness, imprisonment and desertion had left our private the only one of his regiment on duty. Of course this jest is not given on any such authority as the volumes before us.

The affair at Saratoga was heard in England "more in sorrow than in anger." Storer writes under date of 11th December, 1777, "You have no idea what an effect this news has had on the minds of the people in town. Those who never felt before feel now. Those who were almost indifferent with respect to American affairs, are now awakened out of their lethargy, and see to what a dreadful situation we are reduced. Every one is at fault in this dreadful check. Where the blame is, nobody can fix; all seem, however, to be willing to excuse Burgoyne."

The Earl of March says of Burgoyne: "To day there is a report that he is dead, which comes by a letter from Franklin."

Miss Mary Townshend writes that "General Burgoyne is reported to be dead, but I cannot tell upon what foundation."

The Earl of March again says: "All the bad news about Burgoyne continues to be believed. I do not hear positively that any body has seen Franklin's letter, so that I hope it is not true."

Mr. Thomas Townshend (Goldsmith's Tommy Townshend,) says of Burgoyne: "It is likewise believed that Burgoyne *will never return.*"

Of the celebrated peace commission we find many curious particulars, in connection with the history of Selwyn's bosom friend, the Earl of Carlisle. As this person was quite a prominent character in his day, and as we do not think he has been well treated by American writers, a brief sketch of his career may not be unacceptable. He was born in 1748, and succeeded to his title in his eleventh year. At Eton and King's College, Cambridge, he was educated in company with Charles Fox, Storer, Hare, and Lord Fitzwilliam, names which need no comment. In April 1778, he was appointed the principal Commissioner for "treating,



consulting, and agreeing upon the means of quieting the divisions subsisting in his Majesty's Colonies in North America." The other commissioners were Governor George Johnstone and W. Eden, Esq., subsequently created Lord Auckland by Pitt, and who is more celebrated by Lord Sandwich's letter to him, than by any act of his own.

That the mission failed is no wonder, and we agree with Mr. Jesse, that its failure reflects no discredit on Lord Carlisle's capacity. The parts of Saint Paul could not have tempted the Americans to relinquish the golden apple which was already trembling within their grasp. Respecting his mission, and while in Philadelphia and New York, there are several letters in this collection. We forbear transcribing them, interesting as they are, since they have been inserted entire in Mr. W. B. Reed's *Life of President Reed*, a work ere this familiar to every Pennsylvanian reader. One passage must suffice; from a letter dated Philadelphia, 15th June, 1778. "Germantown, a place as remarkable, and as much an object of curiosity to those who have any respect for the present times, as Edge Hill, or Naseby Field is to those whose veneration is only excited by their greatgrandfathers."

The history of the dispute between La Fayette and Carlisle, is nowhere, we believe, so fully told as by Mr. Jesse. "Some strong expressions, reflecting on the conduct of the French Court and nation, had been published in the manifestoes of the English Commissioners. These expressions La Fayette, with more of intemperate bravado than good taste or proper judgment, chose to interpret into insults offered to his country by the Commissioners, in their capacity of private individuals, rather than as the act of a public body of men, for whose proceedings their country alone could be held responsible. With this view of the case, Lafayette addressed himself to Lord Carlisle as principal commissioner, and insisted on a hostile encounter. "I deign not," he writes, "to refute the aspersion, but I desire to punish it. It is from you as Chief of the Commission, that I demand a reparation as public as hath been the offence, and which must give *the lie* to the expression you have used. "M. Guinot, a French officer," adds Lafayette, "will settle on my part the time and place of our meeting to suit your Lordship's conveniency. I doubt not but for the honor of his countrymen, General Clinton will attend you to the field." The meeting was very properly declined by Lord Carlisle. "I have received," he says, "your letter, transmitted to me from M. Guinot, and I confess I find it difficult to return a serious answer to its contents. The only one that can be expected from me as the King's Commissioner, and which you ought to have known, is, that I do and ever shall consider myself responsible to my country and King, and not to any individual for my public conduct and language."

It is known, that the approbation of General Washington was not extended to this course of Lafayette; which indeed was that of a youthful zeal against Great Britain. Carlisle speaks of it, (May 21st, 1779,) as

follows : "Lafayette did a very silly thing, and ought, if he is not a very silly man, to be much ashamed of it. If he wishes to proceed in the same path of glory, and acquire renown by similar conduct, he must call the Pope out, who will perhaps do as I did. People like him, who have lived with him ; and he might if he had judgment, repair this indiscretion."

On the accession of Mr. Pitt, Lord Carlisle retired from several important offices into opposition, where he passed the remainder of his public life. Previous to this, however, he had been graced with the garter, and the Vice Royalty of Ireland. Had he chosen to *rat* with Mr. Eden, he might have been still more distinguished. On his literary abilities we will not dwell. A personal dispute between him and his kinsman, caused Lord Byron to erase the compliment paid him in the first edition of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*.

"On one alone Apollo deigns to smile,  
And crowns a new Roscommon in Carlisle."

For this, a lengthy substitute appeared in the second edition, protesting against "the paralytic puling of Carlisle." Horace Walpole, however, and Dr. Johnson, held a different opinion, and indeed Byron soon after returned to his first sentiments. We must apologise for this episode by a desire to place the character of a high toned gentleman, which has been apparently greatly misunderstood, in a true light.

Throughout the contest, we see what various views of American affairs prevailed in Britain ; and how erroneous were many of them. On 27th June, 1778, James Hare, (on account of whose popularity, the Dutchess of Gordon styled him "the Hare with many friends,") writes, "Sir Henry Clinton writes to his friends here that he is persuaded the Americans are desirous of treating, and very averse to a French alliance. The ministry have been so frequently and so fatally misinformed by their friends in America, of late, that I do not give quite implicit belief to all they say on a subject where it is so much the interest of the Americans to mislead them. In a little time we shall see if any good is done by the Commissioners. I hope Carlisle will have his full share of the credit, and if they fail of the end proposed, it is no more than people are prepared to hear ; so that a great deal may be gained, and nothing is risked.

In 1779, it is gravely noted, that the best informed in France thought that the want of harmony between the French and Americans would prevent us attaining our independence.

April 29th, 1779, Carlisle says of the French, "Are not your friends tired of the war ? Their trade is destroyed, and will continue to be destroyed. They ought to smart for interfering with a business that neither their honor nor their interests called on them to burn their fingers with ; but they are duped by that old rascal, Franklin, and must take the consequences." Again, Carlisle writes on 18th June, of the alliance of Spain against England ; "we are in for it for ten years at least. \* \* \* We

are in earnest, and shall sell ourselves very dear, whatever may be thought at the Chateau St. Joseph." The discontents in Ireland this year, (1779) are attributed by the editor partly; "to the success which attended the intrigues of the American agents, in their endeavors to stir up an oppressed and inflammable people." In the autumn of '79, Carlisle writes that "America is going to the devil."

A very natural aversion to bear any blame for the misconduct of the American affairs, seems at this period to have occupied the English leaders. Some one must be the scape-goat, and each unsuccessful hero was determined that it should not be him. Accordingly we find the brothers Howe and Burgoyne figuring largely in these letters. Charles Townshend writes on 6th November, 1778; "Lord Howe only left his name at Court, and when asked whether he desired an audience, he answered that he supposed if the King had anything to say to him he would send for him. Governor Johnstone is as mad as a bull; he foams at the mouth and swears that he will impeach Lord Howe and Sir William for not reducing America. Wedderburne says that he talks in a very manly style, and he is much caressed by the ministers whom he has abused in so coarse a style to the Americans. You may be sure that he caresses them in his turn. He puts me in mind of a character of King James the first, given by an old Scotch lord at his accession; "Ken you an Ape? if I'se hold him, he will bite you: If you hold him, he will bite me." Of the dispute between Sir William Howe and Ministry, Hare says that a violent invective against the latter amounts to a panegyric upon the former, whom all the ministerial papers abuse unmercifully. And on 18th May, 1779, he writes. "The Howe's and Burgoyne are holding an enquiry into their own conduct in America, and unless some accuser starts up, I conclude they will pass a favorable judgment on themselves, and perhaps more, a vote of approbation of the House of Commons."

In 1779 we are told of the marriage of Earl Cathcart to a New York belle, Miss Ellizabeth Elliott, niece of the Earl of Minto, to whom by the way, the world is indebted for the publication of that beautiful fragment, Hardyknute; which was written by a Mrs. Wardlaw of Scotland, aunt to that Sir Peter Halket, of Pitferran, who was slain near Pittsburgh along with General Braddock.

A letter from the Duke of Queensberry of 15th June, states "the letters from America bring good news, they are very tired of the war, and the Congress very much divided." A lampoon against the Duke contains a stanza not dissimilar to our celebrated Yankee Doodle,

"Say, jockey lord, adventurous Macaroni,  
So spruce, so old, so dapper, stiff and starch,  
Why quit the amble of thy pacing pony.  
Why on a filly risk the name of March?"

We had no idea that the gallant John Paul Jones was such a desperate character as to cause the wonderful result Lord Carlisle attributes to

him. "We have alarms upon our coast. One Paul Jones flings us all into consternation and terror, *and will hinder Lady Carlisle's sea-bathing*, which will perhaps be the worst thing he does, as I am confident the sea-bathing will be of infinite service to her. \* \* \* We are going hunting to-morrow, notwithstanding Paul Jones has taken the devil knows what in sight of Scarborough, and I wait the event of an express to acquaint me whether he intends to fire the town or no." On the return of the former leaders, the command in America was given to Sir Henry Clinton, grandson of the Earl of Lincoln, who it was said had more military genius than any other commander in the war, and to the Earl Cornwallis. In June 1779, Lafayette sent his compliments to the Earl, by Miss Mary Townshend, but his lordship had started for America ere they arrived. She adds, "I sent them to his aid-de-camp, to take the chance of his not being sailed; they shall be repeated in the next letter to America. Has he talked of his ingenious challenge to Lord Carlisle?" Lafayette had an opportunity of presenting his respects in person to Lord Cornwallis at the siege of Yorktown in 1781, on the night of the 11th October, at the head of his stormers.

Concerning his career in America, Mr. Jesse does not know whether Lord Cornwallis "is most to be blamed or pitied for his memorable and inglorious surrender." Subsequently, both in India and Ireland, Marquis Cornwallis redeemed his reputation; or at all events showed that he was not wanting in the personal attributes of courage, energy, benevolence and military talents. In private life he seems to have been a most estimable character. Under date of April, 1771, Lord Carlisle sympathizes in his parting from his family. To this the editor has appended an interesting comment. "Lady Cornwallis, on the first tidings of her husband's appointment to serve in America, flew to his uncle, Dr. Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury, and so deeply affected him by the anguish which she displayed at the thoughts of their separation, that by his means the king was induced to make an arrangement which superceded the appointment of Lord Cornwallis. The latter, however, sacrificing his private feelings to the calls of duty and honor, immediately waited on the king, and expostulated so warmly on the injury which might accrue to his reputation, that the appointment was allowed to go forward. He departed on his expedition, and the following year Lady Cornwallis died, as there is every reason to believe, a martyr to the effects of this melancholy separation."

The celebrated Charles James Fox, at the commencement of his career shared with Carlisle, says Mr. Jesse, the reputation of the two best dressed men in London. Distinguished Macaroni as he then might have been, Fox changed his habits when he went into opposition. According to Sir N. Wraxall's Memoirs; "he usually wore in the House of Commons a blue frock coat and a buff waistcoat. \* \* \* These colors, like the white rose formerly worn by the adherents of the house of Stuarts,

then constituted the distinguishing badge or uniform of Washington and the American insurgents."

With the following curious lines on Mr. Fox, we will conclude our extracts from these memoirs. They refer to his gambling propensities, and were written about the time when, after losing upwards of 50,000 dollars at a sitting of twenty-two hours, the member for Westminster went to the House, and made a flaming appeal against the Church of England. The lines have never appeared on this side of the ocean.

TO MR. FOX.

At Almacks of pigeons I'm told there are flocks,  
But it's thought the completest is one Mr. Fox,  
If he touches a card, if he rattles the box  
Away fly the guineas of this Mr. Fox.  
He has met, I'm afraid, with so many hard knocks  
That cash is not plenty with this Mr. Fox.  
In gaming, 'tis said he's the stoutest of cocks;  
No man can play deeper than this Mr. Fox.  
Oh ye hawks, sure your hearts must be harder than rocks,  
If you win without pity from this Mr. Fox.  
No doubt such behaviour exceedingly shocks  
All the friends and acquaintance of this Mr. Fox.  
And they wish from their souls they could put in the stocks,  
And make an example of this Mr. Fox.  
He's exceedingly curious in coats and in frocks,  
So the tailors' a pigeon to this Mr. Fox.  
Nay his clothes and his shirts and her ladyships' smocks,  
Would be pawned for a guinea by this Mr. Fox.  
He delights much in hunting, though fat as an ox:  
I pity the horses of this Mr. Fox.  
They are probably most of them lame in the hocks  
Such a heavy made fellow is this Mr. Fox.

August, 1847.

WINWOOD.

## FIRST STEUBENVILLE STEAM BOAT.

The following account of the first attempts to come from Steubenville to Pittsburgh by steam boat, cannot fail to interest many of our readers. The contrast between that very trying and laborious enterprize, and the speed, comfort and certainty with which our floating palaces are now driven between far more distant points, is truly striking. Many young persons who now enjoy all the facilities of our modern conveyances, can scarcely realize the tedious and vexatious processes by which the present perfection was reached. The narrative of our correspondent gives a vivid and reliable exhibition of the difficulties encountered in one of the attempts to perfect that mode of conveyance, which has so greatly hastened the progress of population and improvement of that noble valley which extends from the Allegheny to the Rocky Mountains.

For the Olden Time.

MR. EDITOR:—As one object of the Olden Time seems to be, to chronicle events connected with, and descriptive of, the early settlement and improvement of the region round about Pittsburgh, it may not be amiss to devote a few of its columns to a narrative of a steam boat voyage from Steubenville to Pittsburgh, which was made at an early date, and before the art of propelling boats by steam was well understood in this county. The boat above referred to, was the first of the kind ever built in Steubenville, and as the builders were altogether unacquainted with the principles and construction of steam boat machinery, it was not to be expected that the work should be very perfect. The novelty however of such a work, gave it great notoriety, and as soon as it was completed, a large number of gentlemen and ladies, including the writer, resolved on making a pleasure voyage to Pittsburgh. The hour fixed on for our departure, brought to the beach (for we had no wharves in olden times,) an immense concourse of people, to see the new steam boat start; for really it was then a phenomenon of no ordinary occurrence to see a steam boat running up stream without the aid of oars, poles, or paddles.

We left Steubenville about two o'clock in the afternoon, and made such rapid progress the first mile, that the crowd on shore were (for they seemed unwilling to lose sight of us) at their best gait to keep up with us. Here it became necessary to cross to the Virginia shore, where we found the current rather more than a match for our steam power, and in order to stem it at all, every one who could pull a pound, were required to parade on deck, and exert themselves to the utmost of their power in the employment of bush-whacking, and although our progress was sometimes scarcely perceivable, still we remained in fine spirits, until we had overcome nearly another mile, when we were informed by the engineer



that the force pump had given way, and that we must stop and repair before we could go any further. This for a time seemed to throw a little gloom over our prospects, but no one appeared to doubt the practicability of our finally reaching the place of our destination, and we all agreed to put up for the night, and wait patiently until the pump could be repaired, which by working all night was accomplished by ten o'clock next morning, when we again set out for Pittsburgh.

The repairs made on this occasion did not increase our power so much as we had hoped it would have done, for (although we had become very tired of it,) we were still obliged to keep up the bush-whacking, or go down stream instead of up, whenever we met with stiff water. By one effort and another however, against noon the second day, we hove in sight of Browns' Island, the lower point of which is a little short of four miles above Steubenville. Here we met with a current more powerful than any we had before encountered, and one too, which in the end, proved too great for us to encounter. We were, however, slow to believe this fact, and spent the whole of the afternoon in efforts to round the point of that island.

Sometimes we acted very harmoniously, at others got into considerable brawls, charging each other with want of skill and discretion. Fortunately for us, we had on board a venerable old gentleman, (after whom the boat was named,) whose well spent life had placed him on an eminence among his fellow men, which gave him great influence, and whenever our discussions bore an angry aspect, one conciliatory word from that good old man set all things right: still even with his assistance we were unable to get any further up stream, and when night stole in upon us, we were obliged to cable to the shore below the point of the island we had so earnestly and untiringly struggled to pass.

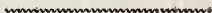
This for a time seemed to thwart our prospects and depress our spirits, but we were soon made to forget our troubles by the merry visitors with which in a few minutes we found our boat crowded. The news of a steamboat lying at the point of Brown's island had spread far and wide, and brought to that place the lads and lassies of all the hills round about. A dance was proposed, the cabin cleared out, the flutes and fiddles made to accord as near as was thought to be of any importance, and then went off such a jollification as was truly characteristic of Olden Times. The good old gentleman above referred to made no objection to our amusements until the proper hour of rest had arrived, when, at his suggestion, we all went quietly to bed, and spent the remainder of the night in sweet forgetfulness.

Next morning brought with it its troubles. The point of the island and the unyielding current were in full view, and the associations connected with our unsuccessful efforts the day before, and prospects the then present day, had no favorable tendency to render us comfortable. What to do was a perplexing and vexatious question, one too on which we found ourselves no better united than we had been on the day previous. Many

were in favor of returning home, said it was silly nonsense to think of getting to Pittsburgh with such a boat ; that this was the third day we had been from home, and that we could still hear the town bell ring for dinner, while our good captain and others declared that they would rather build a machine shop on the shore and wait to repair the machinery, than submit to the mortification of returning.

In this state of things, and when the altercation became rather boisterous, our good old peace-maker again interfered, and by his unbounded influence had carried unanimously a proposition : That we should return to Steubenville for the purpose of repairing, with the understanding that no one should ask to have his fare refunded, and that we should all hold ourselves in readiness at a moments warning to embark again and accomplish our undertaking.

This question being settled, we cut loose from shore, and in a few minutes found ourselves at the place we had started from. In about a week afterwards we were notified that the boat was in readiness, when we again set out, and after surmounting many difficulties, reached the far famed city of Pittsburgh, but the narrative of this second tour must be deferred for the present.



MR. EDITOR :—Having in my last, given you some account of the first attempt of the Steubenville folks to visit Pittsburgh by means of steam power ; I will now proceed to narrate the second, in which I am happy to say we were more successful.

Our boat being fitted up with great care, and all the skill possessed by its worthy builder, we again set out on our contemplated visit, and got along finely for more than twenty miles, running at the rate of from two to three miles an hour, and passing all the Islands, and everything else we come to, without any trouble, or the application of any power, save that of steam.

We all felt highly pleased with our situation and prospects, and looked with disdain on the petty keel boats as we passed them, and pitied the poor fellows who had to work their way by pulling and bush whacking. Soon, however, an accident occurred, which convinced us that after all, this is a world of disappointments. We were informed by the engineer that the force pump was broke all to pieces—that it could not be repaired, and that we could go no further without a new pump. This threw a terrible gloom over our prospects, and awakened in our minds all the unpleasant associations connected with our former failure. We felt that we could never overcome the mortification of again returning without seeing Pittsburgh ; and after a long and sullen consultation, we came to the determination that we would go ahead without a force pump—that as often as our boilers became empty, or so low as to cause danger of explosion, we would lie to shore, open an avenue in their upper sides, introduce a

funnel, and by means of buckets, dip the water out of the river and fill them; and as this was considered an expedient which would require considerable labor, it was agreed that all the male passengers should assist in its accomplishment. To this agreement some of the party made serious objections, alledging that their fine clothes would become so much sullied that they could not make a genteel appearance when they should reach Pittsburgh. A large majority were however in favor of it, and the influence of public opinion soon compelled the minority to yield. Accordingly we all went to work, and although we felt our employment tedious, tiresome, and disagreeable, still by patience and perserverance we in this way replenished our boilers as often as they needed it, until we worked our way to the city of Pittsburgh. We were well aware before we adopted this expedient, that it would be a serious undertaking, still we were met with many difficulties after we put our plan in operation, which did not before develope themselves.

The matter of reaching water above our heads, we found to be very fatiguing, and the trickling of the drippings down our coat sleeves by no means pleasant or agreeable; besides this, almost every time we landed to fill our boilers, we got fast on bars, and to get off again generally kept us in employment while the water was boiling.

On the evening of the third day we reached what is called *the dead man's ripple*, and after filling our boilers discovered that our coal was nearly exhausted, that it would be folly to attempt to encounter such a current without a better supply of fuel, and upon inquiry learned that there was no coal bank within less than six or seven miles, nor was there any cord wood in the neighborhood to be obtained. This state of things occasioned much dissatisfaction and murmuring on the part of the passengers, and drew upon the head of our worthy Captain many curses for his want of forecast. As night was approaching however, it was agreed upon as our only expedient, that we must lay over until morning, and in the meantime procure fence rails, and prepare for the flues such quantities as would enable us to reach a coal bank some six or seven miles ahead, accordingly we all took off our coats and went to work and cut and carried rails until a late hour in the night, that we might be able to make an early start in the morning, but being much fatigued we overslept ourselves, and were quite late getting off next day, and when we got under way, to our great disappointment and mortification, we found that with such rails as we had procured for fuel we could not overcome the current we had to encounter. We tried it again and again, but whenever we would reach a certain point in the ripples, like the Irish Captain we found ourselves advancing backwards. This perplexing predicament put us all out of humor, and drew upon the head of the Captain a fresh volley of complaints and rebukes, and the pilot who was altogether dissatisfied began to threaten to leave the boat. The Captain who seemed unwilling to bear the blame alleged that the helmsman was in fault, that

he kept too far from shore, and although the Captain was warned of the consequences, he compelled the helmsman to approach so near the beach, that before we knew what we were about, a heavy current struck the bow of the boat and swung her with tremendous force on the bar below, leaving us almost on a dry beach.

This seemed to bring our voyage to an almost insupportable crisis, all was uproar and confusion, some declared they would return home, while others said they would walk to Pittsburgh. The pilot and captain got into a real jangle, while some of the passengers and crew began to hunt up their baggage, and all gave indications of abandoning the boat. At this critical and most discouraging juncture, our worthy old friend, who had quieted our disturbances on our first voyage, again interfered, and by his kind and conciliatory demeanor, and great influence, soon reconciled all parties, and effected an agreement; that the captain should procure a team, and have brought from the nearest coal bank a load of coal, and that the passengers and crew should in the mean time loosen the boat, and set her afloat again.

With this understanding we all went to work in good earnest, for by this time our fine clothes had become so much sullied, that no one any longer thought it of any importance to keep his work at arms length, and about two o'clock P. M. we succeeded in getting our boat off the bar, and as good luck would have it, about the same time our good captain hove in sight with his load of coal.

Our prospects, which looked dark indeed in the morning, now began to brighten up, and we were all cheerful and happy in view of the prospect of again successfully prosecuting our journey. We had raised the steam pretty high, so that no time should be lost after we should get our coal aboard, and from appearances we had every reason to believe that we should be under way again in a few minutes; but unfortunately at the very point of time when our captain had his teamster back his wagon with endgate off to the brink of a precipice immediately above the boat, some one to amuse himself, and probably for the purpose of startling his next neighbor, let a puff of steam escape from the safety valve, which frightened the poor horses, so that they snorted and run like wild animals, scattering our coal over a ten acre cornfield.

This threw us again into great commotion, all was noise and bustle, and a terrible hue and cry raised against "the fool" who had done the mischief, the Captain, who was of rather evenly temper, seemed to be provoked past all endurance, and when he cast his eyes over his scattered coal, declared if he could find out who had frightened the horses, he would skin him, for he had again, and again forbidden any one to meddle with that safety-valve. Fortunately for the aggressor, we were never able to find out who he was.

As soon as this flurry was over, we all turned out, and gathered up as much coal as took us over the ripple, and then with the aid of our rails got up to the coal bank, where we received a fresh supply.

Nothing further of much importance occurred on our way up, we had all become so well disciplined to our work, and the absolute necessity of strict attention to it, that we began to move on without much flinching, or murmuring. We took our time, and if anything occurred on shore, or elsewhere, that was interesting, or amusing, we would stop to enjoy it. On one occasion, a wounded deer was discovered swimming the river some half mile below, when we immediately landed, and sent out a file of men on the Jolly Boat to try to capture it. The poor animal was soon overtaken, and after a terrible battle, was dragged into the boat, to all appearance dead. By this time, they were, perhaps, more than a mile below us, and found that the hardest part of the adventure was to row up again. Being elated, however, with victory, and anxious to show their booty, they rowed hard, and soon found themselves within a short distance of us. We were all paraded on deck, anxious to see the captured deer, but, to the great surprise of all, just when they were about to board us, the poor animal, having come to life again, sprung out of the boat, and swam with apparently more vigor, and speed than when it was first pursued, and they again found themselves some half mile down the river before they retook it.

Thus far, I have said nothing about our fare, but an effort on the part of the cook to prepare a piece of this venison for dinner, brings that part of the narrative forcibly up to my recollection. Our boat had been furnished with a cooking stove, of the utility of which our cook seemed to have but little conception. At that early day, but few cooking stoves were in use, and like steamboats, those that were in use, were, at best, of but poor construction, and, as to ours, an error had been committed in setting it up, which drew many curses on the poor cook, for everything which came to the table was so perfumed with gas, and smoke, that it was with difficulty we could swallow enough of it, to save us from starvation. The true cause of this difficulty remained unexplained, until after we had arrived at Pittsburgh—the cook having to bear the blame, and the passengers the smoke, and gas. Immediately on our arrival at Pittsburgh, the builder, (who resided there,) was sent for, when cook and all went to work abusing him for constructing, and imposing on the public with such a stove; when, almost convulsed with laughter, he explained the whole difficulty, pointing out to us a certain plate perforated with holes, which was intended to let the steam only bear upon the victuals, but which had been so misplaced, as to let all the smoke and gass (instead of the steam) penetrate and perfume everything we had eaten for the then last five days. And thus ended our pleasure voyage, for the boat was found to be so much injured on her passage up, that it required some eight or ten days to repair her, before she could return, and the passengers all being anxious to get back again, had to find their way home in whatever way best suited their convenience.

## CORRESPONDENCE OF COLONEL DANIEL BRODHEAD.

We are indebted to the politeness of Mr. A. J. Foulk of Kittanning for the use of a bound volume of manuscript copies of the correspondence of his grandfather, Colonel Brodhead, during a portion of the time that he commanded at Fort Pitt, and have selected a considerable number of the letters for republication in the *Olden Time*. In no other way can we give so correct a portraiture of the state of affairs at this post during that period as by the re-publication of the letters then penned by one so closely connected with the interests and difficulties of the frontier. The volume we have in our hands begins with the letter dated 17th October, 1780, and extends to October 1781.

*Fort Pitt, October 17th, 1780.*

DEAR GENERAL:—Your favor of the 14th of August, I had the honor to receive on the 7th instant, and am very thankful for the contents.

You must be convinced ere now that Colonel Bowman's apprehensions were founded on certain intelligence of an expedition intended against the forts on Kentucky.

I have sent out parties to take cattle and grain from the inhabitants, and expect to obtain a considerable supply of flour, as the mills begin to have water sufficient to manufacture it. But the inhabitants disappoint us of getting beef, by driving their cattle into the mountains; and we have at present neither bread nor meat, but expect a small supply immediately.

Captain Brady is on command, and Captain McIntyre has leave of absence to Philadelphia; as soon as they return I will express your Excellency's thanks for their conduct.

In full confidence that a sufficient supply of provisions would sooner or later be furnished for the troops in this district, as well as such number of militia as policy or the exigency of affairs might render it necessary to call into action. I, with a view to cut off the Wyandot and other Indian towns that were very troublesome to our settlements called for a draught from the militia three different times, and was as often disappointed in obtaining provisions, which with the unsettled state of the Boundary Line between Pennsylvania and Virginia, has greatly discouraged the inhabitants, and I apprehend has given a handle to the disaffected. I take the liberty to enclose copies of letters lately received from Colonels Beelor and McClurg, purporting some of the above facts.

The Delaware Chiefs, with upwards of thirty warriors are come to aid me upon an expedition, but as I have neither bread nor meat to give



them, they will soon discover that it is not in my power to act offensively.

They appear much dejected on account of the total want of goods, which they were promised in exchange for their peltry.

Unless supplies of beef, &c. are procuring below the mountains, which I know nothing of, the troops here will be reduced to great hardships before spring, and desertions will be very frequent.

I have frequently represented to the honorable Board of War, the hardships of the troops, and am now informed by their secretary, that compulsion is tolerated by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, for a temporary supply.

I continue my enquiries respecting the strength of Detroit, and my intelligence is of a piece with that formerly communicated.

I have the honor to be, with the most exalted respect, &c. D. B.  
To his Excellency, General Washington.

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Fort Pitt, November 2d, 1780.

DEAR SIR.—I am still disappointed of making an expedition against the hostile Indians. Provisions are collected but slowly, and they scarcely answer our daily consumption.

Mr. Perry was with me to day, and promised a small supply of flour, but he conceives that meat cannot be had on this side the mountains to answer half the demand.

In my last I informed you, that near forty of the friendly Delaware Indians had come to aid me against the hostile tribes. Their number since has exceeded forty, and I believe I could have called out near one hundred. But as upwards of forty men from the neighborhood of Hanna's Town have attempted to destroy them whilst they considered themselves under our protection, it may not be an easy matter to call them out again, notwithstanding they were prevented from executing their unmanly intention by a guard of regular soldiers, posted for the Indian's protection.

I was not a little surprised to find the late Captains, Irwin and Jack, Lieutenant Brownlee and Ensign Guthrie concerned in this base attempt. I suppose the women and children were to suffer an equal carnage with the men.

I am this moment informed that Mr. Thomas Smallman has made a secret and clandestine purchase of an island in the Ohio river, two miles below this fort, commonly called McKee's Island. I hear his deed is signed by two of the Delaware Chiefs. I know such purchases are against an ancient law of our state; but as I am almost a stranger to the present code of laws, I am at a loss to determine the criminality of the purchaser, or in what manner he is to be punished for the crime, and as it doubtless is within our charter, shall be thankful for your directions respecting it.

It is a long time since I had the honor of a line from you. Perhaps my frequent scrawls are rather troublesome, and if they are a hint will be sufficient.

I should be happy to wait upon you at Philadelphia, and to proceed to head quarters, to settle a plan for the operations of the next campaign, as far as relates to my command; but I am grown so poor that I cannot at the present extravagant rates be at the expense of so long a journey.

I have the honor to be, &c.

D. B.

To his Excellency Joseph Reed, Esq.

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*Fort Pitt, November 3d, 1780.*

DEAR SIR.—I have received your favor of the 22d of September, and am sorry to hear of your inability to supply the troops under my command.

Hitherto by great exertions and the most plausible assurances of money to defray the debts we contract, we have barely subsisted, and it is clear to every body that a supply of meat cannot be had even for ready money, equal to half the present consumption, to say nothing of what quantity ought to be laid in to enable me to act vigorously the ensuing campaign.

Flour I conceive may be furnished on this side the mountains, but too great a quantity of salt cannot be sent us, as that article will procure meat when money cannot.

Pack-horses can be furnished to transport it from Conogochegue, Mr. Duncan does all in his power, and is sure of every assistance in my power, but pork is out of the question, everywhere the kidney worm and vermin together, having destroyed near nine tenths of the swine in this country. so that unless you can supply us with a quantity of meat from below the mountains, I shall have the mortification to remain on the defensive another campaign, which above all things I detest and abhor.

You must be convinced of the necessity of supporting this new country, which is of great importance to the public, and that the only sure way to defend the settlements is to act offensively, to do which I expect to be reinforced next spring, and I trust your utmost exertion will not be wanting to afford us ample supplies.

I have the honor to be, &c.

D. B.

To Colonel Ephraim Blaine.

*Fort Pitt, December 2d, 1780.*

DEAR SIR.—Being desirous of laying in a larger supply of salt provisions than from the present appearances will be laid in by the Commissaries for the supply of my troops, I take the liberty to propose to you the sending fifteen or twenty of your best hunters to the best and nearest place of hunting buffalo, bear and elk near the Ohio river, and salting the same in canoes made for that purpose.

If you approve of this proposal, please send two or three of your people, with some horses to take out the salt that may be necessary to preserve such quantity as they may engage to lay in ; and upon their delivering the meat to a party of men that I shall send to receive it, they shall be paid the full value on my order at this place. Mr. Irwin will write the process of curing the meat, but if Mr. Bull would go with the party, I suppose he will stand in no need of instructions.

Should your people exert themselves in laying in a large quantity of meat, they will particularly recommend themselves to the esteem of their countrymen,

I shall be happy to have an immediate answer, and am, &c.

D. B.

Rev. D. Zeisberger.

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Fort Pitt, December 14th, 1780.

DEAR SIR.—I am honored with your favor of the 19th ult., and am much obliged with the contents.

The new arrangement I had anticipated, but did not expect so great a reduction would take place, however the number of regiments may yet be sufficient, provided they be recruited to their full complement.

When Captain Finley arrived with the dispatches, the officers of my regiment were chiefly on command, some upon hunting, and others on foraging parties. I immediately ordered them in, and expect they will be collected in a day or two, and so soon as I receive the arrangement of the regiment it shall be forwarded to the war office, at Philadelphia, unless you wish to receive it at Carlisle. I hear the council and assembly of our State have in contemplation the sending militia or other raw troops to garrison these posts, if this is true I wish it may answer their expectations, but I confess my apprehensions of an immediate breach of faith with the friendly Indians, which must be productive of a general war with the savages ; an event which I have been instructed, and by every address in my power have endeavored to prevent, and my exertions have been the greater on account of the disaffection of a very considerable number of the inhabitants on this side the mountains, who, I am well persuaded, are more anxious for a favorable opportunity to submit to a British government, than to repel the hell-hounds of the forest.

I have the honor to be, &c.
To General Irvine.

D. B.

Fort Pitt, December 7th, 1780.

SIR.—I am honored with your favor of the 21st October, and third ult. I am thankful for the contents, and happy in the hope of receiving supplies.

For a long time past I have had two parties commanded by field officers in the country, to impress cattle, but their success has been so small, that the troops have frequently been without meat for several days together, and as those commands are very expensive, I have now ordered them in.

Indeed I am so well convinced that the inhabitants on this side the mountains cannot furnish half enough meat to supply the troops, that I have risked the sending a party of hunters to kill buffalo at little Canhawa, and to lay in the meat until I can detach a party to bring it in, which cannot be done before spring.

I am exceedingly distressed on account of the want of blankets, shirts and many other articles of clothing, being very sensible that the soldiers must suffer much for want of them, and apprehensive that many will follow the example of those who have already deserted to a warm climate on that account. I shall not again send an officer for clothing, and I hope the clothier general will not forget to send them when they come to hand.

The Delaware Council of Coochocking have declared war against the Senecas, and Captain John Montour was in consequence of their declaration immediately sent with two Delawares, and one white man, to bring a prisoner from their towns. At French Creek, (Venango,) he fell in with a party of eight Senecas, who a few days before had taken a woman, and two children from Westmoreland county. He shot one of the Indians on a raft in the creek, and the rest ran away.

But after a few minutes one of them returned under cover of some timber, and asked Montour who he was, he answered, he and his kinsmen were Delawares, that they were sent by their chiefs, and that he might thank God the water prevented his getting at them; when the Seneca expressed some mark of contempt, and followed his own party. This relation may be depended on. Captain Montour is now in pursuit of another party of Indians, his party is composed of Delawares, and the party pursued are supposed to be either tory Delawares or Muncies, they were discovered by a Delaware runner, on their way towards the settlements.

I learn more and more of the disaffection of many of the inhabitants on this side the mountains. The King of Britain's health is often drunk in companies, and I believe those wish to see the regular troops removed from this department, and a favorable opportunity to submit to British government.

The Delaware Chiefs are very desirous to pay a visit to Congress in

the spring. I wish I knew the sentiments entertained by that honorable body respecting them, I have endeavored to preserve inviolate the articles of treaty entered into by the Commissioners, and make them useful, which I conceive could be brought about if aught was furnished to clothe them. Some of the nation, particularly the Coochocking Council, is very much attached to our interest, and I am persuaded, try all they can to prevent others coming against our inhabitants, and are desirous to go with our troops when they are in force, but the want of goods is a great impediment. I have never been particularly instructed with respect to Indians in amity with us, and as there appears to be a jealousy among the ignorant inhabitants, and an attempt has been made to murder some who were under our immediate protection, I should be happy to receive full instructions for my future government.

I am much obliged by the honorable notice taken of my recommendation of Mr. Ferrol, I am sensible he will acquit himself with the greatest integrity.

In one of your former letters you did me the honor to inform me, that his Excellency the Commander in Chief had demanded of our State 7000 gallons of rum, and now the Commissioner of Westmoreland informs me, that he has verbal instructions from the Executive of our State to purchase that quantity of whiskey on this side the mountains. I hope we shall be furnished with a few hundred gallons of liquor fit to be drank.

I have the honor to be with sentiments of the utmost respect and esteem, Sir, Your most obedient and humble servant. D. B.

P. S. I take the liberty to enclose the copy of a letter I lately received from Governor Jefferson, relative to supplies.

To Hon. Richard Peters, Esq.

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*Fort Pitt, December 7th, 1780*

DEAR GENERAL.—I am honored with your favor of the 2d ult., and the enclosure.

Inclosed is the return of the officers of my regiment. The general return made in pursuance of his Excellencies orders, will be herewith transmitted to the orderly office. My regiment is very small indeed, but expiring enlistments have, I presume, thinned others nearly as much.

The honorable provision made for officers who choose to retire, is indeed a great inducement, and I have no doubt many will accept it. I am sensible it would be greatly to my advantage to retire, but I love the cause in which we are engaged, and wish to entertain the pleasing reflection, that I did not quit the field until I had seen the Freedom of my country fully established, and have entered the list for the war.

My situation is at present very remote, which deprives me of an opportunity to solicit a particular regiment, but I expect from you the most ample justice, according as my rank may entitle me. I have only this favor to ask, which is, that the officers and men who have so long been

under my command, and are well acquainted with my disposition, may be continued in the regiment which you may be pleased to assign me.

Please present my compliments to my adopted son Fishburne, and believe me to be, &c. D. B.

To Brigadier General Wayne.

*Fort Pitt, December 16th, 1780.*

DEAR SIR.—The troops have not tasted meat at this post for six days past, and I hear of none that we can purchase, or procure, by our compulsory means; indeed there is very little meat to be had on this side the mountain at any rate. I hope some means are devised for supplying this department, if not, I shall be under the disagreeable necessity of risking my men in most dangerous situations to kill wild meat, or march them to the interior part of the country, for it will scarcely be expected that they will be content to live on bread and water only.

I am impatient to hear from you, and am, &c. D. B.

To COL. E. BLAINE.

*Head Quarters, Fort Pitt, January 10th, 1781.*

DEAR SIR.—I have received your favor, dated Pittsburgh, January 7, 1780.\*

I see by the contents, that you have taken upon yourself to give leave of absence to Ensign, (whom you call Lieut.) Connor to go home for weeks, because there is no Doctor at your post. This is a liberty I much disapprove, because it is unmilitary, and improper, and therefore shall not send another officer to supply his place. If you will attend to the articles of war you may read in plain language that you have no authority to give leave of absence to any officer without consulting me.—You are upon no pretence to give furloughs to non-commissioned officers or soldiers. Should any of the officers or men be so ill as to stand in need of a Doctor's attendance, you will give me the earliest notice of it and not send them to places where Doctors are not to be found. I will immediately send a Doctor to visit Mr. Connor, and report his complaint. I have the honor to be, &c. D. B.

To CAPT. JOHN CLARKE.

*Fort Pitt, January 17th, 1781.*

SIR.—I am honored with your favor of the 12th October, and am thankful for the contents.

I have received information from Detroit that the Indians are in a grand council there, and it is expected that they are meditating with the British to attack these frontier posts as soon as the season will permit.

Your Excellency's instructions to Mr. James F. Moore, to make so large a purchase on this side the mountains, as 200,000 rations, if actually

\* This date is according to copy.—ED. O. T.



made, will effectually distress the troops under my command, and probably greatly disappoint his Excellency the Commander in Chief, if he has not been consulted respecting the measure. It is with great sincerity I profess to entertain the greatest respect towards your excellency, but circumstanced as I am, it appears to me that I can by no means be justified in suffering the provisions which are designed for the troops under my command, to be transported down the river, unless I am so instructed to do by the Commander in Chief.

Colonel Gibson takes down the arrangement and return of his regiment, and will have the honor of waiting on your Excellency with this letter. He can inform you particularly of the circumstances of this district, wherefore I beg leave to refer to him.

I have the honor to be, &c.

D. B.

To his Excellency G. Jefferson.

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Fort Pitt, January 22d, 1781,

I am honored with your favor of the 30th ult., and am very thankful for the contents.

I have the pleasure to enclose a list of bonds, notices, &c., late the property of a tory Ross, who was formerly an agent at this place for the King of Britain's contractors, and deserted from his parole. I am informed that his estate is worth near ten thousand pounds in specie, and that it will inure to the benefit of our State.

Mr. William Wilson a few days ago wrote me that he had undertaken to furnish my troops with an hundred head of cattle upon private contract and with private money. This account, as there was no other prospect of obtaining meat, and the troops were suffering for want of it, whilst we were scarcely supplied with flour, was flattering, and cheered the drooping spirits of both officers and men. But as meat could not be purchased on account of the great scarcity on this side the mountains, Mr. Wilson immediately proceeded to the South branch of Pawtomack, to perform the contract, and now I have the mortification to be informed by his brother who is just arrived from Old Town, that a prohibitory law of the State of Virginia will prevent his getting the cattle he may have purchased for consumption here. I sincerely wish there was not occasion to trouble you with a further tale of misfortunes. But as the United States in general, and our State in particular are immediately interested in retaining in this district all the grain that has been raised in it, it might appear inimical in me were I to remain silent respecting certain instructions lately sent by Governor Jefferson for the purchase of 200,000 rations on this side of the mountains for the use of the troops under Col. Clarke, for which purpose he has already advanced 300,000 pounds, and promised to furnish on the first notice, any further sum that may be necessary to complete the payment of that purchase. Because this contract, together with the consumption of multitudes of emigrants arrived and ex-

pected in this district, (chiefly to avoid military duty and taxes,) will scarcely leave a pound of flour for the regular or other troops which it may be necessary to employ either offensively or defensively against the enemy, for the defence of this part of the frontier settlements.

It seems the State of Virginia is now preparing to acquire more extensive territory, by sending a great body of men under Colonel (whom they intend to raise to the rank of Brigadier) Clarke, to attempt the reduction of Detroit. I have hitherto been encouraged to flatter myself, that I should sooner or later be enabled to reduce that place. But it seems the United States cannot furnish either troops or resources for the purpose, but the State of Virginia can.

A grand council of British and other savages is holding at Detroit, and I am informed they are premeditating a descent on this post, and as I cannot rely on a private contract which may or may not be made as shall best suit the contractors, and it is at most insufficient, this and the other circumstances I have mentioned have induced me to send Mr. Duncan, (Col. Blain's Deputy,) to apply for money to purchase, and lay in provisions for the troops that are, or may be under my command if possible before spring, so that if I should be unfortunate enough not to be sufficiently reinforced to enable me to pursue some hostile measures against the enemy, I may not be under the disagreeable necessity of shamefully abandoning posts of the first consequence committed to my care, and suffering the already much distressed inhabitants to be slaughtered by the merciless savages, and their abettors.

The soldiers are almost naked and will not have a rag to cover their nakedness by the first of March. I conceive it will be difficult for me to quiet them much longer. It is true they have had a pretty competent share of clothing, but as the several staff departments here still are destitute of money to hire a single artificer, laborer, or fatigue man in the country, and consequently soldiers have been constantly employed by them, they necessarily wear out their clothing in half the time they would in common service. As to my Regiment, not a single hunting shirt, or blanket worth a shilling has been furnished it since I left Lancaster.

As Mr. Duncan will probably have to make his purchases of cattle in Virginia, I hope the honorable Congress will prevent the compulsory law, I have mentioned from taking them out of his hands.

Could a quantity of Indian goods and trinkets be procured and sent under the denomination of and with the soldiers clothing, early in the spring, there would be little danger of their safe arrival, and they would answer a most valuable purpose without any considerable expense to the States as the profits of those which might be bartered for fur and peltry would nearly defray the expense of rewards, or presents made to such Indians as might be retained in service and without these it can scarcely be expected that any of them will remain in our interest.

The whole of my force is reduced to about 300 rank and file, many of

which are unfit for the service here, and it is probable that the 9th Virginia Regiment, and Capt. Heth's Company, altho' chiefly composed of Pennsylvanians, will be ordered to join the Virginia line, and that the Maryland corps will likewise be ordered to join that line; then none but my Regiment, reduced to about 100 rank and file, and Captain Craig's artillery, about 20 men, will be left to Garrison these posts. Under these circumstances should no reinforcement arrive, early in the spring, nor provisions be made for the troops, and these garrisons fall into the hands of the enemy, after all the just and faithful representations, I have made to my superiors of the want of force and provisions to enable me to punish the enemy, and render my country that service which was expected, I trust I shall stand acquitted of every imputation of the want of vigilance or inattention and neglect before God and man.

I have never been furnished with goods of any kind, nor a penny of money to enable me to transact business with the Indians, neither has any person been appointed to take the trouble of them off my hands, and yet if I can serve my country I shall be happy, but it is necessary I should be supported; and a little hard money to give rewards to partizans will be highly expedient.

The Indian Captains appointed by the British commandant at Detroit are clothed in the most elegant manner, and have many valuable presents made them. The captains I have appointed by authority of Congress, are naked and receive nothing but a little whiskey, for which they are reviled by the Indians in general, so that unless a change of system is introduced I must expect to see all Indians in favor of Britain in despite of every address in my power. I fear I have trespassed on your patience, but you'll please to excuse me, I have never kept a thing a secret from you which you ought to know, or were interested in, your patriotism and candor, as well as your station in life commanding most perfect respect and warmest wishes whilst I have the honor to be, &c. D. B.

To his Excellency Jos. REED, Esq.

P. S. If I can obtain leave from his Excellency the Commander in Chief for a few weeks absence, I promise myself the honor of waiting upon you early in next March. I do not mean by this leave to serve myself, but the public, by making my ideas of military operations in this country better understood by conversation, than I am able to do by writing.

I have wrote to Governor Jefferson respecting his instructions to his Commissary, and assured him that I should not consider myself at liberty to suffer the transportation of provisions out of this district, until I received instructions from the proper authority.

If goods or specie could be furnished to pay the Moravian Indians for cattle and swine, a very considerable quantity could be procured from thence at a reasonable rate, which will be otherwise drove to the enemy at Detroit. The bearer, too, is a proper person to be entrusted. D. B.

Fort Pitt, February 18th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL :—Since my last the half Indian Bawbee, by the concurrence of a serjeant belonging to the late Captain Heths' company, made his escape, and persuaded a fifer of the ninth Virginia regiment to desert to the enemy. The Delaware chiefs at Coochocking seized the deserter and sent him back, and he is confined in irons, but cannot be tried until your Excellency is pleased to order a General Court Martial.

I have heard nothing of Mr. Wilson since my last, indeed I am apprehensive he has not made the contract for cattle, upon account of the opposition given him by the Commissioners. At present we have a considerable supply of flour, but not an ounce of meat; and unless Mr. Wilson has purchased a supply, which he may forward, we must endeavor to live without it.

A report prevails amongst the inhabitants that the regular troops are to be recalled from hence, and as I could not positively say they were to continue, they are under the most dreadful apprehensions.

Should your Excellency be pleased to grant me an order to draw on the fixed magazines for such arms and ammunition as may be necessary for the troops in this district, it will prevent my troubling you with future applications on that score, and I will make a present use of it.

I take the liberty to enclose a copy of a letter lately received from the Delaware Council. I have told them that their request could not be complied with until your Excellency's pleasure was known, and I beg you will be pleased to instruct me respecting their message.

I have also taken the liberty to enclose an indent of ordnance stores, signed by the commanding officer of artillery. Should an expedition be carried against Detroit or Niagara from hence, I conceive the contents will be necessary.

Colonel Presly Neville will do himself the honor to hand you this letter, and will be able to inform your Excellency of many circumstances which I may have omitted.

I have the honor &c.
To his Excellency General Washington.

D. B.

(CORRESPONDENCE TO BE CONTINUED.)

THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

SEPTEMBER, 1847.

NO. 9.

CORRESPONDENCE OF COL. BRODHEAD, (CONTINUED.)

Fort Pitt, January 23d, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL.—A few days ago I received a letter from Mr. Wm. Wilson, of Skipton, informing me that he had undertaken to furnish the troops here with one hundred head of cattle upon private contract, and with private money. This account, as there was no other prospect of obtaining meat, and the troops were suffering for want of it, whilst we were scarcely supplied with flour, was flattering and cheered the drooping spirits of both officers, and men. But as meat could not be purchased on account of the great scarcity on this side the mountains, Mr. Wilson proceeded to the South branch of Potomac to perform his contract, and now I have the mortification to be informed by his brother who is just arrived from Old town, that a prohibitory law of the State of Virginia, will prevent his getting the cattle, he may have purchased for consumption here.

I sincerely wish there was no cause to trouble you with a farther tale of misfortunes, but as I conceive it to be the interest of the United States to retain in this District all the grain that has under the protection of their troops been raised in it; it might appear criminal in me, was I to remain silent respecting instructions lately sent by Governor Jefferson, for the purchase of 200,000 rations on this side the mountains, for the use of the troops under Colonel Clarke, for which purpose he has already advanced 300,000* pounds and promised to furnish on the first notice any further sum that might be necessary to complete the payment of that purchase. Because this purchase together with the consumption of multitudes of emigrants arrived and expected in this district, (chiefly to avoid militia duty and taxes,) will scarcely leave a pound of flour for the regular or other troops which your excellency may judge expedient to employ against the enemy.

* This was, no doubt, continental money, and was worth 15 or 20 thousand specie dollars.—Ed. O. T.

I have wrote to his Excellency Governor Jefferson, that I cannot consider myself at liberty to permit the transportation of such a quantity of provisions from this district until your Excellency's pleasure is signified.

A grand council of British and other savages is now holding at Detroit, and I am informed they are premeditating an attack on this post early in the Spring; without doubt the Indians will be more hostile next Spring than they have yet been.

As I have not been honored with a line from your Excellency since the new arrangement of the army was ordered, I am at a loss what to do with the 9th Virginia Regiment, late Rawling's corps, and Captain Heth's Company, and shall continue them here until I know your pleasure.

The whole of my present force very little exceeds 300 men, and many of these are unfit for such active service as is necessary here, I hope your Excellency will be pleased to enable me to take Detroit the ensuing campaign, for, until that and Niagara fall into our hands, there will be no rest for the innocent inhabitants, whatever sums may be expended on a defensive plan.

My soldiers will be naked by the first of March, and yet I can obtain no clothing for them, if it is agreeable to your Excellency to permit me to wait upon you and make personal applications at Philadelphia for such articles as are necessary for the troops, &c., before the opening of the ensuing campaign, it would oblige me much, not on account of any business of my own, but if possible to promote the public good.

The Moravian Indians have a considerable number of cattle and swine which we might purchase cheap for goods, or specie, but without these we cannot obtain them, and they will probably be drove to market at Detroit. I have never been furnished with any article of goods for the Indians, nor a shilling of money to enable me to transact business with them, neither has any person been employed to take the trouble of them off my hands. I take great pleasure in serving my country, nor will I count it a troublesome service, but I am sensible it will be agreed that it is necessary I should be supported, or our interests with the Western Indians must be lost.

It appears to me that two complete Regiments, with the volunteers that may be collected, will be equal to any enterprise that may be undertaken in this part of the country, especially if goods could be furnished to pay some of the friendly Indians to act as spies, guides, &c., to prevent a surprise, and that number will be as great as can be well supplied without an immense expense of transportation.

I have the honor, &c.

D. B.

To his Excellency General Washington.

Fort Pitt, February 2d, 1781.

SIR.—I have received your kind favor of this date and am much obliged by the contents. It is to be lamented that there should be such a seeming lapse of the administration of justice in the civil courts, for my own part, I could wish to see every court exercising the power of preserving the peace, enforcing the militia law, and punishing with rigor all persons guilty of treason, &c. But as to actions touching real estates, as that must in the prosecution involve a question as to the title, I conceive the courts will act prudently by discouraging them until the boundary between the two States is finally determined, which I expect will be done as soon as the weather admits.

I am exceedingly distressed on account of the poor frontier inhabitants, they are doubtless under great apprehensions of danger, and I fear there is reason to apprehend it, wherefore I use every possible address with the savages, and have renewed my representations, and requisitions to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, both for men, and resources to enable me to afford the settlements ample protection at home, and, if possible to avoid the inhabitants being called from that industry which is so essential to future operations and their own happiness. As the commanding officer of this Department, I conceive it to be my right to be consulted on every military plan which can be conceived, and that my assent is necessary to the execution—you entertain proper ideas of these matters, and I wish the inhabitants were made sensible of the impropriety of arming a body of men in the manner you have been informed, without a proper concurrence, lest their conduct should be construed unfavorably by those they ought to revere.

Had these gentlemen been so forward last Summer or Fall, in affording supplies for the troops intended for an expedition against the enemy, they would probably have had less apprehensions of danger, and I presume they might with greater propriety have furnished it on public credit then, than they can at their own expense hereafter, and that to answer a much less effectual protection to themselves and families. As I have received no late letters from the honorable Congress, Board of War, or his Excellency the Commander in Chief, I cannot yet decide with precision how far it will be in my power to protect the inhabitants you mention, but I make no doubt there are several upon the communication to this place which will inform me fully.

In the present unsettled state of the boundary line, I conceive the inhabitants *waving all prejudice*, would act wisely by preferring a joint and respectful petition to the honorable Congress of the United States, setting forth their danger and difficulties, and praying a reinforcement of regular troops for their protection, this mode of application would doubt-

less procure men with certainty and enable them to remain at home in safety, and raise supplies for future operations unless some unexpected event should intervene.

Give me leave to assure you that I have ever had the most sincere inclination to serve this young, and much distressed part of the country, and that I only want the means to do it effectually.

I have the honor, &c.

D. B.

To Samuel Irwin, Esq.

Fort Pitt, February 23d, 1781.

DEAR SIR.—I have just received instructions from the Commander in Chief, directing me to detatch all the Field Pieces, Howitzers, and train also a part of my small force under Colonel Clarke, who I am told is to drive all before him, by a supposed unbounded influence he has amongst the inhabitants of the western country. I sincerely wish his Excellency's expectations may be fully answered. But it may be necessary to inform you in confidence that I can afford very little protection to these settlements. The Maryland corps being ordered to Richmond, in Virginia, my force will not exceed 200 men, many of which were soldiers, plenty I would not wish to retain.

It appears that Colonel Clarke is to proceed with the artillery to the Falls of Ohio, and from thence to Wabash, from whence it cannot be expected the pieces and ordnance should ever return, but they may serve to defend the Virginia settlements thereabouts.

It has been reported that our assembly has passed an act for raising a number of men to protect our frontier settlements, I hope it may be so, for the Indians have begun their depredations by killing a man on Ten mile Creek.

It would be a satisfaction to me to be informed whether the troops to be raised by the act of Assembly are to be under the command of the Regular commanding officer or not.

My force being too much reduced to admit my undertaking any offensive measure I shall probably obtain leave to wait on your Excellency at Philadelphia, where, for several reasons, I have for some time past wished to be, and as as much as may be, promote the welfare of this new country.

I have the honor to be, &c.

D. B.

P. S.—I hope no time will be lost in determining the boundary line, for until then, the inhabitants will be in confusion, and I cannot call them out in case of invasion.

To his Excellency Jos. Reed, Esq..

Head Quarters, Fort Pitt, March 4th, 1781.

DEAR SIR.—I have just received letters by Captain Montour, which inform me that the Delawares of Coochocking very few excepted have declared in favor of the British, and that some of them are already come against our settlements. I believe this intelligence to be authentic, and that we shall now experience what I have long strove to avoid, a general war with the savages.

If we have any friends among them besides the Moravian Indians, I expect they will be with us in a few days, and that they will be useful.

My force being much reduced, I cannot extend the protection I could wish to every part of the frontier. But so far as I am enabled, I am, as usual, determined to give every countenance to the inhabitants.

Altho' it is to be wished that our endeavors to raise supplies within this Department might not be interrupted, yet at this crisis it is highly expedient that those inhabitants who live in places of security should step forward and lend immediate aid to the frontier.

I have in contemplation an enterprise against the deceitful Delawares at and near Coochocking but am much at a loss for supplies, therefore have thought it advisable that the county Lieutenants, and such commanding officers of battalions as may be desirous of giving their attendance do assemble at my quarters on the 15th instant, at 10 o'clock, in the forenoon, in order to deliberate upon ways and means to obtain supplies for an expedition and to form some suitable plan or plans for the security of the inhabitants.

In the mean time encourage the frontier inhabitants to make a stand by collecting into forts or strong houses, and by ranging in sufficient parties with great vigilance, and industry and let all the militia in your country be in readiness to repel an invasion. Captain Montour was chased by eight Indian warriors and with difficulty escaped to Fort M'Intosh.

I am, &c.

D. B.

To Col. Joseph Beeler, Circular.

Fort Pitt March 5th 1781

DEAR SIR.—I have just received two letters by Capt. Montour, from the Moravian towns, inclosed are copies of them, and I believe the intelligence communicated by them to be authentic.

The revolt of the Coochocking Delawares induces me to believe that we may now expect a general Indian war.

I have wrote the county Lieutenants, &c., to meet at my quarters on the 15th inst., to consult on means to protect our settlements and annoy the enemy. If it may be agreeable to you to be there at the same time I shall be happy to have your advice and assistance.

With perfect respect, &c.

D. B.

P. S.—Will it not be proper to send copies of the inclosures to the Gov. of Virginia.

To Brig. Gen. Clarke.

Fort Pitt, March 10th, 1781.

DEAR SIR.—I have done myself the honor to address a few lines to his Excellency the President of Congress and have enclosed to him copies of two letters lately received from the Moravian Indian towns, the contents of which will doubtless be communicated to you, and you will thereby learn that the present temper of the Coochocking Indians is very unfavorable toward us, indeed I have other reasons to apprehend that we must now prepare for a general Indian war.

My force is greatly reduced by detachments ordered to the Southward, and under the command of Brig. Clarke, to the Westward, so that nothing can be expected from me until I receive a reinforcement from below, for in the present unsettled state of jurisdiction, the militia cannot be called to aid me nor could they be subsisted until we are better supplied.

I wish to annoy the enemy by encouraging partizan strokes but I have nothing to offer as a reward nor have I a match Coat, Breech Clout, Leggin, or grain of paint to equip the parties and without these they cannot pass into the Indian country.

I have the honor, &c.

D. B.

To Hon. Richard Peters, Esq.

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*Fort Pitt, March 10th, 1781.*

DEAR GENERAL.—I beg your Excellency's pardon for not returning the rank of the Maryland officers in my last, I have this moment got Capt. Heth's and shall enclose them together.

By letters lately received from the Moravian Indian towns, it appears that we have lost the interest of the Coochocking Indians, and by what I have heard from Brig. Clarke, it is more than probable we shall have a general war with the Savages. I take the liberty to enclose copies of the letters above mentioned.

Mr. Wilson has delivered 28 head of cattle at this post which he informs me is all he can procure.

The troops under my command have been at half allowance of meat ever since the 26th of December, and frequently both before and since without any for several days together, should the enemy be as active as is expected, these out posts cannot be maintained without sufficient magazines of salt provisions. I therefore entreat your excellency to order an immediate supply of that article to be forwarded from the interior country, as it cannot be procured on this side the mountains.

Brig. Clarke was kind enough to make me a visit, and I am sorry to inform your Excellency that he is doubtful of receiving timely support for his enterprise. He understands your instructions to me in an unlimited sense, and has demanded considerable quantities of Q. M. Stores, which I have ordered to be delivered, but as I conceive the same instruc-

tions to be limited to the articles therein mentioned, I shall be happy to know whether it is your intention to permit a compliance with any order he may think proper to draw on the storekeeper.

I am informed that sometime last Fall, Col. De la Balme undertook an enterprise against one of the Miami Towns, aided by some of the inhabitants from the Illinois, that he surprized the town, and took one hundred horse loads of plunder, but was soon pursued by the Savages, and himself, and thirty odd of his party were killed, and all his horses, and plunder retaken.

I have the honor, &c.

D. B.

To his Excellency Gen. Washington.

*Fort Pitt, March 10th, 1781.*

DEAR SIR.—Since my last I have received two letters from the Moravian Indian towns which convince me that we are now to expect a general Indian war.

I have enclosed copies for your perusal, and shall be happy to see measures adopted for the security of this frontier.

I have likewise received instructions from his excellency, the Commander in Chief to order the Maryland Corps to Richmond, in Virginia, and to detach with the artillery and field pieces under Brig. Gen. Clarke, a Major, or Captain's command from my small remaining number of troops. I mention these things to show you how necessary it is to have a reinforcement sent hither.

The Lieutenant of Westmoreland has frequently been called upon for a number of the militia, but they, except a very inconsiderable number, were not furnished; perhaps he does not apprehend any right in me to demand them. Should any power be wanting on my part, I beg you will authorize me to call them out, to go upon an expedition, repel an invasion, to be stationed or ranged upon the frontier, as shall be most conducive to the safety of the settlements.

Col. Powel, in the Kentucky country, writes me that the inhabitants there are under the most alarming apprehensions. I take the liberty to enclose an extract from his letter which will inform you of the fate of Col. De la Balme, and his party.

Mr. Wilson has delivered 28 head of cattle, and that is all we are to expect. If ample supplies are not immediately afforded, your good sense will form a right judgement of the consequences.

If a few of the Oneidas, or Stockbridge Indians could be sent to this place, I conceive they might be so employed as to effect a considerable change in the councils of the Western Indians, particularly if I could obtain a considerable number of match coats, and some paint, and strouding for breech clouts, and leggins for my scouts, and partizans.

Gen. Clarke is come over the mountains, and his Commissaries are purchasing great quantities of flour and Indian corn, but he appears to be doubtful of carrying his grand object, and I shall not be surprised to see

his expedition fall through ; for it is clear to me that wise men at a great distance view things in the western country very differently from those who are more immediately acquainted with circumstances and situation.

As little, or nothing is left in my power, I hope leave of absence will be granted me for a few weeks to go down the country, especially as my chief motive is to promote the public good by every argument I am master of.

I have wrote to the Clothier General to supply the troops under my command with at least hunting shirts, &c., &c. I hope it will now be in the power of the State to furnish the officers with an allowance of clothing.

With perfect respect, &c.

D. B.

To his Excellency Jos. Reed, Esq.

*Fort Pitt, March 27th 1781.*

DEAR GENERAL.—I am honored with your favor of the 28th ult., and am thankful for the contents.

I have acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 29th of December, and shall give every encouragement to Gen. Clarke's intended enterprise. I wish he may be in readiness before the waters fail, and the Kentucky settlements are destroyed by the enemy, but I am informed that little or nothing has been done as yet at his boat yards, and that the militia he expected from this side the mountain are availing themselves of the unsettled jurisdiction. Since my last a small paper was brought to me by some faithful Indians, who found it neatly rolled up in a powder horn which a disaffected person had lost near the waters of Sandusky. I take the liberty to enclose a copy of it. I have discovered the writer, and put him in irons, but as too probably some of the garrison are concerned he may escape before he meets the reward of his demerit. Indeed this place is infested with such a set of disaffected inhabitants that I have been under the necessity of ordering some away, and others must soon follow to prevent greater injury to the service.

A number of Delaware Indians from Coochocking have been here since my last, and appear to be as friendly as ever. I am persuaded that a few are well affected, but they are now put to the trial by being ordered to remove hither without loss of time and remain under our protection where their daily transactions will be seen and known.

I have called upon the County Lieutenants for a few of the militia, and if I am not disappointed as usual, intend to surprise the Indian towns about Coochocking. Two Delaware Indians, who in their cups spoke contemptuously of our service, I have confined in irons, but am at a loss what farther to do with them until I see what number joins us and hear what their general conduct has been.

Immediately after the termination of the intended excursion, I will avail myself of your indulgence to represent the state of things in this district.

I have the honor, &c.

D. B.



P. S.—By the arrangement it appears that Capt. Brady is arranged into the 3d Penna. Regt., but as he cannot be more useful than he is in this part of the country, I hope he will be permitted to remain until the campaign is closed.

To his Excellency Gen. Washington.

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Fort Pitt, August 19th, 1781.

SIR.—I wish to know whether I am to expect in writing the opinion of a majority of the officers, who were yesterday convened, as you reported, and presumed to give one against my right of command. I shall this evening close a letter to his excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and request your answer. I am your most humble servant. D. B.

To Col. Jno. Gibson.

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*Fort Pitt, August 19th, 1781.*

DEAR GENERAL.—Immediately after my arrival here I informed the officers, that from your excellency's letters to me I conceived myself to be in command as usual, until Mr. Fowler, agreeable to your order had specified the charges made against me; the Judge advocate general's instructions were filled with the name of the deputy, and he proceeded to take the depositions; when agreeable to the words of your letter, I would give up the command to Colonel Gibson, to prevent every objection to the validity of the depositions being taken under any influence of mine as commandent—and my orders were received and obeyed accordingly. Mr. Fowler sent me charges more general then those contained in the petition (as will appear by the inclosed copy). And instead of appearing as the prosecutor he effects to appear as an innocent man, sheltered behind a multitude, against whom it is clear I could have no redress, for all the trouble and expense I might be put to by his malicious prosecution.

Capt. Finley the Deputy Judge advocate (appointed by Col. Gibson) waited on Mr. Fowler and requested him to specify his charges and prosecute them agreeable to your intention; but Mr. Fowler declared himself to be the Deputy Judge Advocate, and that he would not give up that point until he was ordered to do it by your excellency.

From this refusal of Mr. Fowler's, I still considered myself in command, until the depositions could be taken with propriety. But yesterday Col. Gibson privately assembled the officers) a great majority of whom are of his own Regiment, and ordered to Virginia before I left this place, as surplus officers,) who gave it as their opinion that from your excellency's letters to me my command must cease until I was acquitted of the charges exhibited against me. They, at the same time declared that they entertained a high respect for me, and knew no officer under whose immediate command they would rather serve; that they were convinced the charges exhibited against me, were groundless, and that they were

ready to support me against the unjust clamours of the complainants, Lieut. Col. Bayard and a number of other officers insisted that it was clearly your intention that I should remain in command until the depositions were to be taken and that as your excellency had not thought proper to deprive me of the command, they conceived the officers here were out of their duty to take upon themselves to determine any thing respecting it.

Thus by the clamour of a set of disaffected persons and others, I find myself in the most disagreeable situation I ever experienced, and were it not for the redress I expect from your excellency's well known justice, my situation would be insupportable. I therefore beg to know your excellency's pleasure and that you will be pleased to instruct me how to treat those seditious proceedings.

With the most perfect respect I have the honor to be your excellency's  
 Most ob't serv't D. B.

P. S.—20th August. I have this moment received a letter from Mr. Fowler to Col. Gibson, a copy whereof I likewise take the liberty to enclose.

To his Excellency Gen. Washington.

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Fort Pitt, August 23d 1781.

DEAR GENERAL.—Soon after Col. Gibson and two other officers, appeared as a committee from the council, who favored his claim, had waited on me with the message, related in my letter of July 19th inst, I was desirous to know who the officers were, who had *presumed to determine my right to command*. I wrote a note to Col. Gibson, accordingly, and received an answer, with their respective names annexed. A copy whereof I take the liberty to enclose.

I am informed by some of my officers, that they conceive that no regard would be paid by the officers who gave the above opinion, to any arrest I might order to be made upon any of them.

It is my anxious wish to have my trial brought to a speedy issue, but it is clear that my adversaries intend to procrastinate it by every means that may render my situation painful. I have therefore taken the liberty to send an express with these letters in hopes of being honored with an immediate answer, expressing your excellency's intention, by your letters of July. 5th of May and 12th of June, and your further pleasure in the premises.

It seems that Mr. Fowler is determined to take *ex parte* depositions, and proceed with them to Head Quarters, as mentioned in the copy of his letter to Colonel Gibson, but he will not obtain leave of absence from me for that purpose and if I am, as I conceive your Excellency intended me the honor to be the commanding officer, until the depositions could be taken by consent of parties, agreeable to the mode pointed out by the

Judge advocate general's instructions, I hope he will be arrested for being absent without leave.

I am determined to prevent as much as possible any difference of sentiments between Col. Gibson, and myself coming to the knowledge of the soldiers, but I am apprehensive this precaution, will not be so much attended to by some other officers.

Provisions have been very scarce ever since my return. The troops have received no flour and only two pounds and a half of Indian meal per man, for sixteen days past, and a scanty allowance of meat.—yesterday morning the 7th Virginia Regiment came out of the barracks with their packs made up, and grounded their arms, they appeared determined to leave the post, but were at length prevailed on to remain a day or two longer, by a firm assurance that they should be well supplied.

The 8th Penna. Regiment, and the Maryland corps are wretchedly naked, but I hope they will soon be furnished with clothing.

An expedition against the Sandusky is in contemplation, the troops will rendezvous at Fort M'Intosh, on the 4th and 5th of next month, the country appears to be desirous to promote it, and I intend to command it, if they, the militia and volunteers do not suffer themselves to be induced into a belief that I have no right to command, If they should, I shall be at a loss how to act, being unwilling to give up my command, and as unwilling to prevent the expedition taking place. I will endeavor to be governed by prudence, and have the honor to be, with sentiments of exalted respect and attachment your Excellency's most ob't serv't. D. B.

To his Excellency Gen. Washington.

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*Fort Pitt, August 24th, 1781.*

DEAR SIR.—I have this moment received certain intelligence that the enemy are coming against us in great force, and that particularly against your post.

You will immediately put your Garrison in the best posture of defence and lay in as large a quantity of water as you can, clear the brush from about you, and receive them coolly, they intend to decoy your Garrison, but you will guard against this stratagem, and defend the post to the last extremity. I will, as much as possible, aid you, in your opposition, and am with much esteem, dear sir, your ob't serv't. D. B.

Col. Commanding W. L.

P. S.—The men who bring you this are immediately to proceed to Wheeling with my letter, but they are to call at the places where they can alarm the people.

To Capt. John Chark, Commanding Fort M'Intosh.

*Fort Pitt, August 24th, 1781.*

SIR.—I have this moment received certain intelligence that the enemy are coming in great force against us and particularly against Wheeling.

You will immediately put your Garrison in the best posture of defence and lay in as great a quantity of water as circumstances will admit, and receive them coolly, they intend to decoy your Garrison, but you are to guard against stratagem, and defend the post to the last extremity.

You may rely on every aid in my power to frustrate the designs of the enemy, but you must not fail to give the alarm to the inhabitants in your reach and make it as general as possible, in order that every man may be prepared at this crisis.

I am, sir, your most ob't serv't.

D. B.

Col. commanding W. D.

To the commanding officer at Fort Henry, (Wheeling.)

*Fort Pitt, August 24th, 1781.*

DEAR SIR.—By the enclosed copies of letters just come to hand, I am convinced the enemy are approaching in force. You will therefore give immediate orders for the militia to assemble and hold themselves in readiness to march to the frontier, &c., at a moments warning. Whether the enemy will divide their force and attack the settlements, or endeavor to starve us out of our works, is uncertain, but if it is certain (as I have long suspected from former intelligence,) that a serious force is coming by way of Presquile, or Conowago,\* then the force coming from the Westward, will only harrass the settlements, and attempt some of the weaker posts, at any rate let us be prepared to repel the enemy, I am confident that with proper exertions they will soon be routed and the country saved.

This is the time that the friends of this country will shine in opposition to the disaffected,—and I am confident that every man who prefers freedom to slavery, will step forth, to defend his property, his innocent wife and children, or dear relations.

I rely much upon your exertions at this crisis and am with much respect.

Your most ob't serv't.

D. B.

Col. commanding W. D.

P. S.—The letters received are from the Rev. Mr. Zeisberger, an honest man, and faithful correspondent, but his name must remain a secret lest his usefulness may be destroyed.

Circular to the County Lieutenants.

\*It may be seen in letters from Gen. Washington, and Gen. Irvine, in our last number, that an attack was designed to be made by the way of Conewango creek.—EDITOR O. T.

*Head Quarters Fort Pitt, August 27th 1781.*

SIR.—In the present confusion of sentiment between the officers respecting my right to command I have as much as possible endeavored to wait their leisure to correct the gross error they have committed. Indeed I expected your understanding would have pointed out the impropriety of conduct in those who injudiciously took upon them to declare you the commanding officer of this department, and that you, ere now would have offered an apology. But I find you determined to persist in a claim the most idle that could be set up by any man, or number of men in their senses.

As I have not the least inclination to differ with a man or description of men with whom I have lived in a desirable harmony, I would suggest to you one argument. Suppose a number of designing men had charged his excellency Gen. Washington, or the commanding officer of the Southern department with crimes true, or false, do you suppose the next in rank would have a right to convene a number of inferior officers to suspend him from command. A step denied to be justly taken by the first authority in the States. No, sir, you cannot be of this opinion because such proceedings strike at the root of all military authority. Many of your favorers and yourself have declared, that you look upon all the charges exhibited against me to be false, but it is for you and them to reconcile such a contrariety of conduct at a future day.

I wish to promote the service by doing the will of my superiors, but I cannot give up my command until I am ordered by the proper authority, and however disagreeable it may be to myself, I am determined to punish every person concerned who shall either neglect or disobey my orders; or who shall presume to issue orders as commanding this department, or garrison until orders for that purpose are issued by me.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most ob't serv't. D. B.

Col. commanding W. D.

To Col. Jno. Gibson.

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Head Quarters Fort Pitt, August 28th, 1781.

DEAR SIR.—I have received your favor of the 26th inst., and am glad to hear of the precaution you are taking for the defence of your post. It is to be lamented that your garrison cannot be furnished with some whiskey there is scarce a barrel in store and that is reserved for the expedition, nor do I see how more can be purchased for some time to come. A thousand weight of flour, some corn, beef, and apples are ordered for your garrison, and Nancy sends you a few heads of cabbage.

The Maryland corps having deserted in a body from their post it is not in my power to reinforce you.

All non-Commissioned officers and soldiers on furlough will immediately be ordered to their respective stations.

I see the armorers complain of the want of half a ration. I wish you to indulge them with full allowance, as we have at present no other inducement for them to labour.

I wish you great success, and am, &c.

D. B.

To Capt. Jno. Clarke.

Fort Pitt, August 29th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL.—Since my last one man was killed by the Indians near the mouth of Cross creek. I suppose this hath been done by some of the enemy's spies.

The country has taken the alarm and several hundred men are now in arms upon the frontier. I hope we shall be able to repel the enemy.

The Maryland corps was stationed at a post on the frontier of Westmoreland county, and have in a body deserted and crossed the mountains. Indeed I am apprehensive the other corps will soon follow their example, if their sufferings are not speedily attended to.

I have sent spies up the Allegheny river, with orders to proceed to Presqu'ile, and further if practicable, to discover the enemy, should they actually be on that route, and if possible to bring me a prisoner. Things here are in the utmost confusion, some officers confessing me to be the commanding officer, and others, Col. Gibson, nor is it likely they will alter until your excellency's pleasure is expressed.

I have the honor, &c.

D. B.

To his Excellency Gen. Washington.

Fort Pitt, September 6th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL.—The savages have killed and taken three men since my last. Col. Gibson still continues to counteract me and the officers who favored his claim refuse my orders, others refuse his, and things are in the utmost confusion.

Mr. Fowler has wrote me repeated insolent letters, denying the right of any person to act as Judge Advocate but himself. I intend to take no notice of him at present, lest he should allege that I had prevented him from prosecuting his charges against me. But as soon as I can get matters in such a train as that my trial may be had, I shall then punish him as he deserves.

I am convinced that a more malicious man doth not exist than Mr. Fowler, and I am determined so soon as I prudently can to convince the world of his malicious intentions against my reputation.

With the most perfect respect, &c.

D. B.

To his Excellency Gen. Washington.

P. S.—I have arrested Col. Gibson on the 30th August:

1st. For assuming the chief command at this post contrary to the ar-

tices, and discipline of war, thereby inciting and encouraging meeting, and sedition amongst a number of officers in this department.

2d. For neglect of duty and disobedience of orders.

D. B.

By Capt. Elliott.

Fort Pitt, September 7th, 1781.

DEAR SIR.—I hope the clothing for the poor naked soldiers of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment are before this time upon the road from your post, should they not have arrived at Carlisle, I hope you will forward them the moment they do arrive.

Col. Ephraim Blaine was applied to I think, last spring, for five hundred bushels of salt for this department and a part of that quantity arrived. Perhaps the residue remains in store at Carlisle, if it does I beg you will devise some method to send it on as the only sure means of procuring provisions until a contractor may arrive. What remained in store here has chiefly been bartered for flour and beef to prevent the troops from starving.

Please to write me by the first safe conveyance and send me a news paper.

I am, &c.

D. B.

To Capt. S. Postlethwaite.

Head Quarters, Fort Pitt, September 7th, 1781.

GENTLEMEN.—By the enclosed extract of a letter just come to hand by express, you will learn the fate of the Moravians on the Muskingum and the dangers to which our dependent posts and the settlements are exposed.

I think it probable that this large party of Indians would not have remained so long at the Moravian town had they not expected a greater force from another quarter down the Allegheny river to cooperate with them. It will therefore be highly expedient for the militia immediately to assemble in bodies consisting of at least one hundred men, and step to the frontiers to cover them and keep out spies, and small scouts at least for a few days, or until we can ascertain what the principal object of the enemy is.

You will therefore immediately appoint such places of rendezvous as may be best calculated for the purpose I have mentioned, and give me notice thereof that in case of extreme necessity they may be collected to a general rendezvous in order to raise a siege, or otherwise act according to circumstances.

County Lieutenants who have not and cannot otherwise procure a supply of ammunition are immediately to apply to me to have a suitable quantity deposited in their respective country to enable the militia to act in conjunction with the regular troops and this application with the means of transportation must not be delayed.

I am, &c.

D. B.

Circular to the County Lieutenants.

Fort Pitt, September 8th, 1781.

GENTLEMEN.—I have received your favor of yesterday, and should be glad to send you the salt you have requested, but have none except what remains at Fort M'Intosh, and Mr. Sample informs me that he hath engaged all the public salt, so that our troops have not salt to their rations.

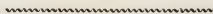
Had there been any in store here, I should, at all events, have sent a little for the militia, but my letter of yesterday will show that the communication between this and Fort M,Intosh is interrupted, and that none can at present be had from thence. The six months men shall be provided for as the regular troops, so soon as they join. There certainly is a law in this state enabling the wagon master to whom your orders must go to impress horses for public service.

I hope the inhabitants may not be so much alarmed as to think of flight, but on the contrary that they will hold themselves in readiness to repel the enemy.

I have the honor, &c.

D. B.

To Cols. Hays and Cook.



Fort Pitt, September 12th, 1781.

SIR.—From the utmost necessity, I take the liberty to trouble you with a state of circumstances in this district, the most disagreeable that ever I have experienced and I believe the most unmilitary that the American war has, on our part, been stained with.

Your excellency has doubtless seen a petition and remonstrance from the inhabitants and others of this place containing a number of charges against me; and you will probably recollect that the honorable Congress directed his excellency the Commander in Chief thereupon to bring me to trial. In obedience to this order he was pleased to write me on the 5th of last May that this was the case, and as I conceive to prevent my being unnecessarily held in suspense as to my command concludes in these words: "You will see the propriety of giving up the command to the officer next in rank, while this business is transacting. It will take off every objection that can be made against the validity of the depositions as having been taken under your influence as commandant.

Mr. Alexander Fowler was considered as the prosecutor, and yet he from a desire to injure my reputation for reasons which will in the course of an investigation plainly appear, insisted upon a right he claimed of acting as Judge Advocate, as well as prosecutor of the charges he had exhibited with a view, I suppose, to procrastinate a business in which he must be conscious he cannot succeed, and thereby to make my situation as disagreeable as possible.

I have hitherto endeavored as much as possible to promote the service and render this country essential service. But from what principles I

know not the most iniquitous party frauds prevail, even amongst men who ought to be military, as will appear by a declaration of which I take the liberty to enclose a copy. I sincerely wish it may not proceed from the most unwarrantable disaffection, for the bearer Captain Ferrol, who is a man of great veracity, bravery and attachment, has assured me that Col. Gibson, of the 7th Virginia Regiment, who assumes the command here, has caused the keys of the military stores of which he has the charge, to be seized from his clerk, and ordered him under an arrest, notwithstanding that he himself stands arrested.

Capt. Ferrol will relate to your excellency the circumstances relative to this and other matters in the most candid manner.

I fear this contradiction of sentiment, or what ever it may hereafter prove to be, will prevent an expedition which was proposed to be carried on against the Indian towns upon the Sandusky from being carried into execution.

I beg your excellency will be pleased to order a copy of this letter to be transmitted to his excellency the Commander in Chief.

I have the honor, &c.

D. B.

To his Excellency Thos. M'Kean, Esq., President of Congress.

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*Head Quarters, Fort Pitt, September 13th, 1781.*

DEAR GENTLEMEN.—I am honored with your letter of yesterday, and am sorry if any ambiguity appeared in mine. My intention was to have the militia in readiness, so that they might either be employed for the defence of the frontier, in raising a siege, or if it should appear by the reports of our spies, that the intelligence we had repeatedly received of the enemy's designs from Niagara, were groundless, then to have employed them upon the proposed expedition. In the meantime, I was in hopes that a supply of clothing, and provisions might arrive for the troops, which I find we shall in a degree be disappointed in.

I am much concerned on account of your inability to procure horses without a force from hence, because in the present situation of affairs, it is not in my power to send one, and you have not mentioned what number of militia, or volunteers you have in readiness.

I am unwilling to put off this expedition to a future day, and yet from what I can learn there is but little hopes of a sufficient number assembling to ensure success. It is likewise conceived that it will interfere with the putting in Fall Crops, which are so necessary for our future subsistence. The spies which were sent up the river Allegheny, are not yet returned, and for ought I know they may be killed, or taken. I should deem it quite imprudent to march a considerable number of men from the defence of these posts and the frontier, until it is ascertained whether there is a considerable force in our rear or not. For these reasons I have wrote to Col. Marshal for his opinion, whether, or not it may

be best under such a variety of embarrassing circumstances to postpone the expedition of the 5th of next month, at which time the election will be past, and most of the Fall Crops sown. We shall then have ascertained whether the enemy may be expected in force down the Allegheny, and some injurious controversies here will be determined. I wish you therefore, likewise after having consulted your principal officers immediately to give me your opinion upon these several matters; you will at the same time assure them that I will give every encouragement in my power, to forward, and carry into execution the proposed enterprise.—Perhaps a general Council of the principal officers at the general rendezvous may be thought most eligible. I can only add that I am exceedingly anxious to have the business go on, but I wish at the same time to act with the utmost precaution.

The seal of your letter was broke before I received it. Pray let me have your immediate answer with a return of your force.

I have the honor, &c.

D. B.

To Col. Chas. Hays, and Ewd. Cook, and other Sub. Lieutenants of Westmoreland county.

*Fort Pitt, October 14th, 1781.*

SIR.—Some of the disaffected and licentious people at this post have made application to the Court of Westmoreland for an inquest to determine what they call a forcible entry, and detainer, and by that means oust me from my quarters, which is a part of the strength of this post. As much pains has been taken to prepossess every citizen with an idea that the possession obtained of my present quarters was arbitrary, and against law, it is highly probable the inquest may find the force and that disagreeable consequences may ensue. To prevent which, in case of a verdict against me, I have despatched the bearer to you with money to pay for an Attorney's Writ, called a Certiorari, with a view to have the matter determined before proper Judges in a legal rather than an extrajudicial way. I beg you will immediately furnish him with that necessary means of travelling, and have the honor to be with great respect, sir,

Your most ob't humble servant

D. B.

To Mr. Galbreath.

*Fort Pitt, October 21st, 1781.*

SIR.—I am informed that your order of this day, require the small guard at my quarters to go into the Fort. Consequently all the public papers in my possession will be exposed to loss.

The present temper of a disappointed rabble, you cannot be a stranger to, and as my defence, against a malicious prosecution greatly depends upon the public papers, which I have from time to time received from my superiors. I conceive you will not at present order the guard from

hence. But if you be determined on that point. I wish to know it immediately, that I may in time endeavor to put them and my private effects under the protection of some private person, to prevent their destruction.

I am, sir, your humble serv't.

D. B.

Colonel 1st Pennsylvania Regiment.

To Col. Jno. Gibson.

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Fort Pitt, October 28th, 1781.

SIR.—In the 27th of June, 1779, I did myself the honor to address a letter to the honorable Board of War, respecting the range of this and neighboring garrisons and on the 23d of July following, the U. S. in Congress assembled passed an act regulating the manner of taking it and satisfying the persons interested, &c.

Previous to my receiving this act of Congress, I was honored with two letters from the Board of War, directing me to act, in this case, according to custom and usage. In consequence I ordered some of the troops to be posted in a house occupied by Messrs. Ward & Smallman, and for so doing, process from the Court of Youghioghenny was immediately issued against me.

On the 27th of February, 1780, I informed the honorable Board of War by letter, of the proceedings of that Court and on the 18th of April following, Congress passed an act declaratory of the intention of that honorable body to support me in the execution of my duty at this post. This last act was shown to the Court of Youghioghenny, and I expected their proceedings would have ceased respecting me. But I have since seen their Record, whereby it appears that they proceeded to judgment, and awarding damages, &c., but no writ of outlawry has been issued, altho' I did persevere to deny their jurisdiction.

The Court of Westmoreland has now taken up this matter, and many actions are commenced against me for trespasses, &c, for having presumed to act agreeable to my instructions, and my conscience, because the Legislature of Pennsylvania has not in compliance with the Act of Congress passed a law in favor, or agreeable to their recommendation; and lately an inquisition was held, to turn me out of my quarters, on a suggestion of a forcible entry, and detainer, whereby I have been under the necessity of attending Hannah's Town Court, and otherwise considerable expences have accrued and costs have been awarded.

No man wishes better to the service of the United States than I do, but it is impossible to serve two masters. I cannot comply with the expectations of my superiors in a military capacity, and at the same time please a Rabble, and I should be happy to see officers of the United States receive that support in the execution of their respective capacities that the exigencies of our affairs frequently require, and I hope that such steps will be taken by the supreme authority of the United States as will render the military operations in time of War more certain and respectable,

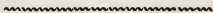
as I am apprehensive that few officers will serve with pleasure where they are subject to be thwarted by an ignorant jury as often as a designing man, or an ignorant multitude shall be pleased to be troublesome.

I take the liberty to enclose extracts of the several letters I have mentioned, and have the honor to be with the most exalted respect your excellency's most ob't and most humble serv't.

D. B.

Col. 1st Penna. Regiment.

To his Excellency Thos. M'Kean, Esq.



TREATY OF FORT STANWIX, IN 1784.

This proceeding was an important event in the history of the country "around the head of the Ohio." Many of our readers will, probably have noticed, that in the survey of the manor of Pittsburgh, great care was taken not to cross the Allegheny, or Ohio rivers. The North West boundary of the manor was the Southern shore of the Allegheny river. Some persons have asked why the manor line was not so run as to make the Point at the junction of the rivers the centre of the manor, and to embrace the present site of Allegheny city as well as Pittsburgh. The reason was a very simple one. The last proprietary purchase of lands in Penna. from the Indians was made at the first treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768. The boundary at that purchase was a line from the West branch of the Susquehanna to Kittaning, and thence down the Allegheny and Ohio to the West line of this State, thence South to the Southern line of this State, and then East along that line, &c. This, of course, excluded all the country North and West of the Ohio and Allegheny, and the proprietaries were always too regardful of the rights of the Indians, to claim a foot of land not previously ceded by them.

Even when the town of Pittsburgh was laid out the country across the Allegheny river was still owned and occupied by the natives, and long within the memory of the editor, a person going into the country over the Allegheny, was said to be going to the "*Indian Country*." Pittsburgh was laid out in May, 1784, and in October of that year was held the second treaty of Fort Stanwix, at which the Indian title to all the land North and West of the Ohio and Allegheny, and within the limits of this State, was extinguished.

Our war for independence was a trying and pregnant event in the history of the Six Nations. In all previous wars the colonies had acted as subordinates to Great Britain, the Six Nations had been the faithful allies of the British King, and of course acted with our countrymen. At length however, a family quarrel ensued, the Thirteen United States deemed it necessary to resist the demands of the mother country. War ensued and the Iroquois could scarcely be expected to remain neutral under such circumstances. Their admirable confederacy had kept them united in all

Wars between France and Great Britain, but now division ensued; the Oneidas and Tuscaroras adhered to the colonies, and the other nations to Great Britain, and upon the return of peace, found themselves at the mercy of the United States.

In 1784, Congress appointed five Commissioners to hold treaties with the various tribes of Indians within our limits. For this purpose a conference was held at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, in the State of New York, in October, 1784.

At this conference Oliver Wolcott, Gen. Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee, were the Commissioners on the part of the United States, Commissioners representing this State were also present. *Capt. O' Bail*, better known as *Cornplanter*, was a prominent person. The address of the Commissioners in prescribing the terms on which the Indians would be received into the protection of the United States, has always seemed to us to be remarkably forcible, and to possess even more than Roman sternness. Brennus, when he exclaimed "Woe to the conquered," and threw his sword into the scale, was scarcely more emphatic, and dictatorial than the American Commissioners in their address to the Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagas and Senecas.

The Romans of America were, however, less fortunate than the Romans of Europe, they had no Camillus to interpose between the victors and the conquered. Being abandoned to the mercy of the United States, by their ancient ally, the King of Great Britain, and almost deserted by the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, two of their own tribes, resistance was hopeless and submission their only resource.

We have in our possession a manuscript copy of a portion of the proceedings at the conference, and as we have never seen the address in print, we have concluded to give it a place in the "Olden Time."

After the above remarks were in type, our attention was called to the notice of this treaty in Col. Stone's *Life of Brant*, in which we find the following remarks:

"The records of this treaty, containing the speeches interchanged on the occasion, seem not to have been preserved, as has been usual in diplomatic matters with the Indians. Nothing appears upon the subject among the Indian State papers at the seat of government, save the naked result of the Council, in the form of a very brief treaty, signed by the nations represented instead of the several chiefs. It is known, however, that among the leading chiefs, who took an active part, were the *Corn Planter*, and *Red Jacket*."

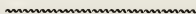
Again Col. Stone says, "Red Jacket, a somewhat younger chief than the Corn Planter, was opposed to the burial of the hatchet, and spoke with vehemence and great eloquence in favor of a continuance of the war by the Indians, on their own account."

Many years ago, the editor was preparing a hasty sketch of the life of Gen. Richard Butler, for a newspaper, when his son the late gallant and

estimable Capt. James R. Butler placed in our hands several interesting documents, among others, the original minutes of the Council at Fort Stanwix in 1784. Until we saw the remarks above quoted from Colonel Stone's *Life of Brant*, we were not aware that the only account of the proceedings of Fort Stanwix in existence. was that in our possession.

Our first intention at this time, was only to publish the address to the Six Nations above referred to; but after reading the remarks of Colonel Stone, we concluded to commence our extract with the first assemblage of the Commissioners at Fort Stanwix, and to embrace all that follows from that time to the end of our volume of the "minutes." By this, it will be seen that the name of *Red Jacket* or *Sagayewatha* does not appear, so far as the minutes extend. It may be that he spoke in opposition to the treaty on the 21st, after *Capt. Aaron Hill* had concluded, or on the next day; but it is not very probable, as the treaty was signed on that day and fixed the boundary precisely as is indicated in the address of the Commissioners.

In the first speech of the Commissioners, the Indians are desired to hearken to the voice of *Kayenlaa*, the Marquis de la Fayette; but no speech of *Kayenlaa* is given, or farther referred to. Among the papers placed in our hands, by our late estimable friend Capt. Butler, is a translation of an address to the Indians, in a very clerk-like hand writing, but signed by La Fayette himself, attesting its correctness. There is neither place nor time mentioned in it: but there is strong internal evidence that it is the address referred to by the Commissioners at Fort Stanwix. We introduce it after the close of that portion of the minutes in our hands.



Albany, Sept. 23d, 1784, Commissioners adjourned to Fort Stanwix.

Fort Stanwix, October 3d, 1784.

Commissioners met. Present as before, the Hon. Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee, Esqs. Several of the Indians from the different nations having convened. The Commissioners called them together in the Council place, where, being all assembled, the following speech was delivered:

"SACHEMS, AND WARRIORS OF THE SIX NATIONS PRESENT—It is with pleasure we announce to you that we are Commissioners sent by Congress, who is the great Council of the United States of America, to kindle a Council fire at this place, where we may smoke the Calumet together undisturbed by evil thoughts, and renew the friendship, and brighten the chain of alliance with *you our faithful brothers*, and give peace and good counsel to *those* who have been unfortunately led astray by evil advisers. We therefore wish you to put away all evil thoughts, and cleanse your hearts, and minds, that we may begin the good work with sincerity, in which we invoke the great and good God to assist us. We expect the head men and warriors of the Western tribes of the Six

Nations, will attend in a few days, *then* we shall speak more fully, and go into the business generally.

"We know from experience that ill winds blow from every quarter," and birds fly about with evil chirpings, in order to distract the minds and understandings of people when convened on such occasions. We therefore warn you against them that you may not hearken to them, or be led into the evils which they intend; we also tell you that we have full authority to transact all business between the United States, and you, and that without the authority of Congress no business can be valid that may be attempted by particular people or States.

"We shall say no more at present, but desire you to hearken to the voice of Kayenlaa, the Marquis de La Fayette, a great man among the French, one of the head warriors of the great Onondio, and as you all know a General in the American Army, and a head man among us, who comes with his friends to pay you a visit and give you the advice of a father."

A white string.

To which Kayenthoghke, a chief of the Senecas* replied:

"Brothers Commissioners of the United States—

"You have this day assembled us at the place appointed for holding a treaty between the United States and us, and have informed us that you are Commissioners appointed by Congress, who, you tell us is the great Council of the United States of America, to give peace to all the Indian Nations.

Brothers, we congratulate you on your safe arrival here, and are truly glad to see you. Peace, which you mention to be the object of your coming, is what we have long and fervently wished for.

"Brothers, we thank you for your good counsel. We know as you observed that birds often fly about with evil chirpings, and that ill winds blow from every quarter, to trouble and disturb the minds of persons, when engaged in affairs of so important a nature as the present, but we trust that our ears will be shut so as to reject all their evil words, and that nothing will hinder us from happily ending the good work which we have come upon.

"Brothers, you inform us that you expected the Chiefs of the Six Nations would be here in a few days, and that then you would enter fully upon the business. These, brothers, were your words and we wish that every thing may turn out to the advantage of the present treaty, for truly we are for peace.

"Let the ears of the Commissioners from the United States be opened to receive the words which we have said. It is our wish that all past offences may be forgotten, and that there may be a general peace between us, and our brothers, the Americans. [A string.]

* We think this chief could not be a Seneca.—EDITOR O. T.

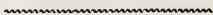
The Council broke up, and the Commissioners adjourned.

Monday, 4th—Letter to the Hon. Commissioners of Pennsylvania of this day, omitted to be entered. Commissioners met. Present as before. Adjourned.

Tuesday, 5—Commissioners met. Present as before. The following Resolution was made.

Whereas, The order which has been published by the Commissioners, prohibiting all persons from selling or giving spirituous liquor to the Indians during the negotiation, has not been attended to, but several sutlers at, or near Fort Stanwix, presume to sell strong liquor to the Indians, some of which are still used by which they are daily intoxicated, and the negotiation is thereby much impeded

Resolved, That all strong liquors in the hands of persons at, or near Fort Stanwix, other than such as shall be detained by the special approbation of the Commissioners, be immediately seized and an account thereof taken together with the names of the Owners, and that it be stored, in the Commissioners store, and that it be not opened but according to their order.



To his Excellency, the President of Congress.

Fort Stanwix, Oct. 5th.

SIR.—We have the honor to inform your excellency that we arrived here on the 2d, having been delayed by various difficulties in forwarding the stores and troops.

Some only of the Chiefs from different tribes, and some from Canada are now here, and we have information that many more are on their way and expected daily, and therefore delay opening our business, 'till the whole shall be assembled; having announced to those present our arrival, in these we find a very pacific disposition, and an acknowledgment of past errors.

Though we gave due information to the governor of New York of the time, and place of holding the treaty, that if he had any business to transact with the Indians, he might do it under the patronage of the United States, yet he chose to hold a treaty with the Six Nations before us, and we are told endeavored to make peace with them in the name of this State.

We cannot learn that he succeeded in purchasing territory from them, and we thought proper to inform the Indians in our conference, that a treaty with an individual State, without the sanction of Congress, could be of no validity. We have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed,)

OLIVER WOLCOTT,
RICHARD BUTLER,
ARTHUR LEE.

N. B.—The Commissioners met those of Pennsylvania, who laid be-

fore them the Commission, and instructions received from the Supreme Executive of their State, which were entirely satisfactory to the continental Commissioners.

To Lieut. John Mercer, of the Jersey Troops.

Fort Stanwix, October 5th, 1784.

SIR.—The Commissioners appointed by Congress to hold treaties with the Indians in behalf of the United States of America finding their advertisement of the 20th September last directing that no spirituous liquors be sold or given to the Indians during the negotiation, neglected by the traders and others, on this ground, find themselves obliged to have the liquors taken an account of, and stored; you are therefore directed to take a party of men, and place a sentinel. or sentinels at the stores that have spirituous liquors in them until the owners give an account of the quantity, which if they neglect or refuse to do, you will mark their casks with the owners' names, and then have them removed to the Blockhouse for the purpose of preserving the same for the owners, and to preserve peace and sobriety during the transaction of public business with the Indians. The sutlers, or traders will, if they think proper appoint a person, or persons to see their liquors so taken, deposited in the public store.

This you will perform with punctuality and dispatch, as a number more Indians are hourly expected to arrive.

(Signed.)

OLIVER WOLCOTT,
RICHARD BUTLER,
ARTHUR LEE.

Commissioners adjourned.

Wednesday, October 6th, 1784.

Commissioners met, present as before—

In consequence of information received, the following letter was written and delivered

To Peter Schuyler, Esq.

Fort Stanwix, Oct. 6th, 1784.

SIR.—We have had information from time to time of your interfering with the Indians, whom we have called to a treaty with the United States at this place, of your having an interpreter with you, of your giving liquor to the Indians, as if you was a Commissioner, and by various direct, and indirect means counteracting our negotiations with them.

It is proper, therefore, sir, to inform you that there is no authority now existing that can warrant you in being on the ground, which we have appointed for a public treaty, and holding any commerce with the Indians here without our permission.

We perceive the effects of your conduct to be highly injurious to the service of the United States, and therefore warn you that if in future, we

find you pursuing the same conduct, or in any way meddling in this treaty, it will be our duty to the public, and we shall assuredly execute it, to request you to remove from this place, which request will be such as you cannot easily refuse. We have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed,)

OLIVER WOLCOTT,
RICHARD BUTLER,
ARTHUR LEE.

Commissioners adjourned.

Thursday October 7th, 1784.

To M. Leonard.

Fort Stanwix, October 7th, 1784.

SIR.—The Commissioners finding it necessary that the goods belonging to you now in the new store should be removed for the reception of theirs, request that you will forthwith act accordingly.

(Signed,)

By order Commissioners,

ALEX. CAMPBELL, Sec'y.

October 8th, 1784.

Captain Hill with a party of Indians, and some from the Shawnees, and Delawares, having yesterday arrived, the Commissioners this day assembled them in the Council place, where they were addressed as follows:

SACHEMS AND WARRIORS OF THE PARTY LATELY ARRIVED.—These are the words which we spoke at our first meeting with the tribes that were assembled at this Council fire—

(The speech of the 3d ultimo was read to which was subjoined the following:

“We also bid you welcome, and desire that your ears and understandings may be clear, that the dirt and sweat be wiped from your bodies, and the thorns be extracted from your limbs, that good thoughts prevail, and your hearts be sincerely disposed to do that which is right in forwarding the good work which we are met upon. We shall endeavor to render you happy while here, and expect you will conduct yourselves like men of sense. (A white string.)

To which one of the Chiefs replied, “that as they expected more of their head men in a few days, they would be glad to defer answering the address of the Commissioners ’till their arrival.

The Council broke up, and the Commissioners adjourned.

October 10th, 1784.

Commissioners met, present as before—

The Sheriff of Montgomery county, who had served a writ on the body of John Mercer, commanding officer of the troops raised for the protec-

tion, and under the order of the Commissioners, was called. Whereupon the following proceedings were entered into:

The Commissioners having ordered that the said sheriff should not attempt, or endeavor to remove from hence Lieut. John Mercer, the following letter was addressed

To Maj. Telles Fonda, and other justices of the inferior Court of Montgomery county.

Fort Stanwix, Oct. 10th, 1784.

GENTLEMEN.—When we arrived at this place to hold a treaty of peace &c, with the Six Nations in pursuance of a Commission from the United States, in Canada., we found a number of persons, among whom were William Colebreath, Lawrence Trimper, and John Elliott, possessed of considerable quantities of spiritous liquors, and selling them to the Indians in contravention of a forbiddance issued by us at Albany, and made known to them here,—which proceedings must necessarily have frustrated the treaty by keeping the Indians in a state of intoxication. To prevent this public mischief we directed John Mercer, Esq., a Lieutenant in the troops put under our orders by a resolution of Congress for the express purpose of protecting the treaty to take an account of all the spiritous liq'ors in possession of these persons that if they continued this pernicious practice, the liquors might be put into the public store to be kept safe and restored to the proprietors, when the treaty was concluded, and then they would have been at liberty to sell them to the Indians. We also ordered the officer to seize and store all spirituous liquors belonging to those who refused to give an account of them.

Under our written order shown to the above named persons, the aforesaid John Mercer acted, and on their refusal to give him the account required, seized and stored the spiritous liquors found in their possession.

In consequence of this one James Yale, professing himself to be a Sheriff of this county, under a writ, a copy of which we transmit you, arrested our said officer John Mercer, and demanded either that he should go to prison, or give bail for his appearance before you on Tuesday next.

We would not, and will not suffer him to do either—conceiving the dignity and rights of the United States would be violated by inferior jurisdiction over us, or over our officers, acting by our orders in execution of the high and important powers vested in us by the United States in Canada, for the peace and security of all the citizens of these States.

These things gentlemen we have represented to you in full confidence that you must immediately see the insulting and dangerous nature, and consequently the heinousness of the conduct of those persons concerned in the obtaining and issuing the writ aforesaid, and that you will treat them accordingly.

Their abuse of your authority to insult and embarrass us in the person of our officer, for restraining practices essentially necessary to be restrained and always restrained at such treaties, we are persuaded you will

think with us, demands from you an exemplary animadversion against all who have been concerned in it, for such indignity and injuries offered to the authority of the United States, to the Commissioners vested with their powers, and to the officer acting by their orders, if encouraged by passing unpunished must necessarily involve this country, and this State in the most serious consequences.

If our officers acting under our orders, is liable to be carried to prison by your Sheriff, so are we, and the consequences would be that a few insignificant and mercenary individuals might not only frustrate any treaty with the Indians, but do it in the most insulting and opprobrious manner to the United States and their officers.

It is an aggravation too of the conduct of these people, if anything can aggravate their conduct, that they are trading with a people who have been at war with the United States, with whom Congress have not yet made peace, and with whom therefore it is criminal in the citizens of any of the United States to carry on trade.

We have the honor to be with the greatest respect, gentlemen, your most o'bt servts.

(Signed,)

OLIVER WOLCOTT,
RICHARD BUTLER,
ARTHUR LEE.

Resolution and order to John Mercer, Esq, Lieut. Commandant, to be entered among the proceedings of this day.

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*Fort Stanwix, October 11th., 1784*

The Commissioners met, present the Honorable Oliver Wolcott and Arthur Lee, Esqs.

The Secretary made the following report:

On Saturday, the 9th of October, Maj. Peter Schuyler delivered to me a paper, which he said was a copy of his instructions mentioned in his letter of the 8th of October, to the Commissioners of the United States for treating with the Six Nations. This paper was a copy of one I saw in his possession, and neither of them had any seal, or signature. The said paper directed the said Peter Schuyler together with one Peter Rightman, as an interpreter to attend at Fort Stanwix, during the time of the Commissioners of the United States holding their treaty with the Indians, to observe the conduct of the Said Commissioners, and to oppose, and frustrate any of their proceedings which might eventually effect the interests of the State of New York. This paper tho' so delivered to me for the Commissioners was not authenticated by Mr. Schuyler, therefore I called on him next day, and desired he would authenticate it; he took the paper out of my hand read it, and tore it, saying he would answer the Commissioners in another manner. Upon my demanding another copy of it, he refused it, but delivered me a sealed letter, addressed to Oliver Wolcott, Arthur Lee, and Richard Butler, Esqs., which I delivered to them, and of which the following is a copy.

*Fort Schuyler, October 19th, 1784.*

GENTLEMEN.—In vindication of my character as an officer of the State and to support that authority, by which I am ordered to remain on this ground during the present treaty, will justify my conduct in not answering your request.

I remain, gentlemen, your most obedient humble serv't.

(Signed.)

PETER SCHUYLER.

To Oliver Wolcott, Arthur Lee, and Richard Butler, Esqs.

ALEX. CAMPBELL, Sec'y.

We having repeatedly read the paper sent to us by the said Peter Schuyler, and one Peter Rightman, as interpreter as his instructions certify that it contained directions to him to remain at the place appointed for holding a treaty, to watch our conduct, and to oppose and frustrate our measures.

OLIVER WOLCOTT,

RICHARD BUTLER,

ARTHUR LEE.

Resolved, That a meeting be held with the Indians to-morrow, and that the following speech be delivered.

#### SACHEMS AND WARRIORS.

When we last met, we informed you that we were Commissioners appointed by Congress, the great Council of the United States, and authorized to transact all business to be done with the Indians Nation, and that the Commissioners of the United State, and they alone, or such as Congress should authorize, and appoint, were competent to perform this service, and that you ought not therefore to listen to any overtures made to you by any person, or body of men, or by any particular State not authorized by Congress.

That you may be assured of the authority under which we act, we will now publish to you our Commission, which we have received from the Congress of the United States.

(Commission read. A belt No. 2.)

We have it in charge from Congress to inform the tribes of the Six Nations, who were so unfortunate as to be seduced by ill-advisers to join the British army during the late war, that the United States having made peace with the King of Great Britain in a manner entirely agreeable to themselves, and correspondent to their utmost wishes, and having settled all differences with all people except the Indian Nations, are ready on th. ir part, if desired, to give peace to those nations also, upon just and reasonable terms, and to receive them into the friendship, favor, and protection of the United States.

That the tribes here present may know upon what terms, the United States have made peace with the King of Great Britain, we will communicate to you the definitive treaty of peace entered into between the United States, and him.

(Publications made, and strings No. 3 given.)

That you may be satisfied that the United States are the sole sovereigns within the limits just now described to you in the treaty with the King of Great Britain, and therefore the sole power, to whom the Nations living within those limits are hereafter to look up for protection; we shall read to you part of the treaty of alliance between the United States, and his most christian majesty, by which he renounces all claim to the said country.

(Sixth article read, and a string No. 1 given.)

By the treaty which has been read between the United States, and the King of Great Britain, the Indian Nations will perceive that the King of Great Britain renounces, and yields to the United States all pretensions, and claims, whatsoever, of all the country South, and West of the Great Northern Rivers, and Lakes, as far as the Mississippi.

They will also perceive and consider that in this treaty, no mention is made by the King of Great Britain of any Indian Nation, or tribe whatever, but that he has left those tribes to seek for peace with the United States, upon such terms as the United States shall think just and reasonable.

Brothers of the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Cooknewagha tribes, listen to what we say to those who took up the hatchet against us.

(Strings No. 4.)

#### SACHEMS AND WARRIORS.

We 'nformed you in our Message that we should, expect you to bring in, and deliver up, all the prisoners white and black, which you took from us during the war. You have told us that it is your determination to deliver them up, that you have sent to collect them, and expect they will arrive here daily. We must inform you that delivering up all the prisoners is essential to your obtaining peace, and in reliance on what you have promised, and in expectation of their soon arriving here, we shall now proceed to other matters, but there are John Scanando, Peter Augslomtrongas, and Hans Krine, some of our friendly Indians, whom we desire may be immediately released from their paroles.

(Belt No. 5 given.)

The United States, in making peace with the tribes here present will expect, in order to prevent future difficulties, or disputes, that you will propose such a boundary line between the United States and you, as will be just for you to offer, and honorable for the United States to agree to.

This salutary measure will entitle such tribes to a participation of that liberality and protection of the United States, which we perfectly well know to be their interest to embrace.

(Black and white string No. 6 given.)

As we do not wish to burthen your memory with too great a variety of objects at one time, we will say no more at present, but only observe that as the matters which we have mentioned are of the last importance to

your peace, and happiness. We expect you will take them into your immediate and most serious consideration, and return us a satisfactory answer.

*Fort Stanwix, October 11th, 1784.*

To Lieut. John Mercer.

SIR.—It is our desire that you go early to-morrow morning with a proper force, and take, and deposit in the Public Store all the spirituous liquors you can find in the houses of all the Sutlers, vendors, or givers within a mile of this place, taking an account of the quantity of such liquors, the vessels in which they are contained and the names of those to whom they respectively belong, marking the names and quantity upon the cask. It is our intention that Mr. Peter Schuyler and Mr. S. Rightman should not be excepted from this order.

(Signed,)

OLIVER WOLCOTT.

RICHARD BUTLER.

ARTHUR LEE.

Adjourned till to-morrow 10 o'clock.

*October 12th, 1784.*

The Commissioners met, present.

The Hon. OLIVER WOLCOTT,  
RICHARD BUTLER, } Esquires.  
ARTHUR LEE.

The proceedings of yesterday being read - agreeably to the resolution that a council be held with the Indians at 10 o'clock of that day. The Commissioners Resolved, that the following order be sent to Lieutenant John Mercer:

*Fort Stanwix, October 12, 1784.*

SIR.—It is the order of the Commissioners that you place Sentinels round the Booth where we are to hold a council with the Indians, at one o'clock this day; and you will give them strict orders not to admit in, or near the said place of holding the Council, Mr. Peter Schuyler, or Peter Rightman, but if they see them, or either of them listening to, or observing what passes in the Council, they direct them to move off.

(Signed,)

By order of the Commissioners,

ALEX. CAMPBELL, Sec'y.

To Lieut. John Mercer.

At the hour appointed, (the Indians having been previously ordered to assemble,) the Commissioners, attended by the gentlemen Representatives of Pennsylvania, met in the council place, where being all present, the speech as prepared on yesterday, was delivered, previous to which Capt. Aaron Hill, a Chief of the Mohawk tribe, delivered the following speech, acknowledging to the Commissioners the receipt of their message and informing them of their arrival.

"After repeating the invitation of the Commissioners of the United States to come to their Council fire, he mentioned,

"That the reasons why they had not before attended were, that they had been frequently invited by the Governor of the State of New York to come to a treaty with that State. That they enquired of the messenger, whether the treaty was in behalf of the United States, or of the State of New York only, to which he replied that it was not a continental treaty, but a particular one of that State. That they had written to the Governor of New York, requesting that it might be a continental treaty, but that he had never answered their letter, which kept them in a state of doubt until they received a message from the Commissioners of the United States, when it was so late in the day that it was difficult for such numbers to come as otherwise would have attended. Also, that the sickness which universally pervaded their country was another cause of so small a number being present.

"That, with respect to the prisoners which they were directed to bring with them it was so late in the day when they received the message of the Commissioners of the United States, that it was impossible for them to be collected in time,—*but* that Capt. Brant, whom he had met on his way hither had promised to have them instantly collected, and sent down, assuring the Commissioners that it was a matter absolutely determined upon, that all of them should be delivered up.

"That numbers of their brothers to the Westward, the Wiondots in particular had returned home, by reason of the advanced season of the year after having come as far as to Niagara, so that there were only present, themselves, and their brothers, the Shawanese.

(The message belt sent by the Commissioners was delivered.)

The Commissioners then informed Capt. O'Bail,\* one of the chiefs of the Seneca tribe, of the receipt of a letter, from the headmen of Six Towns, whereby they were informed that he was fully authorized to transact all business between the United States, and the inhabitants of those towns, and that to whatever he should say on their behalf, full credit might be given. The Commissioners also informed Capt. O'Bail that they would be happy in transacting business with a person of his wisdom and good name; to which Capt. O'Bail replied:

Let the Commissioners, Representatives of the United States now listen: You have this day assembled us at the place appointed for holding a council fire, and certainly the day was fixed upon by the great spirit for the purpose. You have opened fully your minds to us, and we see the business to be done at this treaty. We shall take it into our immediate and most serious consideration, and whenever we shall be prepared, you shall hear our voice.

The usual ceremonies being over, the Council broke up, and the Commissioners adjourned till to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

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\*Generally called Corn-Planter.—EDITOR O. T.



*October 13, 10 o'clock.*

Commissioners met, present as before ; no business appearing to be done, adjourned till to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

*October 14, 1784.*

Isaac Arnold, of Albany, gave the following information:

That he left Niagara at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, five days ago ; that on the 27th of September, Jacobus Taylor, of Schenectady, Daniel Bartley, from Westina, and Isaac Von Holston, from Kenderhook, in their way to Detroit, were shot dead at the place called the Bordel River, 24 miles this side of Long Point, carrying place from Niagara to Detroit by four young Indians of the Mohickan tribe, the said Isaac Arnold was present, and much wounded ; they were fired upon as they were eating on the beach. Upon hearing of this, the commanding officer at Niagara sent an express after Col. Monroe, a member of Congress, who had set out across the country to Fort Pitt. Col. Depeyster commanded at Niagara, and behaved with great kindness. Capt. Brant had sent 10 Indians after the murderers, and told the said Arnold that he would have them if they were upon the face of the earth, and deliver them up.

In consequence of the arrival of the foregoing intelligence, the chiefs assembled in the Council House, and requested the attendance of the Commissioners, who accordingly met, when they were addressed in the following manner.

Brothers, Commissioners of the United States attend :

By the appointment of the great spirit above, this is the day in which we have received information of the blow, which has been struck upon you in your rear, during our mutual attention to business of the first importance in this treaty.

Brothers, we beg you to possess your minds in peace, and that you will not suffer this affair to interrupt the business of the treaty, as we mean to proceed to give you an answer to-morrow, to which the Commissioners replied :

Brothers of the Six Nations attend.

We have heard of the unhappy affair which you have mentioned, we have enquired into it, and suppose it to have been only the act of a few bad people, and not authorized by the voice of any particular tribe ; we therefore shall take your advice, compose our minds, and not suffer this affair to interrupt the important business, and shall be happy to receive your answer to our speech to-morrow as you propose. Upon which the Council broke up.

*October 17, 1784.*

In consequence of intelligence received by the arrival of nine Senecas of the death of the daughter of Capt. O'Bail, a Chief of that nation, the

Commissioners accompanied by the Hon., the Representatives of Pennsylvania, met in the Council House, where the Indians had assembled in order to condole with him on his misfortune, and the usual ceremonies being over, and belts delivered on both sides, Captain Aaron Hill, a Chief of the Mohawk tribe, informed the Commissioners that they were ready to answer to the speech of the Commissioners, proposing certain matters for their consideration, and accordingly addressed them in the following manner :

#### BROTHERS COMMISSIONERS OF THE U. S. ATTEND.

The great spirit has once more brought us together upon the important business which you proposed to us some days ago, and we shall endeavor to give it as full and satisfactory an answer as may be in our power, tho' should we not be precise enough, we must not be blamed, as we had not a copy of your speech agreeable to our desire.

You acquainted us that this great Council Fire was kindled for the purpose of settling all differences, and disputes between the United States, and us—to conclude a peace, and to cause to grow that pacific disposition which at present appears mutually to subsist between us. This you informed us was your intention. You also acquainted us, that it remained entirely with us, whether there should be peace, or not, and that it was your desire to establish a lasting peace between the United States, and us. I see clearly the subject of your speech, and beg your attention to the words of the Warriors, for there are no Sachems amongst us.

The words of the warriors are strong, they are persons who have so travelled through the world, and born all the difficulties of the war, that it is in their power to make a lasting peace. You told us that it was solely on us to make peace, but we apprehend that it is mutually dependent upon both parties. I speak in the name of the Six Nations, and not only in their name, but also in the name of all the other tribes—my voice therefore is strong—our minds are deep, and persevering, and our wish to make peace is great. We are neither haughty, nor proud, nor is it our disposition ever of ourselves, to commence hostilities. Our adherence to our Covenant with the Great King, drew us into the late war, which is a great proof to the Commissioners of our strict observance of our ancient covenant with the white people, and you will find the same attachment to the Covenant now to be made, as that which signalized our conduct during the late war.

We are free, and independent, and at present under no influence.—We have hitherto been bound by the Great King, but he having broke the chain, and left us to ourselves, we are again free, and independent.—Upon this principle we wish that the Commissioners would consider what we say as of ourselves, and not as being under the influence of any ; that as free, and independent people, we have a right to treat for peace, which

we wish to be so settled that if either party should in future go to war, the other may give their assistance, or refuse it, as it may please them.

(A string, No. 0.)

When taking up the belt of the Commissioners which was delivered on the reading their Commission he said :

Brothers, by this belt you informed us that you were authorized by Congress to settle a peace with us, and to prove that your powers were adequate, you produced your Commission from the Congress of the United States. We rely upon the truth of your being sufficiently adequate, and we, and our brothers, the Six Nations feel ourselves greatly obliged to you for being so kind as to produce them.

You directed us not to attend to what any particular State might say to us on public business, and that the Commissioners of Congress alone were adequate to that purpose.

We, of the Six Nations are fully sensible of the truth of this, and we think that no particular State can have any right to treat separately, but that it belongs only to the United States. In consequence of this, when the Governor of New York sent a message to us to assemble here in order to treat with that State, we requested that it might be a continental treaty, as we conceived that the United States formed one general system, or plan.

(A string.)

Then taking up a string, he said :

By this string, brothers, Commissioners, you acquainted us that peace was established between the United States and the King of Great Britain, which the great spirit was called to witness, and then you go on to acquaint us of the boundary line established between the Great King, and the United States, beginning near Halifax, and running thence, etc, (mentioning the boundary, as described in the definitive treaty read to them by the Commissioners.)—This you assured us is your boundary. That all the territory within it, is the property of the United States, and that all the Nations residing thereon must look up to them for protection.

You also assured us that the Great King in settling this peace with the United States, made no mention of us, but left us to treat for ourselves. Certainly the Great King did not look up to that Great Spirit, which he had called as a witness to that treaty, otherwise common justice would not have suffered him to be so inattentive, as to neglect those who had been so just, and faithful to him ; and we think that our brothers, the United States did not think of the Great Spirit, otherwise they would have mentioned to the Great King those persons who had been so faithful to him, when they found that he had entirely neglected them.

As the Commissioners have informed us of their powers to treat, I shall now inform them that we are the only persons adequate to treat of, and conclude a peace, not only on the part of the Six Nations, but also on that of the Ottawas, Chippewas, Hurons, Potawatamas, Messasagas,

Miamis, Delawares, Shawanees, Cherokees, Chicasas, Choctas, and Creeks, and establish a peace in the name of them all.

Whatever conclusion is made at this treaty will be strong, and whatever passes will be communicated throughout all the various tribes.

(A string No. 2.)

Then taking up the black, and white string, he said :

Brothers, Commissioners of the Thirteen United States, by this string you acquainted us that the King of France had ceded to the United States all claim, and title to any lands within their boundary. We have only to thank the Great Spirit for putting it into the mind of the King of France to make this cession, as it is well known that he is extremely saving of his lands, and that the United States are in great want of them.

(Black and white string.)

Then taking up a belt he laid it down, and taking another in his hand said :

Brothers, Commissioners 13 U. S :

By the belt which I hold in my hand to which this is a reply you informed us that it was indispensably essential to the making of peace, that all the prisoners should be delivered up, and that nothing could be finally done therein, until that should be the case.

We would propose to the Commissioners that for this purpose they should depute persons of their own Nation to go and collect them, lest if it should rest with us the Commissioners might apprehend that they were not all brought, and for this purpose we will give them all the assistance in our power.

As the day is at present so far advanced, we will defer the other matter until to-morrow, when we will answer to your last requisition.

(A belt.)

The Commissioners then requested that they might assemble as early in the morning as possible, and having covered up the Council fire for the night, retired.

*October 18th, 1784.*

Agreeably to the appointment of yesterday, the Indians assembled in the Council House, in order to answer fully to the requisition of the Commissioners respecting a boundary line, and having informed them of their Convention, the Commissioners, (viz.) the Hon. Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee, Esqs., accompanied by the Hon. Representatives of Pennsylvania, and several military officers, and other gentlemen attended in the Council House, when Capt. O'Bail, a Seneca Chief addressed them thus in continuation of the speech of Capt. A. Hill, of yesterday.

Brothers Commissioners of the Thirteen United States, and all present of the Six Nations attend.

Yesterday at your Council Fire, many things were replied to, but one principal matter was deferred till to-day when we informed you that we would answer to your last subject.

Brothers, Commissioners of the Thirteen United States.

You addressed yourselves to us of the Six Nations, and requested that we should propose a boundary line between you and us, which might be honorable and satisfactory to you, and which might afford peace to our own minds.

Brothers,—We who are here present of one mind, thank you for your proposals. We conceive that the Great Spirit has prompted you to it, that our minds may be quieted, with which we are well pleased, and for which we again return you our thanks.

Brothers,—Compose your minds, the day is almost too short for an answer to so important a question, and we hope that it will not give you any uneasiness, that we have not yet answered to it, for we Indians love our lands.

We have deliberated long upon this subject, because when we have once made a line of division between us, the lands which are granted will be no longer our property. One matter of great importance to the Seneca Nation, should be brought to your view before we make any final determination. We have long been in the possession of our territory—there are many here who know it—who know that it extended far, and that we had great love to it

We Senecas are not of difficult minds; we have possessed our territory a long time, and managed our own affairs while the United States, and the King of Great Britain were friends, and during the whole time of the wars to the southward, we never called upon any for assistance.

While the wars were carried on among the Indians, we heard the voice of the Great King speaking to the Mohawks, this was his language: “Why do you of one blood fight thus, one against another.”

We were then exhorted by the Mohawks to drop the Hatchet, and to carry it no longer to the westward. We complied with their exhortations, and carried war no longer among those tribes. At this time the King's superintendant removed the council fire that was kindled this way, and our brothers, the Mohawks followed it from one place to another. This person was Col. Guy Johnson, who continued to remove the council fire from place to place, till he at last kindled it at Oswego, and sowed the seeds of confusion into our minds.

The King's superintendent then called us to his council fire, which he had kindled in Canada among the seven tribes, that were then present—when he took out what distracted our minds,—he gave us even the hatchet, which when given, the seven tribes of Canada received with great eagerness. When we Senecas received the hatchet, and returned to our country, and convened at the Council fire of the Onondagas, that they might also deliberate with us upon the matter. At our deliberations at

that council fire, we agreed to return the hatchet, and to deliver it up to Gen. Schuyler.

We have now related to you the manner in which the Hatchet was taken up. It came from the seven nations in Canada, who prevailed upon us to take it up, so that we could not sufficiently attend to your voice when it called upon us to be neutrals, and we of the Seneca Nation must again say that the hatchet was put into our hands, by those seven nations, for we Indians love our own blood.

Brothers, Commissioners of the Thirteen United States :

As we proposed to relate to you, the truth respecting the manner of our entering into the war with the United States, we hope that the relation which we have given will not prove disagreeable to you. It is our wish, that we may never be again in the like situation, for we are sincerely disposed to peace, and friendship, the great business of the present treaty.

Brothers, Representatives of the Thirteen United States :

You have allotted to me the task of drawing a line between us to your satisfaction. I feel the weight of it ; I feel for many of my brothers, who will be left destitute of any lands, and have therefore taken care in my deliberations to mark out that line which will give peace to both our minds.

I hope that in our present negotiations, nothing but friendship will prevail, and I am fully sensible that you will never conduct yourselves towards us, as the King of Great Britain has in throwing us away.

Brothers, Commissioners of the Thirteen United States, now hearken :

When we shall have drawn the line between us, whatever shall remain within the boundary allotted to us, shall be our own—it shall continue forever, as the sun which rolls over from day to day.

Brothers, Commissioners of the Thirteen United States :

Let us go on in this business of peace with tenderness, and caution, as it is of the utmost importance, and should what I now say, not meet with a kind reception into your breasts, it will greatly distress me, for I who stand before you am a warrior, and should it not meet your approbation, inform me whilst I am here.

Brothers:

I have several times repeated the words to proceed tenderly in this business, for I regard future generations, and to them I attend while engaged in making peace with you.

Our fires will be a considerable distance from each other, when I come to describe the boundary between us. This will tend to our mutual peace.

I think brothers that we warriors must have a large country to range in, as indeed our subsistence must depend on our having much hunting ground, and as it will also bring in money to you, will tend to our mutual advantage.



Now brothers I am about to draw the line—this we Senecas do of ourselves, as the land belongs solely to us. Let it begin at Tioga, and run thence by a straight line inclining a little to the North to Ohigee, and when it strikes the river Ohio, let it go down its stream to the old boundary, on the Cherokee river. As to the territory Westward of that you must talk respecting it with the Western Nations, towards the sitting of the sun—they must consult of what part they will cede to the United States.

Brothers should you approve of this boundary you will direct your people not to trespass upon our territory, or pass over the line, and should any of our nation attempt to pass over, or intrude upon your lands—let us know it—we will take care to reprimand them, and prevent it.

Brothers :

By this belt you now see my mind. If what I have mentioned be approved of by you, lay it along the Tioga, as I have said, if not I again request you to inform me, (A belt.)

Brothers, Commissioners of the Thirteen United States.

I now introduce to you Thaghnoghtonhare, a chief man of our Nation, who, should you approve of the boundary which I have described, will attend your surveys.

The Commissioners then informed them that they had heard what they had proposed, and would take it into their consideration, and should they not approve of it, when they were prepared to give them an answer, they would let them know. The Council fire was then raked up and the Commissioners retired.

*October 20th, 1784, 10 o'clock, A. M.*

The Commissioners met, present,

The Hon. OLIVER WOLCOTT, }  
RICHARD BUTLER, } Esqs.  
ARTHUR LEE, }

Resolved, That a council be held with the Indians, at 1 o'clock on this day, and notice thereof accordingly given them.

*10 o'clock, P. M.*

The Commissioners, accompanied as usual, met in the Council house, where being all present and the Indians having convened, the following speech was delivered.

#### SACHEMS AND WARRIORS.

We are now going to reply to the answer you made to our speech therefore open your ears and hear.

You informed us that your words were not the words of the Six Nations only, but that you were empowered to speak for all the nations of indians from the north to south. This surprises us, we summoned the Six Nations only to this treaty, that Nations not called should send their voices hither is extraordinary. But you have not shown us any

authority either in writing or by belts, for your speaking in their names; without showing such authority, your words will pass away like the winds of yesterday that are heard no more.

You have complained that we have refused you a copy of our speech, which might lead you into errors. When we refused it we gave our reason, which was this, that having explained our minds publicly and clearly to you all, and given belts and strings to remind you of every proposition, we did not choose you to be deceived, and our meaning to be misrepresented by the few persons among you who understood English, and might have explained our speech if we had gave a copy of it, as they pleased. We knew there were such persons among you who wished to deceive you, and under the direction of those who led you into the war against us, were planning to mislead you again for their own purposes. We did not wish to put you into the power of such persons, but to clear your eyes and your understandings. We explained at your desire over and over again our speech to you, and the strings and belts which accompanied every part of it.

You next excused your having taken up arms against us, by alledging you were drawn into it by your ancient covenant with the King of England.

Where was your sense of covenants, when after solemnly covenanting with us in 1775, and again as solemnly in 1776, receiving our presents to cover you, to comfort, and to strengthen you—immediately you took up the hatchet against us, and struck us with all your might? Could you have so soon forgotten your recent engagements with us, and yet be influenced by those long past with the King of England.

We asked you ; we exhorted you for your own sakes to remain neuter, tho' as living on the same ground with us, we had a right to expect your assistance against all invaders. You twice solemnly covenanted not to join in the war against us—and without the smallest provocation on our part—you violated your covenants, and spilt our blood.

We should not have called to mind this conduct, had you not attempted to justify it. You must not deceive yourselves, nor hope to deceive us. To justify errors may lead to a recommission of them, and it will be more safe and honorable to repent of, than to palliate, a conduct which tho' mischievous to us has been fatal to you, and has left you at our mercy.

Again you are mistaken in supposing that having been excluded from the United States and the King of Great Britain, you are become a free and independent nation, and may make what terms you please. It is not so. You are a subdued people; you have been overcome in a war which you entered into with us, not only without provocation, but in violation of most sacred obligations. The great spirit who is at the same time the judge and avenger of perfidy, has given us victory over all our enemies. We are at peace with all but *you, you* now stand out *alone* against our *whole force*.

When we offer you peace on moderate terms, we do it in magnanimity and mercy. If you do not accept it now, you are not to expect a repetition of such offers. Consider well, therefore, your situation and *ours*.—Do not suffer yourselves to be again deceived so as to raise our arm against you. You feel the sad effects of having refused this counsel before—beware how you do it again.

Compassionating your situation, we endeavored to make the terms on which you were to be admitted into the peace, and protection of the United States, appear to spring from your own contrition for what you had done, rather than from a necessity imposed by us. We therefore proposed to you to deliver up the prisoners, and to propose a boundary line, such as it became the United States to agree to.

On neither of these points have you given us the smallest satisfaction. You propose we should depute people of our own nation to go and collect the prisoners. This you know from experience is impracticable, that it would only provoke insults, and perhaps the murder of such deputation, by the persons who hold our fellow citizens in bondage. You only can collect them, you only, ought to collect them, you must collect and deliver them up. Our words are strong, and we mean you should feel them. With regard to the boundary line you have proposed, the lands to the North West of it have almost all been sold already to Onas, and all the lands Southwest of it to the Cherokee river was sold by you in the year 1768, at this place, and is all granted and settled by the white people.

We shall now, therefore declare to you the condition, on which alone you can be received into the peace and protection of the United States. The conditions are these :

The United States of America will give peace to the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Cayugas, and receive them into their protection upon the following conditions.

ARTICLE 1st. Six hostages shall be immediately delivered to the Commissioners by the said nations, to remain in possession of the United States, till all the prisoners white and black, which were taken by the said Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Cayugas, or by any of them in the late war from amongst the citizens of the United States shall be delivered up.

ARTICLE 2. The Oneida, and Tuscarora nations shall be secured in the possession of the lands on which they are settled.

ARTICLE 3. A line shall be drawn, beginning at the mouth of a creek about four miles East of Niagara, called Oyonwagea, or Johnston's landing place, on the Lake named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario, from thence Southerly in a direction always four miles East of the Carrying place between Lakes Erie, and Ontario, to the mouth of the Tehoseron, or Buffalo Creek, on Lake Erie, thence South to the North Boun-

dary of the State of Pennsylvania, thence West to the end of the said North Boundary, thence South along the West Boundary of the said State to the river Ohio.

The said line from the mouth of the Oyonwagea to the Ohio, shall be the Western Boundary of the lands of the Six Nations, so that the Six Nations shall, and do yield to the United States all claim to the country West of said Boundary, and then they shall be secured in the peaceful possession of the lands East and North of the same, reserving only six miles square round the Fort of Oswego to the United States for the support of the same.

ARTICLE 4. The Commissioners of the United States in consideration of the present circumstances of the Six Nations, and in execution of the humane and liberal views of the United States upon the signing of the above articles will order goods to be delivered to the Six Nations for their use and comfort.

We shall make a few remarks on these articles, tho' the moderation and equity of them are manifest:

Ist. It is more than six months since you were informed by General Schuyler, in the name of Congress, that you must deliver up all the prisoners before peace could be granted you. Our message gave you the same information, yet you have not delivered them up.

As the delivery of them is indispensable, so you have rendered hostages necessary by your delay.

2d. It does not become the United States to forget those nations who preserved their faith to them, and adhered to their cause, those, therefore must be secured in the full and free enjoyment of those possessions.

3d. The line proposed, leaves as extensive a country to the remaining four nations, as they can in reason desire, and more than, from their conduct in the war, they could expect.

The King of Great Britain ceded to the United States *the whole*, by the right of conquest they might *claim the whole*. Yet they have taken but a small part, compared with their numbers, and their wants. Their warriors must be provided for. Compensations must be made for the blood and treasures which they have expended in the war. The great increase of their people, renders more lands essential to their subsistence. It is therefore necessary that such a boundary line should be settled, as will make effectual provisions for these demands, and prevent any future cause of difference and dispute.

4th. It ought to be felt by you as a signal proof of the magnanimity of the United States, that tho' the present distresses of most of the Six Nations, have been incurred by their own fault in fighting against them. Yet they have determined to minister such relief to them as is at present in their power.

These are the terms on which you may obtain perpetual peace with the United States, and enjoy their protection.

You must be sensible that these are blessings, which can not be purchased at too high a price. Be wise, and answer us accordingly.

To which Capt. O'Bail replied:

Brothers, Commissioners of the Thirteen United States:

You have this day declared your minds to us fully, and without disguise. We thank you for it; this is acting like men, for thus men speak. We will take what you have said into our most serious consideration, and when we shall have prepared ourselves to answer to what you have proposed, you shall hear our voice.

After the usual ceremonies were over the Commissioners ordered that the Council fire should be raked up, and retired from the Council house.

*October 21, 1784.*

The Indians having assembled in the Council house, informed the Commissioners that they were prepared to answer to what they had proposed to them in the speech of the 20th; accordingly the Commissioners met in the Council house, where were present the Hon. Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee, Esqs., accompanied, as usual by the Hon. Representatives of the State Pennsylvania, and several other gentlemen. Captain Aaron Hill addressed the Commissioners in the following manner:

Brothers. Commissioners of the Thirteen United States, attend:

You yesterday replied to the last speech which we made to you in answer to certain matters which you proposed for our consideration.

We are surprised that you misunderstood what we said, for the speech of our brothers, plainly shews that they did not understand our meaning. I will now therefore relate the eight principle articles, which were contained in our speech.

Brothers:

Upon your informing us that this Council fire was kindled for the purpose of making peace, we replied that we loved peace, that our minds were thick, firm, and determined, that we were resolved that the peace then to be made should be so strongly founded that no person should ever have it in their power to molest it.

We likewise assured you that we were not trifling, that we were relieved from our covenant with the Great King, and consequently could establish peace upon a firm basis. That we would not be wavering, that our minds were long and enduring, and that in case a war should break out between you, and the King of Great Britain, we should have it in our power to assist you, or not, if we were asked, and even if not called upon, we should still be able, for that as free and independent people we might

act in that case as we might think proper, and further that if a war should break out between the U. States, and the King of Great Britain, if you desired, we would sit still, and remain neuter, and likewise we informed you that the treaty now to be made should be held up forever before us, and should conduct us in future.

You likewise informed us that as we did not produce any written proofs, or belts for our speaking in the name of those Western Tribes, our words would pass away without effect. We did not bring any proofs with us, but left them at the Council fire, which is now burning among our brothers the Shawnees, on the river Miami.

Here ends our volume of the Journal.

#### SPEECH OF LA FAYETTE.

The following is a copy of the speech which we referred to in the introduction to the proceedings at Fort Stanwix in 1784. It is truly emphatic, and eloquent, and we think there is abundant evidence that it is the speech of *Kayenlaa*, mentioned in the minutes of the conferences at that place.

But even were we mistaken in that opinion, it is well worthy of preservation for its own striking merits, and as a memento of its great and esteemed author:

#### ADDRESS OF LA FAYETTE.

In meeting my children, I give thanks to heaven, which has conducted me to this place of peace, where you smoke together the pipe of friendship.

If you remember the voice of *Kayenlaa*, call to mind also his advices, and the belts, which he has often sent you. I come to thank the faithful children, the Sachems, the Warriors, and such as have been my messengers, and if paternal memory did not sooner forget *ill*, than *good*, I might be disposed to furnish those, who in opening their ears, have shut their hearts, who blindly taking up the hatchet, have been in danger of striking their own fathers.

That the American cause is just, I formerly told you, that it is the cause of humanity, that it is your cause in particular, that you ought at least to remain neutral, and that the brave Americans would defend both their liberty, and yours, that your fathers, the French, would take them by the hand, that the white birds would cover the shores, that the great Onondio, like the sun, would dispel the clouds which surrounded you, and that the adverse projects would vanish like a sinking fog.



Not to listen to Kayenlaa was the advice given you from another quarter, but you were also told that the Northern army would enter Boston in triumph, that the Southern would conquer Virginia, that the great chief Warrior Washington, at the head of your fathers, and your brothers would be forced to abandon the country. Those who put their hand before *your* eyes, have not failed to open *their own*. Peace has ensued—you know the conditions of it, and I shall do a favor to some of you, by forbearing thro' pity a repetition of them.

My predictions have been fulfilled. Open your ears to the new advice of your father, and let my voice be heard among all the nations.

What have you ever gained my children? What have you not lost in European quarrels?

Be more wise than the white men—keep peace among yourselves, and since the great Council of the United States, is, in their goodness disposed to treat with you, profit of those good dispositions. Forget not that the Americans are the intimate friends of your fathers, the French. This alliance is as durable, as it has been successful. The great Onondio has given forever his hand to your brothers, who offer you theirs, and by this means, we shall form a salutary chain. To satisfy yourselves of it, trade with the Americans, with those of your fathers, who may cross the great Lake. The manufactures of France, are known to you, and your experience will lead you to prefer them. They will be to you a token of the alliance.

In selling your lands, do not consult the keg of rum, and give them away to the first adventurer, but let the American chiefs, and yours United around the fire, settle on reasonable terms.

At present my children, you know, that if some have a title to the acknowledgements of Congress, there are many whose only resource is in their clemency, and whose passed faults call for reparations.

If you hearken well, my children, I have said enough to you. Repeat my words, one to another.

Whilst on the other side of the great Lakes, I shall hear of you with pleasure, and until we shall again smoke our pipes together, and be together under the same huts, I wish you good health, successful huntings, union, and plenty, and the fulfilment of all dreams, which promise you happiness.

(True translation.)

LA FAYETTE.

On the 23d of October, 1784, the day after the signing of the Treaty with this U. S. Commissioners, the Six Nations ceded to the Commonwealth the residue of their lands within our limits. By this cession the title of those Indians to the lands across the Allegheny river was extinguished.

The Pennsylvania Commissioners, who had attended at Fort Stanwix in October, 1784, proceeded soon after to Fort M'Intosh, now Beaver, to meet the Delaware and Wyandott Indians. At that place those Indians

executed a deed, on the 21st of January, 1785, conveying to this commonwealth the same lands which had previously been conveyed by the Six Nations.

Sixty three years have, therefore, almost elapsed since white settlements in that region became legal, and what a wonderful change has been worked in that time in the appearance of the country. A great State Canal, and State Penitentiary, extensive manufacturing establishments, and splendid private residences are now the substitutes for Indian Wigwams; and where the Indian canoes formerly plied bridges, aqueducts, and steamers now exist.

#### THE LAKE ERIE TRACT.

While on the matter of cessions by the Indians, we may as well conclude that subject by stating that on the 3d of October, 1788, an act of Assembly was passed entitled, an act to authorise the supreme executive council to draw on the state treasurer for a sum of money, for defraying the expense of purchasing of the Indians, lands on lake Erie, (chapter 1355.) By which act a sum of £1200 was granted to purchase the Indian rights, in the lake Erie tract, bargained to be sold by the United States to Pennsylvania, and a further grant was added for the same purpose, by an act of the 28th of September, 1789, (chap. 1439.)

The Indian cession of the Presque Isle lands, is dated January 9th, 1789, and is in these words:—"The signing chiefs do acknowledge the right of soil, and jurisdiction to, and over that tract of country bounded on the south by the north line of the State of Pennsylvania, on the east, by the west boundary of the State of New York, agreeable to the cession of that State and Massachusetts to the United States, and on the north by the margin of lake Erie, including Presque Isle; and all the bays and harbors along the margin of said lake Erie, from the west boundary of Pennsylvania, to where the west boundary of the State of New York may cross or intersect the south margin of the said lake Erie, to be vested in the said State of Pennsylvania, agreeable to an act of congress dated the 6th of June last, (1788.)

The said chiefs agree, that the said State of Pennsylvadia shall and may, at any time they think proper, survey, dispose of and settle, all that part of the aforesaid country lying and being west of a line running along the middle of the Conowago river, from its confluence with the Alleghany river into the Chadochque lake, thence along the middle of the said lake to the north end of the same, thence a meridian line from the north and of the said lake to the margin or shore of lake Erie."

In a note to Col. Stone's Life of Joseph Brant, we find the following notice of a visit to this country by a party of Spaniards so long ago as 1669. The descendents of the countrymen of Pizarro, Cortez, and De Soto, were truly a roving, enterprising, restless people, yet this journey of twenty three Spaniards from Louisiana up the Mississippi, Ohio, and Allegheny rivers, and then by land to the very heart of the State of N. York, seems almost incredible. But we do not feel authorised to pass decisive judgment against its correctness or to deprive our readers of an opportunity of perusing a most interesting narrative. We, therefore, insert the note, so that every reader may examine and decide for himself.

The following brief but very interesting account of a French Colony, located in the town of Pompey, in the year 1666, is taken from "A Memoir on the Antiquities of the Western parts of the State of New York," by De Witt Clinton.

After informing us that the statement is collected partially from the Sachems of the Six Nations, and partly from a manuscript journal of one of the French Jesuits, he proceeds to remark:—

"From the Jesuits' journal it appears, that in the year 1666, at the request of Karakontie, an Onondaga Chieftain, a French Colony was directed to repair to his village, for the purpose of teaching the Indian arts and sciences, and to endeavor, if practicable, to civilize, and christianize them.

"We learn from the Sachems, that at this time the Indians had a fort, a short distance above the village of Jamesville, on the banks of a small stream near; a little above which, it seems, the chieftain, Karakontie would have his new friends *sit down*. Accordingly they repaired thither and commenced their labors, which being greatly aided by the savages, a few months only were necessary to the building of a small village.

"This little colony remained for three years in a very peaceable and flourishing situation, during which time much addition was made to the establishment, and, among others, a small chapel, in which the Jesuit used to collect the barbarians, and perform the rites and ceremonies of his church.

"But the dire circumstance which was to bury this colony in oblivion, and keep their history in secret, was yet to come. About this time, (1669,) a party of Spaniards, consisting of twenty three persons, arrived at the village, having for guides some of the Iroquois, who had been taken captive by the Southern tribes. It appears evident that this party came up the Mississippi, as it has been ascertained that they passed Pittsburgh, and on to Olean Point; where, leaving their canoes, they travelled by land. They had been informed by some of the Southern tribes that there was a lake at the north of them, whose bottom was covered with a substance shining and white,\* and which they took, from the Indians'

\*The salt crystallizes at the present time on the grass, and upon the naked earth in the immediate vicinity of the springs, though the water of the lake is fresh.

description, to be silver ; and it is supposed that the idea of enriching themselves upon this treasure, induced them to take this long and desperate journey ; for silver was the first thing inquired for on their arrival and on being told that none was ever seen in or about the Onondaga lake, they became almost frantic, and seemed bent upon a quarrel with the French, and charged them with having bribed the Indians, and even those who had been their guides, that they would not tell where the mines might be found. Nor dare they, finding the French influence to prevail, venture out on a search, lest the Indians might destroy them. A compromise was however made, and both parties agreed that an equal number of each should be sent on an exploring expedition, which was accordingly done. But the effect of this upon the minds of the Indians was fatal. Upon seeing these strangers prowling the woods with various kinds of instruments, they immediately suspected some plan to be in operation to deprive them of their country.

“Nor was this jealousy by any means hushed by the Europeans. The Spaniards averred to the Indians that the only object of the French was to tyrannize over them ; and the French, on the other hand, that the Spaniards were plotting a scheme to rob them of their lands.

The Indians by this time becoming equally jealous of both, determined in private council, to rid themselves of so troublesome neighbors. For aid in this, they sent private instructions to the Oneidas and Cayugas, who only wanted a watchword to be found immediately on the ground. The matter was soon digested, and the time and manner for attack agreed upon. A little before day-break, on *All-Saints* day, 1669, the little colony, together with the Spaniards, were aroused from their slumbers by the roaring of fire-arms, and the dismal war whoop of the savages. Every house was immediately fired or broken open, and such as attempted to escape from the flames met a more untimely death in the *tomahawk*.—Merciless multitudes overpowered the little band, and the Europeans were soon either lost in death, or writhing in their blood ; and such was the furious prejudice of the savages, that not one escaped, or was left alive to *relate the sad disaster*. Thus perished the little colony, whose labors have excited so much wonder, and curiosity.

“The French in Canada, on making inquiries respecting the fate of their friends, were informed by the Indians, that they had gone towards the south, with a company of people who came from thence, and at the same time showing a *Spanish coat of arms*, and other national trinkets, confirmed the Canadian French in the opinion that their unfortunate countrymen had indeed gone thither, and in all probability perished in the immense forests. This opinion was also measurably confirmed by a Frenchman who had long lived with the Senecas, and who visited the Onondagas at the time the Spaniards were at the village, but left before the disaster, and could only say that he had seen them there.”

# THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

OCTOBER, 1847.

NO. 10.

## JOURNAL OF GENERAL BUTLER.

It will be seen by the preceding article that Gen. Butler was one of the Commissioners appointed to hold treaties with the Northern and Western Indians, and in performance of that duty he attended at Fort Stanwix. He subsequently attended at Fort McIntosh, and in September, 1785, he left his home in Carlisle to proceed to the Miami to hold a treaty there.

The Journal kept by him during that expedition was placed in our hands many years ago by his son, the late gallant and estimable Captain James R. Butler, and we now publish it.

The Journal will be found interesting, and the collection and preservation of such documents is one of the principal purposes of the *Olden Time*.

*Monday, September 9th, 1785.*

I this day parted from my loved little family. I proceeded to Shippensburgh in company with the Hon. Col. James Monroe, a member of Congress from the State of Virginia, a gentleman very young for a place in that honorable body; but a man well read, very sensible, highly impressed with the consequence and dignity of the federal Union, and a determined supporter of it in its fullest latitude.

We had rainy weather for three days, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. Stayed on Saturday at Shippensburgh, set out on Sunday, came to Littleton, thence Bedford, Stony Creek, Proctor's, widow Myers' and was met near the Bullock Pens by Col. B. and other gentlemen. Arrived at Fort Pitt on the 16th where we remained variously employed, till the 26th. I visited my lands on the Allegheny and Plumb Creek, which I am much pleased with, there being room for great improvement.

*Monday, Sept. 26th.*

After having waited for wagons, which we passed on the road between Carlisle and Fort Pitt, untill this day. I had three boats loaded with goods for the treaty, and one large scow with provisions for the troops, and set out for Fort McIntosh. One of the boats struck on a sand-bank

at the lower end of Irvin's Island,\* no harm done. Found the river very bad all through the narrows, which retarded the head boat very much. We got to Logstown before sunset and encamped; the scow did not arrive. The whole of this day has been cold, windy and rainy. Lay on board our boat very comfortably. Col. M——, having been some time confined to a close room, he caught cold.

Plumbs are very plenty here. I find the old fields are quite grown up with shrubs, which has destroyed their beautiful appearance and verdure. There is still a great deal of fine blue grass among the plumb trees and other bushes.

*Tuesday, Sept. 27th.*

Breakfasted at 8 o'clock, and set off for Fort McIntosh, where we arrived at 11 o'clock; was received by the commanding officer very politely; dined with him and some other officers. Expected Capt. O'Hara who promised to be at Fort McIntosh this evening with Col. M—— and my horses, but did not arrive.

*Wednesday, Sept. 28th.*

Had the goods left in store overhauled and sent to the shore for loading; had them down on the beach at 12 o'clock. Deferred loading till evening in expectation of a large boat lately bought from Mr. Hulings, capable of receiving the whole. This day cloudy and looks for rain. No boat arrived; rain in the night.

*Thursday, Sept. 29th.*

Had every thing loaded and ready to set off in——— for the troops, I had wrote from Fort Pitt to Col. Harmer to have the troops in readiness which he had done; and I believe they are good men, but not so well clothed as I wish, being new recruits, and no clothing arrived for them. At 12 o'clock I was requested to review and receive them. On my arrival in the garrison the troops were wheeled, marched, and went through some exercise pretty well. This done, they were formed and Captain Finney brought forward and informed that he is to receive his orders from the Commissioners. I then order the Major to look at, and lay out a proper number of boats sufficient to receive such part of the troops as are not employed in rowing down the public stores and provisions. This was immediately done, and the number of men told off for each boat and flat, who got on board immediately; the remainder then embarked, and the whole sailed at three o'clock, P. M. Just as they were setting out, the horses arrived, and were put into a scow and set off.

*Friday, Sept. 30th.*

I remained on the ground to see that nothing was left, and to write some papers of consequence which I committed to the care of Col. Harmer to deliver to Mrs. Butler, in Carlisle, with a paper for himself containing my opinion of the mouth of Muskingum being a very proper

\* This is the Island now called Long Island. Gen. Irvine claimed it, but an older title in Neville, Simms and Heth prevailed.



place for a post to cover the frontier inhabitants, prevent intruding settlers on the lands of the United States, and secure the surveyors of the United States. Just as I was going to strike my tent, Capt. O'Hara arrived; he says in excuse for not being punctual to his promise in coming here the 27th inst., that the wagons for which we had waited arrived, and he brought on our tents, sails, and clothing for Indian Chiefs. Also, tools for the use of the troops, had them all put into a small boat and set off at 11 o'clock to overtake the other boats, found the water very shallow to the mouth of Racoon Creek four miles below Fort McIntosh. The wind rose and blew severe, met with shoal water and rocks, came to one Witherows who keeps a ferry eight miles below McIntosh, passed an Island just below Witherows, south side, struck on a rock, very rocky in several places. About 3 o'clock P. M., arrived at the line of the State of Pennsylvania, at which place we found the geographer, Mr. Hutchins and the United States surveyors; they had made a beginning at right angles on the west line of the State, at the post set up by Mr. Rittenhouse, and had gone on westward six miles, the breadth of one range of townships on which Capt. Martin begins to-morrow, having won it by lots; the other gentlemen will follow in rotation, and some are very anxious to get to business. The gentlemen were very polite, and seemed happy to see us. Capt. Hutchins had a very good dinner ready, which we partook of with great pleasure, as it was with a set of gentlemen who are the first at work on a fund which will eventually, and I think in a short time extinguish the debt of the United States, and fix a permanent prosperity on legal right for millions of people.

I felt a little uneasiness on hearing Capt. H. mention that if the Indian chiefs did not come to him he would instantly quit the business and return, as he could not think himself and people safe. I conversed with Capt. M. a very sensible young gentleman; I gave him as my opinion, that they should go on as soon as the geographer had run a sufficient distance on the west line for them to begin, and that I felt confident the Indians would not attempt to injure them until they gave them warning; until which time I think it would betray a timidity that should not be shown by public officers.

I felt also uneasy at a private conversation with Gen. I—r, who told me he found himself rather unhappy at the haughty and unaccommodating conduct of Capt. H—. I told him as an old brother officer, that he must not let these matters interfere with the public interest; that, let what would happen on the ground, for the sake of their characters, no dissension should take place. This he thought reasonable, and told me he was determined nothing of the kind shall cause him to do any thing that may in least delay the business. I also conversed with Maj. Pa—r on the above subjects, who seems fully determined to forward the business; indeed I am of the opinion the whole of the gentlemen will do all in their power. After dinner Capt. O'Hara and another boat with stores

which arrived this morning, he put in also and was treated in the same manner as we had been.

I went to view the line, which Mr. Rittenhouse and his assistants have run between the State of Pennsylvania and the lands of the United States. It bears all the marks of correct judgement, wisdom, and care in the execution, and will be a lasting monument of his excellence in this kind of business; it is open, well marked, and I am told so correct as to vary but 1-10 of an inch in forty miles. They have gone on the north side of Ohio towards Lake Erie, about thirty miles. Mr. Rittenhouse is returned to Philadelphia, and in his absence it is continued under the direction of one Mr. Ellicott, of the State of Maryland. I saw one Irvine who had come from Cumberland river in a boat; he arrived at Fort McIntosh just the evening before I set out. He says he met Gen. Clark below Sciota a small distance, the 13th inst., on his way to the falls of the Ohio. He says he met with the wife of one Doolan whose husband and two children were murdered by the Indians on Fish Creek, on the 20th instant. Their conduct was very extraordinary. They came to the door and knocked very early in the morning, the man rose out of bed and was shot through the door which broke his thigh; on his falling, the door was broke in by the Indians, who tomahocked him and two children; the woman in fright lay still. They told her not to be uneasy, that they would not hurt her or the child she had in her arms, and desired she would not leave the house, as they would soon be back again, but did not intend to injure her; that they were Cherokees and would never make peace. She asked why they troubled her, that the Indians had made peace with Gen. Clark last fall; they said not they, that if they could meet Gen. Clark they would kill him also. He says he does not think the Indians mean to do any mischief generally, that it is a few banditti who are a collection of Cherokees, Shawanees, &c.

We left the surveyors to come up with the troops and stores whom we overtook just above the mouth of Yellow Creek in a very good harbor, about 8 o'clock at night. Maj. P. and Capt. M. accompanied us this far, they come down to see the country, and appear to be active and sensible men. Col. Monroe and myself advised friendship, unanimity and perseverance. We supped and spent the evening gaily, and went to rest about twelve o'clock.

*Friday, October 1st.*

The weather has a little the appearance of rain, which would be of great use, the river being very low. I fortunately recommended the employing of one Mr. Huling, who I find to be a very useful, active, and ingenious man, he goes a head with a small canoe to search out the channel, which we find very crooked. The above mentioned gentlemen left us this morning and returned to their camp at the line. The boats were detained changing and loading, and did not arrive till eight o'clock, at which time the drum beat and the whole got under way. Passed Yel-

low Creek and found several improvements on both sides of the river, put in at one Jesse Penniman's on the north side, five miles below Yellow Creek, warned him off; called on one Pry, who I warned off also: this appears to be a shrewd, sensible man. He assured me he would go off, that he would go to Kentucky, having been disappointed in a place he had formerly purchased, it being taking from him by a law suit. I told him, as well as the others, that Congress were determined to put all the people off the lands, and that none would be allowed to settle but the legal purchasers, and that these and these only would be protected; that troops would be down next week, who have orders to destroy every house and improvement on the north side of the river, and that garrisons will be placed at Muskingum and other places, and that if any person or persons attempted to oppose Government, they may depend on being treated with the greatest rigor. He seems not well pleased, though he promised submission.

At this Pry's house we met one Wm. McCullum from the Illinois, he says he passed Gen. Clark at the falls. His accounts are of no use, being stupid, inconsistent, and unintelligible. Passed by several Islands, find the river very difficult to get down; the channel from Yellow Creek is chiefly on the south side. Went on well to Middle Island, between which and the shore is the channel, close inshore. We got aground, as did six boats; passed on to the Mingoetowns, where we found a number of people, among whom one Ross seems to be the principal man of the settlers on the north side of that place. I conversed with him, and warned him and the others away. He said he and his neighbors were misrepresented to congress; that he was going to Congress to inform them that himself and neighbors were determined to be obedient to their ordinances, and we had made it a point to assure them that Congress had no respect to persons, that the lands would be surveyed and sold to poor and rich, and that there would, or could be no more of preference given to one more than another, which seemed to give satisfaction.

Passed on to near Cross Creek, eight miles below the Mingoetowns. A heavy shower of hail and gusts of rain came on, which continued till after night, which embarrassed us very much. Found that Capt. O'Hara had 15000 lbs. of flour on the bank ready to embark. Strove along time to get to shore, but the water was so low we could not. Captain O'Hara went out and with much difficulty in the dark, got to the house of one Cox, and after much trouble he got two horses for Col. Monroe and myself. I thought best to get Col. M. to take quarters in the house, and I staid in the boat; it rained in the night hard. Our troops and fleet came within four miles before the rain began, stopped to cover the goods which got one shower before the covering commenced, and which I fear has done some damage.

*Cross Creek, Sunday, Oct. 2d,*

Capt. O'Hara had a fine cow killed for the troops who arrived at nine o'clock; had the men served with provisions who were set to cooking

while some loaded the flour and corn for the use of the troops and cattle, and all was got ready and started at one o'clock. The people of this country appear to be very much imposed on by a religious sect called Methodist, and are become great fanatics. They say they have paid taxes which were too heavy.

Called at the settlement of Chas. Norris, whose house has been pulled down, and he has rebuilt it. At this place found one Walter Kean, who seems but a midling character, and rather of the dissentious cast. warned all these off, and requested they would inform their neighbors, which they promised to do. Col. Monroe spoke to them also, which had weight, as I informed them of his character.

Called at the settlement of one Capt. Hoglan, who we also warned off, his house had also been thrown down and rebuilt. We informed him of the impropriety of his conduct, which he acknowledged, and seemed very submissive, and promised to remove and to warn his neighbors off also. Come on very well to Wheeling where we stayed all night. This is a fine settlement, and belongs to one Zane, an Island which is opposite the mouth of Wheeling Creek, containing about 400 acres of most excellent land, and is a situation not only of great profit, but real beauty. He says he sells to amount of £300 per annum of the produce of his farm for cash, exclusive of the other advantages by traffic. He is an intelligent man, but seems either timid through real doubt or affects it through design.

*Monday, Oct. 3d,*

The troops, encamped about four miles above last night, and did not arrive till this morning. Capt. O'Hara had people set to work to lay a deck in a large flat to take in some fine cattle which he had ready at this place. Made a general inspection of the goods, which I found in very bad order, being quite wet; had them dried as much as the weather, which was showery, would admit of. The boat was not ready till dark, therefore could not take in the cattle this evening.

*Tuesday, Oct. 4th.*

The troops began very early to load the cattle, had in twenty-one by eight o'clock; found the boat bad; the fleet sailed and went four miles when the cattle boat had liked to sink: put in and had the boat caulked and four of the bullocks with six casks of flour taken out, and the flour stowed in other boats, and the cattle left to come down in another.

I directed one Corporal and three soldiers to stay at Zane's till Captain O'Hara would send a good boat from Fort McIntosh, which is ready with other cattle. I wrote to Col. Harmer for three other men to join these as an escort to the Miamia, and to give Maj. Dougherty orders to pull down every house on his way to Muskingum that is on the north side of the Ohio. I also wrote Gen. Harmer that I had sailed, &c., vide the public letters of this date; I also wrote to Mrs. B. After lightening the cattle boat so much, she sailed and seems to keep on very well.

The country here is really charming ; large bottoms of fine land, and rich hills. This country, if well managed, will certainly sell well, and sink a great part of the public debt ; and give the purchaser a very valuable and happy exchange for his public securities. Capt. O'Hara left us at one o'clock, and returned to Fort Pitt to send us more supplies. We find several fine families on their way to the Kentucky country, one is a Col. Wood, from Virginia, another one, Captain Smart from Jersey, with several others.

We got Col. Monroe's horses on board one of these boats, there being no room in the cattle boat. We went on very well to Grave Creek, when the whole fleet arrived at half past five o'clock, and encamped just below its mouth on a fine beach. Went to see the Grave, which is an extraordinary pile of human bones covered with earth. It is about sixty feet perpendicular high, and about one hundred and eighty feet in diameter, base, a conical figure, with large trees on its sides and top, where is one of three feet diameter. Supposing the annual growth one-tenth of an inch, is one hundred and eighty years old ; how long its sides were naked, may be supposed fifty years, as these kind of mounds of earth do not produce trees so soon as the land which is on a level with the country around. There are two small forts which, with the Grave, form a triangle. Near one of these forts are three large holes, which appear to me to have been places of deposit for provisions. About one-fourth of a mile from these, forming an angle of about twenty-five degrees, is a large ort which the owner of the land has began to plow up, where they find pieces of earthen kettles, arrow points and stone tomahawks, all marks of savage antiquity. Opposite Grave Creek, is a fine large bottom of excellent land. A number of the inhabitants from Fish Creek and that part of the country, have collected at the houses of Isaac Williams and Tumbleson, in consequence of the murder of Doolan and his two children.

*Wednesday, Oct. 5th.*

The fleet sailed at six o'clock, all very well. Put two men on board with one of the families that have Col. Monroe's horses, which gives them great spirits. Col. M. has added much to the happiness of my situation. His polite and friendly manner, not only gives pleasure to those who are with him, but creates a respect, and attracts your esteem insensibly. It is my real opinion, his tour will prove of advantage to this great country, for it is certain that in all great questions which respect a country, without personal knowledge, arguments must be founded on theory ; but in the case of personal knowledge, arguments are founded on facts ; which, added to a good and well matured judgement, (which I think he possesses,) will naturally carry conviction with it in every council ; and when all this is attended by a true patriotic spirit, not local, but generally extended to the nation at large, besides the wishes of a very philanthropic heart ; I think I may with justice say, great advantages will arise from his tour.



About three o'clock met three men in a canoe from the Falls. They are very ignorant, can give little account of any thing, except that a white man shot an Indian who had came with some others in company with a trader, and that a white man had been killed by the Indians, supposed in retaliation. At nine o'clock met a batteau from Limestone, came by us under full sail, no news. Passed on below Captina where the fleet put in to breakfast. At this place is a severe shallow on which several boats struck. The light flats were a little injured, had them caulked, moved on at twelve o'clock. Met a canoe with two men from Lexington, very ignorant. Met also some of the inhabitants from Fishing Creek, one of whom had made a settlement on the north side of the Ohio, warned him off and gave him two of the proclamations of Congress. All this day a high wind, which retarded us very much. Met riffles, all very shallow, struck with the barge several times. The country very fine. At four o'clock, P. M., passed Fish Creek, on which, near the Ohio, the murder of Doolan and his two children was committed, on or about the 20th of September last.

The men which we met this day from the Falls, mention that they passed a raft which is very new, left on south side of the river, in the head of the long reach, about large enough to carry the baggage, amrs, &c., for ten Indian warriors, who they apprehend are on that side for mischievous purposes. Some men who were in their company live near Fish Creek, and this morning heard some shooting which they say induced them to go up to Grave Creek to their families, who were removed to that place on the murder of Doolan.

Arrived at the mouth of Fish Creek at four o'clock, A. M., below which is the plantation of one Wiseman; put in and examined about the place, saw no signs of an enemy, waited till the fleet came up, crossed to the north shore where we encamped. Directed Maj. Finney to issue a small proportion of ammunition to each soldier. He gave to each three rounds. This night it rained hard, had the boats covered in the evening, it appearing likely for rain. The lands on each side are really delightful. On one side of every bend is a grand and extensive bottom of very rich land; and opposite high and beautiful hills of good land, generally on easy slope or ascent, and seldom rocky; and will, in my opinion, before many years be the seats of opulent farmers: and if properly governed will add strength and riches to the confederacy. But I think the more easily the first settlers are led in to government, and convinced of their dependance on the old States, the less probability of their attempting to break off. This may be very easily done, if wisdom and unanimity guide our councils, and care be taken to have whatever laws are formed for their government in the first instance regularly executed. One thing will endear them to the old States, which is, protection from the Indians, this can be done very easy, once we have possession of the frontier posts, and which will be difficult till that takes place.



*Thursday, Oct. 6th.*

The fleet got under way at six o'clock, the day very fine and wind in favor; went on well to the mouth of Fishing Creek, where is a fine farm. Put in at eleven o'clock to refresh the troops, stayed one hour. At twelve o'clock the wind changed a head, which retards our way very much. There were a number of canoes at the place and in the mouth of Fishing Creek, which is the creek the murder of Doolan and children was committed on, and not at Fish Creek.

Went on very well to near the middle of the long reach. Had fine sport after ducks in the evening, and saw three deers in the water. Isaac Zane went on shore, could not come up with them, but killed two bears. Encamped at half past three o'clock on the south side, below the point of an Island. The water rose this night four inches. On the north side of this Island is a field of corn. The lands of the bottom ground rather bushy and cold, not so rich as the bottoms above and below.

*Friday, Oct. 7th.*

Sailed at half past six in the morning in a great fog, went on well till half past nine o'clock, to the first turn below the long reach, at which place, on the south side, a small creek comes in; above the mouth three is three rocks and a nob of a hill with a few pine trees, thence one large bend to a creek, put in at eleven o'clock to refresh.

Just above the mouth of this creek, on the north side, opposite the lower point of an Island, is a fine harbor for boats. At this place Isaac Zane brought in a fine bear in company with Lieut. Doyle. Left this place at half past twelve o'clock, the wind heavy a head. We have found the wind generally to rise at eleven o'clock, and lull about three. The bottoms very fine on each side, on the large bends. passed a fine Island about four miles below where we halted. Passed three more Islands. The channel is between the two upper ones, just between the middle and lower one; the channel is near the middle and then straight out. Here Mr. Zane brought in four bears. Encamped four miles below this Island. Opposite to these three Islands is very fine land. Col. Monroe and another gentleman gunned all day. He killed a fine turkey, several ducks, &c.; returned about dark. River rising moderately. Our troops all very well. Directed Maj. Finney to give the troops an additional gill of liquor in consequence of their extraordinary fatigue. These men are not the best looking soldiers, but they are very fit for this business, being hard and understanding the water.

*Saturday, Oct. 8th.*

The river rose four inches last night. The drum beat early. Got under way at half past five; the wind in favor, but very high. Went on very well to the mouth of Muskingum, found it low. I went on shore to examine the ground most proper to establish a post on, find it too low, but the most eligible is in the point on the Ohio side. Wrote to Major

Doughty and recommended this place, with my opinion of the kind of work most proper. Left the letter which contained other remarks on the fort, fixed to a locust tree. One of our boats in which Mr. Smith sailed, was bilged on a riffle at the head of the Muskingum Island. Had her turned up to her gunwale and repaired. Killed one ox and issued provisions to the troops. Sailed at twelve o'clock, the weather very fine, no head wind to day, Went on passed one Island near to the mouth of Little Kenhawa and encamped.

There is good improvement on the north side. This valuable small river is so finely situated by nature, and passing through so long and fine a country, interlocking according to the geographers, with the head of the Monongahela, so near as eight miles, which must in time be of great advantage to the inhabitants of its shores, especially should the State of Virginia effect the clearing out of the river Potomac so as to be boatable. The land in the forks is rather low, though otherwise it would be a most advantageous spot for a trading town. There is a large pond in the rear or east of the point, which I think will probabiy subject it to fevers. The lands on the north are not only good, but beautifully situated until you go back some miles from the river, then it is broken and rather poor, being bushy and cold, though there is fine draughts, good water, meadow lands, salt, coal, &c., in plenty.

*Sunday, Oct. 9th.*

Sailed at six o'clock, the weather very fine, and wind in favor. The climate here is mild and pleasant. I am of opinion this will be found the proper month for seeding the fall grain. Passed Nimach Collins'\* Island and two other small Islands, then the mouth of Little Hockhocking at half past eight o'clock A. M. In the mouth of this creek is a large rock on the upper side. The lands on and near this creek is hilly; there are some good bottoms but the finest and most advantageous for settlements is above the falls of Big Hockhocking, which is about sixty miles up, by land; at the falls is an excellent place for mills. From thence to the lower Shawnetowns, on Sciota, is thirty miles; one half the way broken, the other level land and of excellent quality.

Just at the head of the first Island, below little Hockhocking, a fine bear took the water but heard us and turned out. Passed two small Islands; went on about six miles to Big Hockhocking; here the wind very high a head. Came on to the head of the first Island, where is a considerable settlement, (between the Big and Little Hockhockings,) where we put in to dine. Met two men of this settlement, gave them two proclamations; they seemed to be very reasonable people. Passed by their houses on the south side; saw several women who appeared clean and decently dressed. These people inform me that they have not been dis

\* "Nimach Collins' Island." We have spelt this as we found it; but we suspect it should be *Nemacolin*, after the Indian who laid out the first road from Cumberland, as mentioned in a previous number of this work.

turbed through the whole summer, that no Indians have been to see them publicly ; nor had they heard of the murders on Fishing Creek, till I informed them. Passed two small Islands about three miles, and encamped. Colonel Monroe went out and killed a fine turkey in the evening. There is fine land on both sides, the river broad and placid. The men caught many catfish, one of thirty pounds.

*Monday, Oct. 10th.*

The fleet sailed at half past five o'clock. Sent Lieut. Doyle and some men to burn the houses of the settlers on the north side, and put up proclamations. Went on to the mouth of a small run, at a large cabin, marked I. B., we dined; the wind a head. Here is a fine Island, above on each side a good channel; left on the north of this at one o'clock, and went five miles. Met one Mr. Combs with two canoes of men from Lexington, the falls, and last from Limestone, they inform me that two or three nations of the western Indians have declared they will not treat with the United States, and that a party of the Weachtanos had actually gone to war, and struck on Green river the day before they come from Lexington, about fourteen days since. That Gen. Clark had sent out Col. Le Gras as a messenger to the Wabash Indians, and that these accounts come from him.

All this I think very improbable, as Gen. Clark did not arrive at the falls till about the 18th of September, and of course could not send people out till about the 22d. They had to go to post St. Vincent, about one hundred and twenty miles, which would take at least five days, which brings their arrival at that place to the 27th. Suppose they met some of these Indians there, they could form no just opinion from what a few would say, what might be the sense of the nation which lives at Wia, near two hundred miles above St. Vincent, and if they even were determined by the declaration of a few Indians, it would take one or two days, which would end the month. Then allow three days to return from St. Vincent to the falls, leaves but seven days for the men to come to this place, and they admit they have been eight days from Limestone, three more from Lexington, and five from the falls, which brings them back to the 24th of September, being back ten days of course. There is only from the 22d to the 24th of September for all the business mentioned to be done in. Give it no credit.

I wrote by them to Col. Harmer, or Maj Doughty, Capt. O'Hara and Mrs. Butler ; I also requested he would take my letter from the mouth of Muskingum to Maj. Doughty, which he promised to do. These are Bedford county people who have been exploring the Kentucky lands, some have left their wives and children, others going for them, and all too, removing their property ; they were sixteen in number. This is a great proof of the superior quality of the soil and climate, when it induces so great an emigration from the old States.

We asked several questions respecting the opinion of the people gen-

erally on the new Government schemes. They say it is not so much the wish or voice of the people generally, as the uneasiness of the great land holders, who wish for power and offices in government, they say the people at large see it must load them with greater taxes to support such a plan, and they think them sufficiently high already for their circumstances, all of which appears very reasonable. They say they want protection from the Indians who are often troublesome, and consequently steal their horses, if they even spare the people, which is certainly a great grievance, and they say the greatest under which they labor. Treated them and parted. Pushed on to within six miles of the little falls, below a large Island, where we encamped. Our hunter, Mr. Zane, and the gentlemen killed a bear, deer, and many fine turkeys, which we distributed among the families and troops with us.

*Tuesday, Oct. 11th.*

Sailed at half past five o'clock, fine, calm morning. Came to two Islands, in sight and just below the little falls, the channel over which is close to the Island shore, or rather one-third of the whole breadth of the river from it, which gives the whole weight of the water. On the left or south side, there is the appearance of a fall on this side and some rocks, which in very low water is more alarming than dangerous; but near the Indian or north shore, or about one-third of the river out from it, there is not the least danger. Passed this rapid at half past nine o'clock, the fleet all a head; we waited for a boat of families which were run aground which detained us so long. Col. Monroe finds himself much straightened for time in this tour, being one of the Judges of the Federal Court, which is to sit at Williamsburgh on a trial between the States of New York and Massachusetts-bay on the 15th of November, for which reason he proposes to take a boat and push night and day for Limestone, and from thence to Lexington, through the wilderness into Virginia. His company is of the most desirable kind, being polite, friendly and sensible, generally cheerful, and always edifying.

I find our voyage will be much more tedious than I expected, owing entirely to the low state of the river.

Col. Monroe, my honorable friend was fitted off as well as our circumstances would admit of. He had the lightest boat, a Sergt. McDonald and four soldiers to row and guard him; he had also the company of Lieut. Denny, a good young gentleman, as far as Limestone, where the Colonel will leave him and the party, who with Lieut. Denny will wait to join us. He left at four o'clock in good spirits. Passed on within about eighteen miles of the big Kanhaway, about a mile below a remarkable large rock on the south side, where we encamped on a fine beach with bold water. Just as we had put in, one James Shaw who lives on the Juniata, called from the south shore, informed us that he is on his way home: had him brought over. On his arrival invited him to sup, and

conversed very freely on the situation of the Kentucky country. He is very intelligent and sensible, and by no means impressed or biased by the fears I have found others, particularly Mr. Combs of Bedford county who I met to-day. Mr. Shaw said on his way up in a canoe, he saw at the head of the third Island four Indians who were driving each a horse across the river; the white men saw the Indians first, and moved to the middle of the river: on their observing the white men, they walked quietly to shore, leaving the horses in the water, and called in Indian to the white men, they found they were not understood, and then called in French; about this time one Jones, one of their party, fired at a turkey, which startled the Indians, on which he discovered one, he then ran down the river opposite to where the canoe had drifted and was taken in. They proceeded on their way and met no interruption to the Kanhawa, where Jones left Shaw. I got Mr. Shaw to wait till to-morrow with us for letters which I wrote to Mrs. Butler, Mr. Montgomery, Col. Butler, and Capt. O'Hara. I directed Maj. Finney to order the troops to clean their cloathes and prepare for overhauling the boats and loading, which had got wet and had not been quite dried.

*Wednesday, Oct. 12th.*

Lay by all day; had a very compleat overhauling of the boats and cargoes; found them foul, and some articles of goods injured, particularly the housings of saddles. Wrote the letters above mentioned. Mr. Shaw left us about eleven o'clock, supplied with provisions, spirits, &c. Every thing being put in good order, and the boats washed clean, had them reloaded and made ready to sail.

At this place we had great sport among the turkeys and deers. Mr. Zane who is a very fine hunter, killed two deers, and yesterday two and a bear.

The lands here are really beautiful, and very rich; the majestic Ohio rolling gently along within the most delightful banks that ever enclosed a river; and in a few years must be the happy abode of thousands who, with moderate industry may obtain the greatest profusion of the necessities of life; the soil being so abundantly rich and fertile, and the climate inferior to none on the globe.

*Thursday, Oct. 13th.*

Every thing having been put in the most perfect order yesterday, the men refreshed and clean, we sailed at five o'clock. Went on very well to a fine corn field on the north side, where we put up a proclamation. The troops were yesterday supplied with provisions, we having killed a second bullock since we left Wheeling.

The nearer we approach the Kanhawa, the more magnificent is the appearance of the river. Here might the Poet exercise his genius in the descriptive song of future times, and in the joy of his soul, with rapture hand down nations yet unborn to the present fathers, whose joyous hearts will bound with pleasure to see so ample, delightful, and healthy a

country for their rising generations, who, far from the tyrannic hand of kingly power, governed by the mild and wholesome laws created by their fathers, and fashioned to their own liking by future legislators, may enjoy the blessings of peace, plenty, and domestic ease; secure in their persons and property, may cultivate the arts and sciences to such perfection as to become rivals not only of Athens and Rome, but be the patterns of mankind throughout the globe for learning, piety, and virtue. Here may the industrious and broken hearted farmer, tired with the slavery of the unfortunate situation in which he was born, lay down his burthen and find rest on these peaceful and plenteous plains; here may Iberia, Britain and Scotia, pour out their superabundant sons and daughters, who with cheerful hearts, and industrious hands, will wipe away the tear of tyrannic toil, and join the children of America in the easy labors of comfort and plenty, and bless the providence of that power who hath directed them to such a land; yes, they will be good, respectful, and grateful citizens, the greatest enemies of kingly power, and will support with you, ye heroic sons of Independance, and your children's children, those honors, those blessings earned by your toils, blood, and treasure; and sing the praises of God in temples yet to form, who led you to the battles, and and conquest of the unwise and tyrannic George the third. They will also in the anniversary song transmit your virtues and heroism to the children of future time, whose hearts shall beat high in emulating their progenitors, and keeping sacred the scroll of Independance. Passed two Islands about nine o'clock.

I forgot to mention in the first volume, at October 11th, that I wrote to Gen. Clark, and to John Boggs, with a speech to the Indians at Miami as per. copies of that date.

These Islands are about sixteen miles above the mouth of the great Kanhawa, at which place I arrived at half past ten o'clock, the troops at half past eleven.

Here I found young Col. Lewis, who is a most sensible young gentleman, very interesting and communicative. I find by him that the Shawanees are very much disposed to peace, and rather think some little speculating imprudence was the occasion of his capture, and death of Captain Lochny, than national intention of the Indians; he was released with great formality, ten of the chiefs and young men conducted him home, and expressed great uneasiness at his being taken. The party who took him were Cherokees and Mingoes, headed by the Mingo Wolf, an uncontrollable murderer. We dined on the point, treated Col. Lewis with attention, who received it very politely. I inquired if they did not intend to lay out a town at the point, he told me it was laid out and the lots generally sold; but if I wanted a lot, or more, I might still be supplied, as many of the lots were forfeited. I told him I would purchase, on which we went to look over the ground, and he took me up the Ohio bank to a fine dry lot which fronts the street on the river Ohio, a street that runs at right an-



gles from the river and the main street, or first parallel street with the Ohio, which gives it three fronts, being west, north and east. This I agreed for, and am to pay him ten pounds for it. We then went to the banks of the Kanhawa and examined it. I expressed a wish to have a lot on it, he told me the family had reserved several front lots for themselves, and he imagined he could procure me No. 3 from the point, which is a delightful situation, has on it a fine plumb tree, some peach trees, &c., planted by one Dr. Smith. I agreed for this also, and directed him to draw on me whether at Fort Pitt or Carlisle, and to write me a letter of advice when he drew, expressing the terms of settlement, which I would certainly comply with. I also told him I would pay him now if he chose it, as I had the cash ready and would rather pay it at once. He said he would not take the money till he had the draft compleated, which he expects will be this fall; but that I may depend on the lots, and he would both write me and draw for the money, therefore consider the lots secure so far. The price he told me are ten pounds the fronts lots on each river, five pounds the first back lots, and four pounds the further back. I suppose it to be Virginia currency at sixteen per dollar. Having settled matters thus far, the fleet got under way at one o'clock, and pushed down passed two Islands about twelve miles; at the lower point of the lowest, comes in two creeks opposite to each other, had to put to the south shore to encamp, it being the best banks, and lay to at sunset on a very good spot.

This day we passed several improvements on the north side. Had a proclamation put up at one of the houses above Kanhawa. This delightful country involuntarily draws from my pen praises; it is fine, it is rich, and only wants the cultivating hand of man to render it the joyous seat of happy thousands. Here are the wild animals provided for the assistance of the first settlers. Here are the finest and most excellent sites for farms, cities, and towns. This seems provided as a reward for the adventurous and industrious, by the Divine hand, whose good providence appear in all his works. Here we have nothing to do but spring from our boats among flocks of turkeys, kill as we please, for sport or gust; the bear growls in your hearing, and the deer, timid by nature, bounds along before your eye; in short, there is no end to the beauty and plenty. I have just stepped from my boat and killed at one shot two fine turkeys, and our whole party feasts on fine venison, bear meat, turkeys and catfish, procured by themselves at pleasure.

*Friday, Oct. 14th.*

The fleet sailed at five o'clock, all very well. I observe that very generally the map of this river, by the ingenious Capt. Hutchins, is very correct; he has either missed entering some few Islands, or they did not exist when he traveled the river.

At this spot, on which we encamped, we are 1 deg. and about 40 m.

south of Fort Pitt, which the verdure on the face of the hills, as well as the weather demonstrate.

We pushed on till eleven o'clock to a good bank, where we dined. Here the wind turned a head, which is generally the case about midday. Moved on well, passed Louisa river, thence to within four miles of the great Guyandot, killed a fine bear and many turkeys. I had like to have been bitten by a copper snake which had come out of his hole in the bank to bask, as I went up to shoot turkeys. Land still very fine Put in about sunset on a good beach under a most beautiful bottom, the only place where I have seen the cane growing, which is one of the most beautiful shrubs of the woods; this bottom of land is four miles above the great Guyandot.

*Saturday, Oct. 15th.*

Sailed very early this morning. Passed the Guyandot and a river below it, which Mr. Hutchins lays down without a name, which I have called South river, being the most southerly point from Fort Pitt, to sixty miles below the big Miami; wind fair. Passed the mouth of big Sandy Creek, near which Mr. Zane killed a fine buffalo; dined four miles below this creek.

Sailed at twelve o'clock, the wind fair. Passed by a small creek on the north side, lands fine and river beautiful. About ten miles below big Sandy Creek, is a hill on the north side with fine trees on it; there is also a body of rocks appears with a south east front, below which, about five miles, opposite to a large sand bar on the south side of the river, an old Indian town and grave; here we encamped. It is a body of as fine land as I have seen, and well worthy attention; indeed there are on both sides the river, fine lands; here Mr. Zane killed three buffalo, one of which seems to be a real curiosity for size. Several of the gentlemen went to see it, viz: Lieut. Smith, Lieut. Doyle and Mr. Peebles; they brought with them the head and one of the shoulders with the whole leg to it. The head weighed one hundred and twenty-nine pounds, and the tongue six, total, one hundred and thirty-five pounds. The head was cut off as close as possible, being cut off at the large joint, so that the neck was but a small addition to its weight. The leg and shoulder when set upright, was as high as my head, which is five feet eight and a half inches, this when on the body, including that extraordinary protuberance called the hump, Mr. Zane assured me, is higher than his head, which is six feet; (eighteen hands;) and it was agreed by all who saw this amazing wild animal, that it weighed at least fifteen hundred pounds. Part of the beef of these fine animals was delivered to the troops, and part salted for future use.

I cannot help here describing the amazing plenty and variety of this night's supper. We had fine roast buffalo beef, soup of buffalo beef and turkeys, fried turkeys, fried cat fish, fresh caught, roast ducks, good punch, madeira, claret, grog and toddy, and the troops supplied in the most

abundant manner. They are all cheerful, and generally in perfect health, and enjoying the bounties of heaven, the land, and the water. The industry and judgment of one man could certainly supply many families. Mr. Zane killed this day, on the lowest computation, three thousand weight of as fine beef as need be used, all in about four hours hunting. What a plenty for two large families for one whole year.

*Sunday, Oct. 18th.*

Sailed at sunrise, all well, morning a little cloudy but very fine. Find the river from what I have called South river, bearing north of west. The wind very fair from the south, which added much to the rapidity of the boats. Put in to refresh above the head of a small creek, about three miles above the ten mile creek, above the mouth of Sciota; we passed this creek about twelve o'clock. The wind shifted from south to west, which, with the bends of the river, brought it right a head and caused so high a sea that we had to lay to three miles below ten mile creek. Several of the boats took water in crossing what is called the trough in the waves; the wind continued so high we had to encamp.

Here is a most superb bottom of land; and the hills keep at a good distance from the river to the mouth of that sweet and delightful little river Sciota, whose charming banks are not only beautiful to a wonder, but the richest and most luxuriant soil in my knowledge. About midnight I was greatly alarmed by a prodigious gust of wind, which caused a great, and extraordinary fog, which smelt of sulphur. It passed the south side of the river, and seemed to carry great destruction along with it among the trees, whose cracks and falls were really tremendous. I called up the people and had the boats' covering well fastened down, expecting rain would follow, but it passed by without doing us the least harm.

*Monday, Oct. 17th.*

The wind yesterday was so unfavorable in the afternoon, and so high in the night, that it seemed a real tornado, and threatened destruction to all near, but as soon as it had passed we found the river placid, and ordered the drum to beat and sailed about four o'clock. Sent boats ahead with lanterns which was preceded by the canoes and pilots, and thus we went on till sun rise, when we passed the mouth of Sciota

I went on shore to examine the ground for a post; I also called Mr. Finney to go along. As I well know the east side of this river, in the forks, I examined the lower bottom only; and find it so low that I don't imagine it will answer for a post, as I think it must overflow in large freshets untill you go too near the hill, which is about half a mile from the river, and I believe too near the hill to be safe from it in case of an attack or siege. If a post should be found requisite at this place, the yellow banks will be the safest position, it being high and dry, and plenty of timber; but rather too far from the Ohio bank. Just below the Sciota our big flat got on a log but received no damage.

The hills on the south side, just above and below the Sciota, is high and sharp topped, with some pines. The bottoms and high grounds are very good. The first hills which appear down the river, on the north side, is very pretty, showing two handsome conical tops, commanding the grandest of prospects. I find on examination that the hills below the Sciota, are poor, piney and rocky. Went on well till twelve o'clock, wind fair. Put in and dined on the south shore, at the first large narrows below the first creek on the south side. Found that Buffalo are very plenty here, several having just passed on a large road made by these and other animals. Here Mr. Zane went to hunt. Pushed on to Buffalo Lick Creek, which is called twenty-four miles below Sciota, and empties on the south side.

Here Mr. Zane found the drove of Buffalos which he pursued; they took up this creek to the licks. Here are large roads to the licks. Below this creek is a large bottom of fine timber. Three miles down Mr. Zane killed a fine buffalo, which induced me to encamp. Had the beef brought down and issued to the troops, to save our cattle. The men seem very much pleased and fond of the variety of all kinds. They are a set of strong laborious people, well adapted to this hard kind of duty; and, but for a few, who are really bad men and should be turned off, a clever set of soldiers.

*Tuesday, Oct. 18th.*

Sailed this morning at three o'clock, pushed on to a creek about eight miles, at the mouth of which is a small Island, with a few trees; here the water is rapid, some rocks and logs; passed this at sun rise. The hills still high, sharp, and stony, and the bottoms not of the first qualities, though very good land.

I observed yesterday on several of the bars there is stone coal in great plenty below the mouth of Sciota, and in some places the shores very rocky, and water rapid, and some of the beaches a quick sand. I confess I am not so well pleased with the banks of the Ohio below, as above the Sciota as yet; nor do I think the settlements will admit of such connection or elegance of improvement, though they may with industry be advantageous to the settlers, and superior to the greatest part of the old States.

This morning cool, but very fine. Came on very well seventeen miles to the big Island, which lies to the north side of the river; to this Island is attached a small one on the south side, and the channel between it and the south shore; my boat had led ahead about three miles, to the lower end of the small, and along side of the large Island, in full view of a large sand bar which joins them.

Here we saw a young Indian lad come off the large Island on the bar, he at first seemed surprised and stood looking at us; I directed Mr. Zane to speak to him, which he did in the Wyandot tongue, the fellow made a small yell or answer, which we did not understand. I observed he be-

gan to run up toward the upper end of the bar as if to see if any other boats were coming, on which I spoke to him in the Shawanee tongue, but he still ran on and made no answer; I then called as if to others, should there be more, but received no answer. He ran on to the head of the bar and discovered the fleet, on which he ran to the south side of the Island, and would neither appear or answer. I then put to the opposite shore, least there might be others and ill disposed, where I remained till the fleet joined me.

I then spoke to Maj. Finney to order the whole of the boats in their proper line and places, and not to separate in future, which was instantly done, and thus we proceeded to Limestone, where I found Lieut. Denny with the party and boat which went to escort Col. Monroe, and to forward letters to Gen. Clark and Mr. Boggs, inclosing a short speech to the Indians, which had been sent off by two men two days ago, on which day Col. Monroe had set out for Lexington, I received a letter from him by Mr. Denny.

At this place I met with one Capt. Cherry from the falls, he brings accounts that Gen. Clark with a number of troops are at the Miami, and that some of the messengers with a few Indians had arrived. He passed that place on Wednesday, the 12th inst. This man and his party, with two canoes, had been up as far as the three Islands last evening, on which he saw about fifteen Indians, who had rather a hostile than friendly appearance, which induced him to return to Limestone for an escort to pass him by that place. They were just setting off when we arrived, on which they stopped, and the whole concluded to lay by till some time in the night or morning.

I recommended to them to go up the Indian shore, and the canoes on the south, and in case of any attempt to molest them they would be ready to strike, and if friendly, they would have an opportunity of ascertaining it. Their Captain, a clever kind of a man, seemed apprehensive, their party being small and it near night. I ordered the boats to fall down two miles, when we encamped.

I wrote this evening to Capt. O'Hara, Col. Butler, and to Mrs. Butler. This I think to be a settlement of fine land, and believe the people will do very well provided they have peace. There are about fifteen good cabbins for families, kitchens &c., included, and twenty-five houses. Here is a small creek, and from here a good wagon road to Lexington and other places. The people seem determined to defend themselves; every man walks with his rifle in his hand, so enured are they to alarms. They are very civil, but possess that roughness of manner so universally attendant on seclusion from general society, where, and where only the graces are, or will be wooed, or the rough covering of the human disposition be rubbed off. This misfortune of the earlier settlers of new countries seem as all other things, wisely disposed by providence, it fits them for the state they are in, and enables them to bear the hardships

which refined men will not submit to in the first settling a country, and answers the grand purposes of extending a frontier, and introducing the rudiments of law in the wilds of America, and are fully entitled to their share of merit in a certain line ; and in the first instance are the most useful people in the land, and merit great encouragement for their hardship, dangers and adventures.

*Wednesday, Oct. 19th.*

Sent a canoe with my letters, which was left with one Capt. Spring, who promised to forward them by Capt. Cherry or the first safe opportunity.

Sailed at three o'clock in the morning, the wind very fair. Rained very early, which continued all day in heavy showers and short intervals. Pass four creeks on the south side, two of which are large, and three on the north side, one midling large. The hills below Limestone are not so high or poor as between this place and Sciota. The bottoms are very rich and extensive. The river is broad and beautiful, in many place bounded by fine, regular ranges of rocks. The creeks' mouths are steep, deep, and muddy at their entrance in the river, and I think very rapid and full in time of freshets, as there are great quantities of drift wood in the river below their mouths. I think this country promises as much from its beauty and fertility, as any I have yet passed. Put in between showers to dine.

Sailed, and pushed on till near sun set, then put in and encamped above the mouth of the eighth creek ; this is on the north side, and like those described, but small.

The evening clear and fine till about nine o'clock, when a great hurricane blew up which dragged the two provision boats from their stakes and blew them up the river ; it also drove one batteau with her side on a rock, which hulled her and nearly filled her before we could relieve her ; it wet several bales of goods. It continued squally all night ; however, the whole of the boats were got together and secured by the activity of Mr. Huling and the troops.

*Thursday, Oct. 20th.*

I had ordered that the goods should be opened and dried, the men dry their blankets and draw provision ; the latter was done, but the day lowered too much to venture the goods, therefore sailed at nine o'clock. Passed two small creeks below where we lay, one on each side, within ten miles of our last camp.

This day the wind is so very heavy ahead, it is with great labor the boats can be got on. Passed several more small creeks to a sandy, stony point, where I got a commodious and safe harbor, the boats having been far scattered with the wind put in ; they collected about sun set : came this day about ten miles.

Mr. Zane killed one small bear. We got plenty of turkeys and ducks. The large flat got aground just at coming to harbor and sprung a plank,



which was quickly repaired. The high lands and bottoms tolerably good, and I think well watered.

*Friday, Oct. 21st.*

Sailed this morning at five o'clock, the wind still ahead but not strong; the current tolerably rapid. About half a mile below our camp a sand bar which extends almost across the river, took up three of our small boats, before day, the others passed by keeping close to the Indian shore. Maj. Finney remained with those that stranded, and with much trouble got them off, which detained us an hour. Passed two small creeks on the north and one on the south shore; one of these, on the north shore, is pretty large. Put in to dine at one o'clock.

The stranded boats were a long time coming up. The bullock boat got on a log just before she got to camp, and took much trouble to get her off; no injury. Mr. Zane killed a young buffalo.

Sailed at half past two o'clock; passed the mouth of the little Miamis at three o'clock. It is so low there was no water running; above the sand bank, which is off its mouth, the sand is quick, and the little water which issues from it passes through the sand.

The bottoms, both above and below, is very flat and low, and I think inundated with small floods. About two miles below is a piece of high ground, which I think will be the site of a town, as will be the case at the mouths of all the principal rivers and creeks of this great country. I find Capt. Hutchins' map very defective in his delineations of creeks. I think his courses and distances good, and may say really perfect, but he has certainly missed several large creeks, both above Limestone and between that place and little Miamis. Below the mouth of this little river about two miles, is a very large bank of sand at which Mr. Zane came in for people to bring in two deers.

Pushed on to the mouth of Licking Creek, which is a pretty stream; at the mouth, both above and below, is very fine bottoms. The bottom below the mouth seems highest and most fit to build a town on; it is extensive, and whoever owns the bottoms should own the hill also. Passed this at five o'clock, and encamped two miles below on the north side.

There is great plenty of limestone and coal appears on every strand. Here is a very fine body of bottom land to a small creek four miles below Licking Creek.

I am informed that a Capt. Bird of the British, came in the year 1780 from Detroit, down the big Miamis, thence up the Ohio to the mouth of Licking Creek, thence up it about fifty miles with their boats, at this place they took their artillery and cut a road fifty miles into the country, when they attacked several small stations and took them; they then carried off the poor distressed people with their little ones to Detroit in triumph.

*Saturday, Oct. 22d.*

Sailed at sun rise, all well. Met the men sent with the express from Limestone four miles down; paid them thirteen dollars for their services

and expenses. One mile below this is a bar of sand in the middle of the river ; the channel is on the north shore. Here are the dreadful effects of a tornado, on the hill, on the north side, from the top down, every tree and the surface of the earth has been washed or blown off. On the south shore there is about four acres of land, the timber of which is totally blown down and destroyed. One mile below this is a small creek which I think will be sufficient for mills part of the season, as it comes out of a hilly country ; it has thrown out a great body of gravel &c., which forms a kind of Presque Isle, on the south side the river . Two miles below this comes in a small creek, just above which is most excellent land on the face of a beautiful hill ; the river is beyond description. Deer and turkey sporting before and on each side in great abundance ; saw above twenty deers before twelve o'clock. Put in to dine at eleven o'clock about twelve miles below Licking Creek.

Sailed at half past one o'clock, the wind a head. Here is some very fine lands covered with pine, ash and other rich timber. Pushed on to the great Miama, above the mouth of which I ordered the whole to encamp about five o'clock in the evening. I went out with Maj. Finney to examine the ground for a post.

The cattle having been on board eighteen days, I thought it best to let them be brought on shore, which was done ; they seemed wild and not inclined to settle. In the night they turned up the river notwithstanding our efforts to stop them, which indeed seemed to make them more wild and ungovernable.

*Sunday, Oct. 23d.*

Early this morning the Wyandot chief called Runtandy, with three young lads and a white man, an interpreter, came to our camp ; three of these we sent after the cattle, and got them back near to camp : while they came in to make report, the cattle ran off again, and were followed and in the evening five were got near the camp ; it being dark could not get them into a pen which was made for the purpose of confining them. The Indians advised us to let them alone, alleging they had tired them by driving, and in the morning could kill or confine such as we thought proper ; but they set off in the night and although pursued by Mr. Zane and the Indians, could not be overtaken.

This day I went in company with some officers down to see General Clark, who lodged at a place called a station, which is a few families collected for mutual safety to one place, and a little fort erected. Met the General with several gentlemen, on his way to see me, he having heard the drums, and a bugle horn blow. Brought him and the others to camp, where I had a good dinner provided. I kept them till evening when he returned with the others to the station.

While he stayed I took him to reconnoitre the ground at this place, and showed him a spot which I had previously pitched on, unless he could show a better one ; he did not disapprove of the position, but said there

was a better one below the mouth of the Miama river, I therefore agreed to go down and examine it, at the same time observing that it did not come within the resolution of Congress, which authorised the commanding officer of the troops to take post at any proper situation between the Miama and Muskingum rivers.

This day Maj. Finney had a party of men set to hewing and grinding the tools.

About nine o'clock in the morning, Messrs. Moore and La Cassang passed by in canoes, from the falls of Ohio, for Fort Pitt; hailed them by Lieut. Denny and Mr. Huling our boat master, who requested them to come over in very polite terms, as, "will you please to come over?" Some person answered, which I considered as and acquiescence with the requisition. They passed on a great distance and showed no signs of coming over, which I thought rather contemptuous, and sent a Sergeant with two boatmen in a canoe to desire the principal person would come to, this he performed and the first that appeared was Mr. La Cassang, who seemed rather impolite, observing they did not consider it necessary to come to, being on their journey. I told him I thought it but proper for any person travelling to pay so much respect to a requisition as to come to speak when hailed with politeness, especially as they knew there was to be a public meeting of the Indians at this place, and that public officers attended. This he passed over rather with an air excuse than justification; I then asked him if he had any news of consequence, he gave no satisfactory answer appearing rather out of temper. Several questions asked and answered, when Mr. Moore arrived, who I took by the hand and asked him some questions also. but received no more satisfaction than from the other, and seeing they were rather crusty than friendly, and behaving more like Indians than polite Frenchmen, I told them I had no more to say to them on inquiry, but asked if they would breakfast, which they declined; I then asked if they would accept some spirits, which they also refused, saying they had whiskey. Mr. La Cassang asked if I had any commands to Carlisle; I told him not: they then went off, not as men of politeness, but as the most indifferent of men to any thing which respected country; though particularly attentive to their own safety, of which I gave them every information in my power, and informed them that we had seen an Indian at the three Islands, above Limestone, with some other observations.

I this day received a letter from Gen. Clark by one Mr. George, who had been sent by Mr. Pyatt.

*Monday, Oct. 24th.*

I went with Maj. Finney and Lieut. Doyle to examine the ground I had seen before, which they approved of for a place of fixing on, and gave orders to clear it. We then went down to Gen. Clark and made inquiry about the ground below the mouth of Miama. Capt. George, who had lived below the mouth of this river, assured me that all the bank from

the river for five miles did absolutely overflow, and that he had to remove to the hill at least five miles back, which determined me to take the present situation.

Gen. Clark, the messengers, and several others came up this evening and joined our camp, which I had moved up on my return from the station.

*Tuesday, Oct. 25th.*

Our beef being gone, I got Mr. Zane to go with a boat and four men to Licking Creek to hunt buffalo.

Mr. Dubbs got several men to go out for same purpose, and Maj. Finney began to lay out and clear the ground for four block houses and quadrangular work, which was pushed on with great alacrity by himself and officers.

Had the boats unloaded and the goods brought up the bank. Sent out fishermen and hunters to supply the troops; got them some buffalo beef and venison for their present supplies.

*Wednesday, Oct. 26th.*

Received the report of Mr. Clark, messenger to Fort St. Vincent, settled his accounts, and paid himself and George Owens \$133,75. This day he set off for the falls in company with Capt. George. I spoke to him for some lots at the falls, which he promised to procure, and as he is the surveyor at that place, to point out in the map the most advantageous place. The buildings go on well. Got some venison and beef for the troops, but not sufficient, which induced me to order them flour and liquor in porportion to their deficiency.

*Thursday, Oct. 27th.*

Two of the houses are up and part covered.

I hired two horses to draw in the logs, and set men to make a truck carriage for the same purpose. The man and horses at one dollar per day, finding him one ration and forage for his horses.

There being no prospect of regaining our cattle, I sent out Mr. Zane with a boat and four men to hunt for the troops; these with another party of five inhabitants employed for the same purpose, started yesterday. This day the commissioners employed Mr. Irwin and one other man to go after the bullocks up the river.

*Friday, Oct. 28th.*

There having been no answer given by the Indians to the messages delivered in their towns by our messengers, we thought it advisable to send out Messrs. Elliott and Rinhen with a short speech, to pass through the different nations demanding their determination whether they would attend the treaty or not, which we have determined shall be the last we send. We also remonstrated to the Miama Indians against the ill treatment which the Indians in that town gave to the messengers of the U. S.; I recommended to their sensible men to return the horses and other things which they robbed them of, and the Wyandotts who accompanied

them while in their power to do it peaceably. The old Wyandot chief called Runtandy, sent a short speech to the Shawanees advising them to come as soon as possible to the treaty, and to forward our last message to the others. All being got ready, they set off accompanied by a white man an interpreter, about three o'clock.

This evening there came four Delawares opposite the station below the Miama, who informed me that thirty more were eight miles off and will be in to-morrow.

The commanding officer, Maj. Finney, his officers and troops are really indefatigable. They have got two block houses in a tolerable state of defence, and a third well forward. This night Lieut. Doyle with a party takes post in one of them, and we hope in a few days to be secure even against enemies.

To day a woman brought over one days provision in bear's meat which was immediately issued to the troops.

*Saturday, Oct. 29th.*

About nine o'clock the Wyandot chief went down to see the Delawares. While we were at breakfast a Shawanee man called the Buffalo arrived with a letter from Messrs. Elliot and Rinken, who he met last evening about eight miles on their way to the Shawanees towns; this man says the Shawanee Indians sent two young men to the mouth of the Miama, about ten days ago, to see if we were arrived, and to find out our numbers, as they had been informed by British traders we were determined to collect and put them to death; that these young men came down, and were by some means so much frightened, that they returned to the towns with the alarm halloo, and reported that they had looked at us a whole day, during which we were crossing people, horses, cattle, &c., and were so numerous that we covered the bottom land both above and below the mouth of the Miama for many miles, that we at last discovered them and ran out two parties to secure them, that they very narrowly got out between the parties, who then began a most tremendous fire which ran up and down the river till it went almost out of hearing, and much more such stuff; this he says happened at a very critical time, as the chiefs were gathered and in council, it put a stop to their proceedings and rather determined them against coming to treat, concluding that what the British traders and agents had told them was truth, and that our intentions were really hostile. He says it was thought proper by the old chiefs that he should immediately set off with his two brothers and at all events come and speak to us, and that they would remain together till his return, or they would hear from him. He says when he came to the ground where these young fellows informed him the whites were in such numbers, he concluded the whole report to be false seeing no tracks, and yesterday sent back one of the young fellows to desire the chiefs to continue together, that he believed all that had been reported was false, and that he was going on to look for us. Yesterday evening he met the mes-

sengers going out to the towns, which pleased him much and he sent his other brother along with them, and came on himself with a letter from the messengers.

This day Mr. Zahe came from hunting and brought us four fine buffalos and one deer; another hunter came and brought more buffalo beef. Previous to their arrival I sent Mr. Dubbs to borrow some salted buffalo beef, which he got eighty pounds of, and by this means we have kept our people in plenty, notwithstanding the loss of our cattle, which I fear are irrecoverably gone.

*Sunday, Oct. 30th.*

This morning several of the inhabitants came to visit us. Capt. Johnston, a sensible man, proposes he will apply to the general Court for an order to mark a road from Lexington to this place, which Gen. Clark and myself recommend warmly.

Three young men arrived last evening who left us last Sunday to go and hunt. They met with horse tracks at the creek below Licking, which they followed on the north side of the Ohio to the encampment of a number of Indians, where several horses were hobbled, some of them they knew; they laid by the camp all day and at night caught two horses which they again let go as they could not catch a third. In the morning they caught three, and while they were about it they heard an Indian walking, but could not see him it being thickety, they think he saw them as they heard him run off; they then mounted and pushed off, thinking it unsafe to remain longer, their party being small and the Indians large. They pushed on fifteen miles when their horses gave out, they left them there and came to our camp.

We told them they had better not attempt pursuing Indian parties without letting us know their intention and having our permission, which they acknowledged the propriety of, and promised to be guided in future by our directions only.

Every thing goes on well, and prospects of a treaty much better than heretofore. Every measure is taking to facilitate the treaty and our own security, which I expect will be pretty forward in a short time.

I had a long conversation with the Shawanees man and the Wyandot chief about matters in general, and pretty well convinced them both that they had no other alternative for future security, than peace with us, and being protected by us. I inquired what was the purport of the council held at the Indian towns; he says they were talking of striking some of the north western Indians, which I discredit, and think they were endeavoring to judge of their own strength to attack us with, or if they should judge that insufficient, to determine on making peace and attending the treaty immediately.

*Monday, Oct. 31st,*

This day Capt. Pierce Butler arrived from Limestone in company with Mr. Coburn, who had a letter from Gen. Wilkinson, they informed me



that daily plunders are committed by the Indians, and that about five days since, sixty horses were taken from a station near Limestone, which has exasperated the poor people much, as well as distressed them, and I believe it will be difficult to restrain them from attempting reprisals, which I confess I am not surprised at.

Last night I directed Mr. Dubbs, the Commissary, to salt all the beef, which he set about.

This day the Shawanee man called the Buffalo proposed setting off for the towns. I spoke to him very freely, and told him this I believe would be the last time we should think of treating with them, and that the last invitation is gone out, and desired him to tell their head men if they neglected this time they must blame themselves for future misfortunes. I fitted him up and gave him a small keg of rum and a suit of clothes, with pipes and tobacco for the old head men; I also sent a shirt, black handkerchief, half a pound of paint, &c., to old Melontha.

I find by this man's conversation and remarks, that the great cause of the disturbance of our country by the Indians, is owing to a petty set of men kept in employ by the British Agent and some traders, who wish to monopolize the peltry-trade. These people have a great advantage of us, they being among the Indian nations and no counteracting influence in behalf of the United States. They are naturally incredulous, and most trifling art covers over the greatest frauds when there is no reason given to them why their little fallacious tales should not be credited.

Last evening a young lad arrived from near Licking Creek, who had seen our cattle and left his comrade bringing them on. This morning sent three persons, including himself, to assist to get them down.

This day Maj. Finney began a store for the reception of the goods; in truth, there is nothing possible to facilitate the work, that both the officers and troops generally does not do. They all show a zeal to secure the property and establish the interest of the United States in every respect. I am happy to find that this position, not only encourages such of the gentlemen as visit us, but is thought by them a very proper and advantageous post.

*Tuesday, Nov. 1st.*

This morning I sent out the old Wyandot chief to look for Smoakskin's party of Munsees.

Set another pair of horses to work; and Mr. Zane went to hunt. The trench and picketing began, and every thing going on well.

The weather wears the appearance of a change. Began to rain in the evening, and rained hard throughout the night.

The Wyandott chief returned in the evening without finding the Munsees, which induced me to conclude they are an ill disposed party.— Mr. Zane killed two deers and a bear.

*Wednesday, Nov. 2d.*

The troops very early at work. The morning stormy with heavy showers of rain and a severe storm of hail, which lay thick on the ground.

The store is covered and getting ready for the goods. The men busy cutting and drawing in pickets. Fear this day will continue unfavorable.

About three o'clock some people from Limestone arrived to see after children who are yet prisoners with the Indians; gave them assurances that every thing possible will be done to recover them, with which they appear to be so far satisfied, and have returned home.

This evening four of our bullocks were brought to camp, but being dark we could not get them in the pen.

*Thursday, Nov. 3d.*

This morning I sent Mr. Zane with two Indians on horseback, and six men in a boat with the man who brought in the cattle, to look for the other ten bullocks, also three men to hunt the five brought in last evening.

About ten o'clock one of the Wyandot men who was sent to the Shawanee towns the 16th of October, returned in company with a woman and boy. He reports that all the Shawanees and adjacent people to them, will certainly attend the treaty in about fifteen days. That the man who set off from the Miama with him, will be in to-morrow: by this man he says we shall have full information, as he has a message from the chiefs—he also says that he met Messrs. Elliott and Rinken on the 30th inst., within about thirty miles of the Shawanee towns, all well

Our store is nearly finished. At one o'clock began to remove the goods into it from the camp; also the provisions. Our fourth block house now covering.

*Friday, Nov. 4th.*

The whole of the goods and provisions moved, and the south line of pickets began.

*Saturday, Nov. 5th.*

The store and guard house foundations laid with out posts, &c., put up. The five cattle brought in which were found on Monday. No news or occurrence of consequence.

*Sunday, Nov. 6th.*

Removed our own tents into the fort. The people from the place called the station, brought up a plentiful market of vegetables, &c.

*Monday, Nov. 7th.*

This day about three o'clock I took some gentlemen to try the practicability of sailing under a sprit sail on a batteau, and tacking against the wind, this I find possible, as the wind up stream repels, or prevents or counteracts the force of the current on the superficies or surface of the water, and that a lee board or keel, is only wanting to answer the purpose. I made three tacks, and found the effect of the wind to be more than the common drift of the current, as when we clued up the sail we drifted up the river, and when it was spread and the common angle of draft or advantage of the sail taken so as to keep it full or from shivering

in the wind, we ran down very fast. While trying the experiment, saw our boat which was sent to hunt our cattle; she had on three beeves, one buffalo, one bear, and one deer, with the old Wyandott chief. Mr. Zane still out pursuing the other seven on horses

This afternoon preparing to go to the big Bone Lick.

*Tuesday, Nov. 8th.*

Set out to go to the big Bone Lick about nine o'clock; went to the Sappington's station, about fifteen miles from our garrison, where we were informed by one Mr. Kerlin, that a scoundrel by the name of Ballard and another fellow, had been out to some Indian camp and stole two horses, that the people of the station reprimanded him for it, and insisted on their taking the horses back lest the Indians should revenge it on them—the scoundrels took the horses over the river as if to return them, but I have every reason to think they did not intend it.

As we went on toward the Bone Lick, we passed two small creeks below the Miama on the north side, the third is called Lochrey's Creek, it being the place where Col. Lochrey and his party was defeated and cut to pieces by Brandt and his people, who perfectly surprised Lochrey. Just below the mouth of the creek a fine hill and a great body of fine land; this is the first hill below the Miama, from which it is about seven miles. We went on to a large sand bar on the south side opposite the mouth of a beautiful creek, which we called Locust Creek, from the great quantity of that timber with which the bottom is covered; from thence by a pretty Island about ten miles below the Miama, passed this on the south side—the channel at the bars is on the north side. Just above the Island is a great body of petrified gravel, great quantities of which has fell into the river and looks very surprising to the eye. Pushed on to the bend above the other called Big Bone Creek, where we overtook a canoe which had been stolen from the garrison by one Pumroy, Junkins, and another man; these men appeared much surprised, and told us several untruths when questioned—they seemed also in great agitation, frequently looking toward the shore, we challenged the canoe and asked how she came here, or why they took her without leave? They said they caught her drifting, which we knew was false. We told them to come on and encamp with us, which they promised to do; we then ran down and entered the mouth of the creek, which is deep and good.—Dined about four o'clock P. M., after which one Mr. McBride set out for the Lick, and Mr. Coburn and Lieut. Denny went up the creek to shoot ducks. At a fording place they found where one horse and some men's tracks were just fresh crossed and headed towards the Lick.

In the evening we crossed to the point between the creek and Ohio, which is a very high piece of ground. When Mr. McBride came in we asked if he had met any person with a horse, he said not; we then concluded it must be these horse thieves who feared to come to us, and had run off. We sent up the river and found they had deserted the canoe which we had brought to our boat.

*Wednesday, Nov. 9th.*

This morning after breakfast, we prepared to go to the Lick. Gen. Clark, Maj. Finney, Capt. P. Butler, Jr., Mr. Coburn, Lieut. Denny and myself, with a Sergeant and party, and Mr. McBride as pilot, leaving two men to take care of the camp. We had just crossed the creek to the south side when Adam, my waiter, parted from us; we pushed on about a south east course to the Lick about three miles, and began to dig for bones, when Adam arrived and told me he had seen one of the men mentioned above, that he had behaved very oddly to him, that he had got a shot at a buffalo very close, and that just as he fired this man stepped from behind a tree and asked him many very impertinent questions. We dug on and got several bones out of a bank about seven feet deep, and others out of the Lick, particularly one thigh bone of ——— feet long, weighing ——— pounds. I began to put them together, and discovered the under jaws of four separate animals of the same species, two hip bones fellows one of them belonging to the thigh bone mentioned, shank bones of the large animal, one pair with the joint which belong to those above; part of a shoulder-blade, teeth, two pieces of the long tusks, one bone or tooth which we cannot conceive the place or part which it belongs to— one bone also, which I think is the face, it having the appearance of that part with the breathing places, or form of the nostrils on its under side; we also got many other bones which we can only conjecture to what part they belong, but from every observation of our own, seem convinced they can be no other than the elpheit. When we had satisfied our selves as to the quantity of bones, we had them brought to our boat. Here we parted with Capt. P. Butler, Mr. Coburn and Mr. McBride, who had paid us a visit and were returning to Lexington. By these gentlemen we requested the Magistracy of the country to endeavor to prevent the licentious people of the country coming to this place to steal horses and otherwise disturb the treaty, which they assured us they would interest themselves in. After we parted with them, we returned to our boat and sailed round the first bend just below a large sand bar; here we killed some turkeys and encamped.

A smart gust blew up which obliged us to pitch the tents, which we got done just before the rain came on. In holding the stake of the tent the axe flew off the handle and struck me on the back of my right hand, and hurt it very much. The rain soon abated and we had a very good night.

*Thursday, Nov. 10th.*

Set out early, and pushed just above the mouth of Lochreys Creek on the south side where we put on shore to see a very pretty cane brake of small cane, which to me was a curiosity, and is really very beautiful. I cut several, some of them ten foot long, but very small, fit only for pipe stems or switch canes. Pushed on to our garrison, where we arrived at ten o'clock.

The distance to the big Bone Lick by the water route, is about three miles, and across land about thirteen miles.

Much may be said on the subject of the big bones ; some gentlemen are of opinion they were not the elephant, but the rhinoceros ; others, particularly the ingenious Dr. Hunter of London, are of opinion they were a very dangerous and destructive animal of the carnivorous kind, and that the destruction of them was a mercy to mankind. How just this gentlemen opinion may be, I will not attempt to controvert, as I have neither seen the elephant or rhinoceros, but it strikes me very forcibly that animals of such great size, could by no means in their power, catch a sufficiency of the animal food to sustain them, the country being woody, I think it was impossible for them to pass through with the rapidity necessary to catch buffalo, and all other animal food for them is quite out of the question, as the quantity necessary to support them must require more than a good hunter could procure were he devoted to their service ; but the herbage of the country has certainly been, and yet is, of the most luxuriant kind, and in the greatest abundance, which would always give them an easy and plentiful subsistence. I am rather, from these reasons, inclined to think them a granivorous animal, be it elephant or not.

On our arrival, I found Mr. Zane had come in ; he had found the seven cattle but could not get them drove in, they being as wild as buffalo, therefore have no other chance than sending out people to hunt and shoot them.

In our absence Capt. Doyle got the fort cleared of the stumps and chimneys to our huts.

*Friday, Nov. 11th.*

The pickets were all up and gates shut and safe.

This day a Wyandot man come in from hunting, no news.

After night a boat with people passed for the falls, they would not come to, but told us they had passed the troops at Muskingum six days ago. To day put up the flag staff and began the big chimney.

*Saturday, Nov. 12th.*

All hands bringing up stones and building the block house chimneys. The weather is very fine and the people healthy, and every thing comfortable.

*Sunday, Nov. 13th.*

This day about nine A. M. o'clock Gen. Parsons arrived and produced his commission from Congress appointing him one of the Commissioners for Indian affairs ; he also brought me a number of public and several private letters. One boat, which Capt. O'Hara had sent off with salt provisions, came also in his company.

This gentleman was fired on by the Indians at the double Island above the station at Limestone.

There came also in the afternoon, one Mr. Davis one, of the U. S. sur-

veyors, in a boat belonging to Mr. Fowler, commanded by Mr. Huling, bound to post St. Vincent on the Wabash; and two flats with families bound to Beardstown and the Falls of Ohio.

By Gen. Parsons I had a letter from Capt. Hutchins, with the information of one ——— who had been at ——— at the time Chambers was killed, and the stores at that place robbed by the Wyandotts, and the goods divided between themselves and the Delawares. And a letter from Maj. Doughty with Capt. Pipe's, of the Delawares, speech in behalf of his nation and the Wyandotts, in which he endeavored to apologize for their conduct.

Capt. Hutchins speaks in his letter, of the refusal of the Indians to send him chiefs to protect him and his surveyors, and this conduct determined him and them to quit the surveying and return to Congress. It was ever my opinion that his requisition would not be complied with, and that it was wrong for him to demand the chiefs to come for that purpose, as there had been no such stipulation in the treaty; but that if he had requested some of the young men to come and hunt, for which he might have promised them pay, he might have gone on, and they would have answered the double purpose of protection and providing; and that such conduct would have conveyed to the Indians the determination of the United States to proceed agreeable to the treaty in laying out the lands, which I think the Indians would not have attempted to prevent.

*To be continued.*



## BRADDOCK'S ROUTE TO THE MONONGAHELA.

The defeat of Gen. Braddock is one of the most important and interesting incidents in the history of the settlement of this country. It is important on account of its immediate influence upon the condition of the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and also as the first blow in a war whose ravages were more widely extended than those of any which preceded it. It is also a most interesting event because in it Washington first gave tokens of that skill and firmness which he afterwards so effectively displayed in defence of our country's independence.

We have therefore always been very anxious to cast all possible light now attainable, upon the event.

Several months ago we received from that indefatigable delver in the early annals of our country, Jared Sparks, Esq., of Salem, Massachusetts, a letter containing some valuable information as to the rout of Gen. Braddock after leaving Gist's farm, not far from where Connelsville now stands. That letter we, for reasons which it is unnecessary to mention, have withheld from publication; but those reasons no longer existing, we now publish it—premising only a few introductory remarks.

Mr. Sparks as the biographer of Washington, and as the collator of his papers, and as a most indefatigable searcher after the whole truth in our early history, enjoyed extraordinary advantages, so that his statements, in all such matters, should always command the utmost confidence. We have, however, now before us, a draught of "the Monongahela and Youghiogany rivers," taken by Joseph Shippen, Jr., in 1759. On this draught the rout of Gen. Braddock is distinctly laid down from Cumberland to Stewart's Crossings, now Connelsville, and thence to a point about twelve or fourteen miles, nearly due north, and of course some four or five miles east of the Youghiogany. From that point the line of march is not laid down, until within about six miles of the Monongahela river, at Braddock's first ford, about one mile and a half below McKeesport; from that point it is distinctly traced across the Monongahela twice to the field of battle. As Mr. Shippen was Brigade Major in General Forbes' army, and in that capacity visited this place within four years after Braddock's defeat, we may well suppose that he had accurate information as to the rout of that unfortunate General.

Extract of a letter from Jared Sparks, Esq. to the editor of the *Olden Time*.

*Salem, Mass., Feb. 18th 1847.*

DEAR SIR :—There is a copy of the “Memorial,” which you mentioned, in the Library of Harvard College, which I believe is complete. I shall obtain it soon, and will have the missing pages copied, and forward to you the manuscript. I suppose you wish it to be sent by mail. I once compared this translation with the original, and found it clumsily executed, but the substance is probably retained.

Having heretofore examined with care the details of Braddock’s expedition, I am persuaded that the following, as far as it goes, is a correct account of his march from Gist’s plantation.

On the 30th of June the army forded the Youghiogany at Stewart’s Crossings, and then passed a rough road over a mountain. A few miles onward they came to a great swamp, which detained them part of a day in clearing a road. They next advanced to Salt Lick Creek, now called Jacob’s Creek, where a council of war was held, on the 3d of July, to consider a suggestion of Sir John St. Clair, that Col. Dunbar’s detachment should be ordered to join the main body. This proposal was rejected, on the ground that Dunbar could not join them in less than thirteen days ; that this would cause such a consumption of provisions as to render it necessary to bring forward another convoy from Fort Cumberland ; and that in the mean time the French might be strengthened by a reinforcement, which was daily expected at Fort Duquesne—and moreover; the two divisions could not move together after their junction.

On the 4th, the army again marched, and advanced to Turtle Creek, about twelve miles from its mouth, where they arrived on the 7th inst. I suppose this to have been the eastern branch, or what is now called Rush Creek, and that the place at which they encamped was a short distance northerly from the present village of Stewartsville. It was Gen. Braddock’s intention to cross Turtle Creek, and approach Fort Duquesne on the other side ; but the banks were so precipitous, and presented such obstacles to crossing with his artillery and heavy baggage, that he hesitated, and Sir John St. Clair went out with a party to reconnoitre. On his return before night, he reported that he had found the ridge which led to Fort Duquesne, but that considerable work would be necessary to prepare a road for crossing Turtle Creek. This route was finally abandoned, and on the 8th the army marched eight miles and encamped not far from the Monongahela, west of the Youghiogany, and near what is called in an old map, “Sugar Run.” When Braddock reached this place, it was his design to pass through the narrows, but he was informed by the guides, who had been out to explore, that the passage was very difficult, about two miles in length, with a river on the left and a high mountain on the right, and that much work must be done to make it passable for carriages. At the same time he was told that there were two good fords across the Monongahela, where the water was shallow and the banks not steep. With these views of the case, he determined to cross the fords.

the next morning. The order of march was given out, and all the arrangements were made for an early movement.

About eight o'clock, on the morning of the 9th, the advanced division under Col. Gage crossed the ford and pushed forward. After the whole army had crossed and marched about a mile, Braddock received a note from Col. Gage, giving notice that he had passed the second ford without difficulty. A little before two o'clock the whole army had crossed this ford, and was arranged in the order of march on the plain near Frazer's house. Gage with the advanced party was then ordered to march, and while the main body was yet standing on the plain, the action began near the river. Not a single man of the enemy had before been seen.

The distance, by the line of march, from Stewart's Crossing to Turtle Creek, or Brush Creek, was about thirty miles. At this point the route was changed almost to a right angle in marching to the Monongahela. The encampment was probably two or three miles from the bank of the river, for Colonel Gage marched at the break of day, and did not cross the ford till eight o'clock. During the whole march from the Great Meadows, the pickets and sentinels were frequently assailed by scouting parties of French and Indians, and several men were killed. Mr. Gist acted as the General's guide.

On the 4th of July two Indians went out to reconnoitre the country towards Fort Duquesne; and Mr. Gist also on the same day, in a different direction. They were gone two days, and all came in sight of the fort, but brought back no important intelligence. The Indians contrived to kill and scalp a French officer, whom they found shooting within half a mile of the fort.

The army seldom marched more than six miles a day, and commonly not so much. From Stewart's Crossing to Turtle Creek, there were six encampments. During one day the army halted.

I shall be much pleased to see Mr. Atkinson's map. His knowledge of the ground will enable him to delineate Braddock's route much more accurately than it can be done from any sources now attainable.

I am, Sir, respectfully yours,

JARED SPARKS.

NEVILLE B. CRAIG, Esq., *Pittsburgh.*

Since the foregoing letter was in type, we have received from Mr. T. C. Atkinson of Cumberland, Maryland, lately employed on the Pittsburgh and Connelsville Rail Road, a very able and interesting article on the subject of Braddock's rout to the Monongahela, with a very beautiful map of the country, by Mr. Middleton, one of Mr. Atkinson's assistants on the survey for the rail road. The article of Mr. Atkinson, and the map, furnish all the information as to the march of Gen. Braddock's army which can now be hoped for.

Mr. Atkinson had for years devoted much time to the examination of the rout of the army of Braddock eastward, and some distance westward

of Cumberland, and his late employ along the Youghiogany and Monongahela, afforded him an opportunity to complete his work.

As a striking evidence of the accuracy of his researches, we will mention that in tracing the rout, he was much surprised and puzzled by what seemed the strange divergence of the army from the Youghiogany river after passing it at Stewart's Crossings. Yet the traditinary evidence and marks on the ground, seemed to establish beyond doubt the fact, that the army had passed far into the interior of our present county of Westmoreland, and near to Mount Pleasant, crossing the line of the Pittsburgh and Greensburg Turnpike road. This seemed so far from the natural and direct rout, that even the strong traditinary and other evidence, could not entirely remove the possibility of doubt. Mr. Atkinson himself was entirely satisfied as to the correctness of his own conclusions, but of course, would be gratified to receive a confirmation, in an authentic shape, of his own convictions.

Just at that crisis we received the letter from Mr. Sparks, which precedes these remarks, thus settling, most conclusively, the verity of many of the traditions current in the country, as to the erratic course of Braddock's army from Stewart's Crossings to the Monongahela river.

We are, deeply indeed, indebted to Mr. Atkinson, and also to his assistant, Mr. Middleton, for their very valuable contribution in illustration of the early history of this country.

The Pittsburgh and Connelsville Rail Road project cannot be regarded as an entirely fruitless effort; it has, at least, produced a most valuable historical essay.

We hope to place both the article of Mr. Atkinson and the accompanying map, before our readers in the next number of the *Olden Time*.

#### MR. DRAPER'S LETTER.

Our enthusiastic friend Lyman C. Draper, Esq. has once more favored us with a letter enclosing several interesting articles which he has found in the course of his researches, preparatory to his History of the Pioneers. We insert the letter and accompanying articles.

The first article is a copy of a speech delivered by La Fayette at Fort Stanwix, in 1784, and the replies of the Indians. This copy of that speech is almost literally the same as that which we published in our last number, and confirms our conjecture that it was delivered at Fort Stanwix.

Another article is in relation to Braddock's defeat. This we had read twenty years ago, and had for a long time lost sight of, but never forgotten it. For our own part, we give it no credit; but as others may differ with us in opinion, we insert it.

By turning to the first volume, page 75, of the *Olden Time*, it will be seen that Dumas was in command at Fort Duquesne as late as the 23d of March, 1756, nearly nine months after Braddock's defeat; this would

hardly have been the case were the story about the jealousy of Contrecoeur, well founded. As to the Dumas who was mentioned in 1797, he was born in 1758, three years after Braddock's defeat. He accompanied Napoleon to Prussia in 1812, and was alive and well in 1825.

As to the story about *Red Jacket*, we still think it needs explanation. If true, it is singular that there is no notice of his opposition in the minutes of the Conference, and no mention, even, of his name.

The Indians may have held councils by themselves, and in those councils *Red Jacket* may have opposed any proposition to make peace.

*Baltimore, Nov. 3d, 1847.*

DEAR SIR :—The enclosed copy, from a file of the old Maryland Journal of 1784, relative to La Fayette's interview with the Indian chiefs at Fort Stanwix in that year, fully corroborates your supposition, that the address you published in your September number, was pronounced by La Fayette on that occasion. You will readily discover that this old newspaper copy of the address is substantially the same as that you have already published. The replies are interesting, and well worthy of preservation.

There can be no doubt, I think, that *Red Jacket* took part in the treaty of Fort Stanwix. The touching incidents, extracted from Levasseur, seems conclusive, sanctioned by Thatcher, Drake and Stone.

Herewith you have a brief article copied from Hunt's Western Review for September 1819, relating to Braddock's defeat. The ability with which Mr. Hunt conducted his Pioneer Magazine of the West, together with the apparent reliable source of the anecdote, give it, at least, an air of authenticity. I am presuming that Mr. Hunt's authority for it, was the late Hon. John Brown, of Lexington, a distinguished member of Congress during Washington's administration. The French officer alluded to, must have been Dumas, who succeeded to the command of the French and Indians at Braddock's defeat, after the death of M. de Beaujeu. Mr. Sparks tells us, that Dumas "showed great presence of mind in rallying the Indians," when they at the onset, receiving a heavy fire from the British, which they thought proceeded from artillery, consequently "showed symptoms of wavering and retreat," having already lost their gallant commander, M. de Beaujeu. It was unquestionably the skilful management of M. Dumas that gave the victory to the French; and it would appear quite probable, that he was the officer to whom Washington had reference.

It will be recollected that M. de Contrecoeur commanded Fort Duquesne, and as Braddock advanced with his formidable army, the French Captain hesitated what measures to take, believing his small force wholly inadequate to encounter so well appointed a foe.

This corresponds very well with the anecdote of Mr. Hunt. In 1756, according to the accurate Sparks, Dumas succeeded Contrecoeur in the command of Fort Duquesne; and yet the latter, it would seem, prompt-



ed by jealousy, found means to defame and crush Dumas.

The sequel of this anecdote from the *Western Review* is gratifying—that Dumas, in his old age, after years of unmerited neglect and disgrace, “was made a general officer.” Let it be borne in mind, that La Fayette’s first return to France from this country, was in the beginning of 1779, in 1780, Rochambeau’s army was sent to our assistance—and in that army was a prominent officer named *Dumas*, who, in 1797, is styled “General Dumas : see *Sparks’ Washington*, vol. XI, p. 206, 207, 208.

Cordially and truly yours,  
LYMAN C. DRAPER.

From the *Maryland Journal*.

Baltimore Nov. 26, 1784.

*Relation of what passed at the opening of the Treaty between the United States and the Indian natives at Fort Schuyler, October 3d, 1784.*

*The deputies of Congress, those of Pennsylvania, the Marquis de La Fayette, Mr. de Marbois, Consul General of France, and the Chev. de Caraman,\* went in a body to the Council room, where the Marquis pronounced in French the following discourse.*

“Whilst I am thus drawing near unto my children, I thank the great *Manitou* who has brought me to this spot of peace, where I find you all smoking the calumet of friendship ; If you remember the voice of *Kayenlaah*, remember also the belts and good counsels which he so often sent you. I am come to thank my faithful children, the chiefs of nations, the warriors the hearers of my words ; and if the memory of a good parent was not more inclined to forget evil than good, I might now punish those who, whilst they were opening their ears, kept their hearts shut up, with a blind hand lifting up the hatchet very high, struck their father.

“The cause of the Americans was a just one, did I then say to you, it is that of humanity, it is therefore peculiarly yours ; remain neutral at least, and let the brave Americans take care of their independence and liberty. Your father over the Great Lake will take them by the hand, the white birds will soon cover their shores, the great *Ononchio*, † like the sun, will clear away the clouds which hang over your heads, and the schemes of enemies will vanish like smoke.

“Listen not to *Kayenlaah*, did other people tell you, listen not to what he says. An army from the north will enter triumphantly into Boston, another will seize on Virginia, and the great warrior *Washington*, at the head of your fathers and brothers, be obliged to abandon their country. This, and a great deal more, was said by people, who though they had their eyes opened, yet kept your’s shut. Peace is made—you know its

\* This gentleman was named by Indians, *Saganah-Hoassy*, a great warrior,

† The name given by the *Iroquois* to the King of France.



conditions—and in pity to some of you, I shall not repeat them. My predictions are accomplished; listen, then, to the fresh advice of your father Kayenlaah, and let my voice resound throughout the nation.

“What have you ever gained, or rather what have you not lost, by meddling with the quarrels of the whites? Be wiser than they; keep peace among yourselves, and make use of the favorable dispositions which the council of the great Congress seem to manifest. The Americans are brothers to the French, your ancient fathers. This union will be as permanent as it is advantageous and useful. Henceforth the great Ononthio will always hold them by the hand, and they wish to hold yours also; this will make a bright chain. Trade then with the Americans, your brethren, and with such of your fathers as have crossed the Great Lake. In selling your lands, take care not to fool them away for brandy; dispose of them to the great council of the Congress for valuable considerations. If you have listened well to my words, I have said enough—repeat them one to another. I shall hear from you from the other side of the Great Lake; and until I come again to smoke with you and lie on your mats; I wish you health, fortunate huntings, peace and plenty, and the fulfilling of such of your dreams as foretell good luck.

The chief of the Mohawks rose, and holding up a belt of wampum, said:

“Let the last advice of Kayenlaah, (our great chief from Ononthio,) our father be obeyed; to receive thy words, father, we have heard thy voice, and we are glad thee hast revisited thy children, in order to give them good and wholesome advice. Thee hast said that we had listened to the wicked, and shut our ears against thy voice. That is true, father; we, the Mohawks, have quitted the good path; we have been surrounded with a black cloud—but we are returned, and desire thee should find in us good and dutiful children.

“Truly, father, it pleaseth us to hear thy manly voice amongst us, which without wounding us, does us a great deal of good; it seems as though Manitou had led thee hither on purpose to smoke with thy newly found children.

“Kayenlaah, our father, as to our situation, thee hast said right; but we hope that the great *Kitchy Manitou* will henceforth lead our feet in the good path, and that our past follies may be forgot, to the end we may enjoy peace, be unanimous in all our doings. Our father, we feel that all thy words are the words of truth, and experience hath showed us that all thy foretellings are come to pass. Thee talks of peace; that is our wish, and the main point which leads us here. Kayenlaah, our father, — ’tis of old that children must obey their fathers, and that it belongs to them to chastise and reprove them when they do wrong; we know it, and the Great Spirit will so purify our hearts that thee shall be glad to have spared our lives, which we have forfeited.

"Our father, we remember thy words seven years ago ; all, all are come to pass. Yes, all thee hast said is true, and that is the reason we are now come to smoke together the pipe of peace and friendship. Thee observeth that the alliance between the French and Americans is and indissoluble chain ; we believe it, our father. Thee hast advised us not to trifle our land away for strong drinks ; we sadly want this salutary advice, for that is the source of all our follies and calamities, and we wish that in this great council nothing bad may ensue.

Our father, thy words of this day shall be heard among the Six Nations, and they will love to strengthen and brighten the chain which is going to unite us together.

"Our father, we shall say no more to-day, because it is not fitting for us to multiply our words ; we enjoy the present moment, and we will assist at the great council of the United States, and we felicitate the members thereof on their safe arrival here. Thee hast said that thee departest to-morrow ; may be we shall add something more then."

On the next day there was another meeting, when the orators of the friendly nations thus addressed the Marquis.

"KAYENLAAH, OUR FATHER :—

"Let all the nations here present, open their ears, as well as the great warriors of our father Ononthio. Thy speech of yesterday holds forth felicitations, reproofs and counsels ; we receive them all in good part, because we well remember thy words seven years ago ; they preserved us in the right path. Behold this belt—received from our father Montcalm, some twenty years ago, by our fathers ; he told us we should always hold it fast.

"Kayenlaah, our father, all thy words are come to pass ; therefore, we receivd, with pleasure, those of yesterday."

The Marquis delivering back the great belt, said :—

"I am glad to see you have so faithfully preserved this ancient belt, and that it has had so good an effect on many nations which it has prevented from taking up the hatchet against the United States. France shall always hold one end of that belt, whilst the other end shall be held also by the great Congress.

"I thank you for your fidelity in following my counsels, and shutting your ears against the encmies of their great Island."

A Huron chief arose and said :—

"Kayenlaah, our father, open thy ears to the few words I am going to address thee before thy departure.

"The children of the North have long been those of the great Ononthio : thy words have pleased us because they are true. First thee beginneth with thanking Great Manitow for bringing thee here. We thank him also for the same, and wish that, through his influence, thy counsels may become as so many blessings. We thank thee for all thy words, and in thanking thee thus, we bid thee farewell.

"Kayenlaah, our father, one word more. When we left the people of the North, the Governor of Canada gave us exhortations analagous to thy words. He advised us to behave decently, and to bring with us none but words of peace in the great council of the thirteen United States, saying that peace was made between the English and the Americans. Is not that like thy speech? He advised us, likewise, to live in friendship with all the nations who may come to Niagara."

Towanoganda, a Seneca chief, arose and said :—

"Kayenlaah, our father, great warrior of Ononthio, open they ears to the few words I have to say.

"Thou acknowledgest the superintending power of the Great Manitou which has brought thee to this place of peace and friendship. Then thee sayest that, as a good father, thee loves to forget and forgive. We well remember thy words seven years ago, at Fort Johnson, which were that thee knewest well the ground of the dispute between England and America, and that the cause of the latter was just, and that the great Ononthio would establish a bright chain which would last forever. Thee has called on our memory for the fulfilling of thy words. Thee has given us also good and important counsels for our conduct at this great council.

"Our father, open thy ears once more. We had no time yesterday to deliberate on thy words. Every nation is liable to err, and we have committed a great many faults at the instigation of Great Britain. We have been overcome ; but it becomes all wise nations to forgive, and particularly the victorious one. Thee hast heard our voice, all our thoughts are re-united round this great fire, kindled by the Congress, the representatives of which are here present. We hope, and our confidence is founded on this treaty. If the Americans address us with the words of peace, all will go well, and peace cover all the nations. Father, carry with thee this belt, and remember our words."

#### THE MARQUIS' ANSWER.

"We return thanks to the Governor of Canada for his good wishes for the success of this treaty ; you ought also to thank him for his good counsels, in telling you to make the best peace you can with the great Congress.

"I rejoice to see my children reprobating their ancient errors ; I wish sincerely that all the nations may forget all past animosities, and bury the hatchet. With equal sincerity, I wish that in the present situation of things, every circumstance may coincide to render the ensuing treaty advantageous to the Nations as well as to the United States. Full of that strong confidence, I feel for you all an entire return of my paternal affection. With these words, and with these sentiments, which are those of my heart, I bid you farewell, in order to return across the Great Lake to the great Ononthio."

### THE MEETING OF LA FAYETTE AND RED JACKET AT BUFFALO, IN 1825.

"We had the pleasure of seeing an old Indian chief of the Senecas, who had acquired a great reputation for courage and eloquence, not only among his own people, but also among the whites, who called him Red Jacket. This extraordinary man, although much broken by time and intemperance, still preserved to a surprising degree, the exercise of all his faculties. He immediately recognized Gen. La Fayette, and recalled to his recollection that they had been together in 1784 at Fort Schuyler, where a great council had been held, in which the interests of all the Indian nations, whether friendly or otherwise, who could have any relation to the United States, were settled. The General replied to him that he had not forgotten this circumstance, and demanded of him if he knew what had become of the young Indian who had so eloquently opposed the burying of the tomahawk. "He is before you," replied the son of the forest, with all the brevity of his expressive language. "Time has much changed us," said the General to him, "for then we were young and active." "Ah!" exclaimed Red Jacket, "time has been less severe on you than on me; he has left you a fresh countenance, and a head well covered with hair; whilst for me—look!" and untying the handkerchief that covered his head, he showed us, with a melancholy air, that his head was entirely bald. The bystanders could not help smiling at the simplicity of the Indian, who appeared to be ignorant of the means of repairing the injuries of time; but were cautious not to explain his error; and perhaps did right, for he might have confounded a wig with a scalp, and wished to have regarnished his head at the expense of that of one of his neighbors. Like all the Indians, who have preserved their primitive haughtiness, Red Jacket obstinately adheres to his native language, and entertains a great contempt for all others. Although it was easy to see that he understood English perfectly, he refused to reply to the questions of Gen. La Fayette before they were translated into Seneca by his interpreter. The General having remembered a few Indian words which he had learned during his youth, pronounced them before him; he appeared sensible of this politeness, which singularly augmented the high opinion he already entertained of La Fayette.

LEVASSEUR'S TOUR IN AMERICA.

## ORIGINAL ANECDOTE.

The following anecdote is from the September number of Hunt's Western Review, of 1819.

"The following anecdote, connected with the history of Braddock's defeat, has not, as far as we know, been published before. We have it from a gentleman of the highest respectability, who received it from Gen. Washington himself.

"When Gen. Braddock was marching towards Pittsburgh, a French Captain asked the commander of the French and Indian forces, to give him a suitable detachment to go out and meet the British and Americans. The commander declined to do this, but told the Captain that he might make an effort to enlist volunteers. The Captain accepted of the proposal, and all the soldiers in the fort offered their services. The result surprised and mortified the commander, and he limited the number of white men to sixty, while he permitted all the Indians, amounting to eight or nine hundred, to join the enterprise. With this force, the French Captain went out, and defeated Braddock, as is already known, by a well planned ambuscade. The commander was extremely chagrined at this issue of an expedition, which he had publicly discouraged, and even represented as quixotic. He indeed commended the Captain as he sent him to Quebec, but the praise of the exploit was not his own, and the public sentiment, too liberally and cordially, bestowed encomiums upon the heroic officer, to allow the jealousy and envy of the commander to sleep.

The French officers were in the habit of using the public property freely, without any notice being taken of the practice. This was siezed as an occasion to bring a charge of peculation against the hero of Braddock's field. He was cashiered after trial, and lived in disgrace in France. The story was told to Marquis La Fayette by Gen. Washington afterwards, during the war of our Revolution, and when the Marquis returned to France, he detailed it at the court of Versailles. Great interest was excited, and diligent inquiry was immediately made after the unfortunate Captain. He was at last found living in Provence, was brought to court amidst congratulations, and made a general officer in triumph. It was found upon investigation, that his persecutor had died but a short time before."

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THE YELLOW CREEK MURDER.

The celebrated speech said to have been delivered by Logan, cast imputations upon the character of Cresap, which, if true, should for ever stigmatize his memory; and if false, should be explained away.

Our own conviction, that the accusation was unfounded, has long been clear and decided; and we think that the evidence which we furnished in the ————— number of our present volume, ought to satisfy any impartial mind. The evidence of Joseph Tomlinson, who was at

Baker's Bottom on the day of the murders, is conclusive ; provided his statement is entitled to credit. A friend who takes some interest in the memories both of Cresap and Tomlinson, has sent to us a correspondence which he had with two respectable citizens of Cumberland, Maryland, which we here introduce.

MY DEAR SIR:—The question of Col. Cresap's participation in the murder of Logan's relatives, has indirectly led to some imputations on the memory of the late Benjamin Tomlinson, Esq. As Mr. Tomlinson was at the house of Mr. Baker, at Yellow Creek, the day these unfortunate Indians were slain there, he knew the whole facts and on being called upon, gave a statement on oath, of his knowledge of the event, which completely exonerated Col. Cresap from all share in it.

The question having assumed a party aspect, owing to the position of Mr. Jefferson as the head of the Democratic party in the United States, and also the channel through which Logan's melancholy story first reached the world, many warm politicians construe any defence of Colonel Cresap into an attack upon their favorite statesman, consequently Mr. Tomlinson has come in for a share of reproach, and his presence at the house made a ground of insinuation against him.

As you were well acquainted with Mr. Tomlinson, I beg you to say what were your opportunities for knowing him ? What the impression made on your mind of his character ? What was his reputation for veracity and intelligence ? What was his general standing among his fellow citizens ? Do you not know that Mr. Tomlinson belonged to the Democratic party all his life, and that all his sympathies would have led him to sustain Mr. Jefferson, or their question, if his regard for the truth would have allowed him to do so ? Was Mr. Tomlinson a relative by marriage or otherwise of Col. Cresap, and if so, do you believe that relationship would have induced him to distort the facts ?

Your early answer will oblige your

Obedient servant,
THOS. C. ATKINSON.

Cumberland, March 11, 1847.

Cumberland, March 20th, 1847.

DEAR SIR:—I received yours of the 11th inst., requesting my knowledge of Benjamin Tomlinson.

My acquaintance with him was from 1801 to the year of his death, in 1838. I was often at his house on parties of pleasure, and on business, being Deputy Sheriff, and Sheriff and Collector till 1807. In 1809 we were opposing candidates for the State Legislature, and from my knowledge of him, I was fully impressed with the belief that he was a man of intelligence and of strict veracity ; and as a proof thereof, and that he stood high in the opinion of his fellow citizens, he was often elected to the State Legislature by the Republican party, and I always heard him

spoken of as a Republican or Democrat, until 1824, when I believe he became a friend of Mr. Crawford's for President, and in the latter part of his life, he joined the Whig party. He was at no time of my acquaintance with him, considered a Federalist. I believe he was at all times a warm friend of Thomas Jefferson's, and did sustain him as far as a strict regard to truth would permit.

I do not know that he was related to the Cresap family, but if he was, no relationship, nor any thing else would, I believe, have induced him to distort any facts, and I never heard his veracity doubted by any man. I am sir, Yours, very respectfully, L. HILLERY.

Cumberland, March 15th, 1847.

DEAR SIR:—In reply to your note of the 11th inst., I say that I knew the late venerable Benjamin Tomlinson intimately well for the last five years of his life.

Long before my acquaintance with him, I had read the famous Logan speech, as published in Mr. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. The first time I ever saw him, was at his own house in the year 1833. Perhaps some observation of mine about the beauty of the surrounding scenery, led him at once, back to the first settlement of this part of the country by the whites, and their border wars with the Indians. He at that time, and afterwards, recounted many thrilling incidents of his early life. I think it was at our first interview that I introduced the subject of the Logan speech, and wished to know his impression about the truth or falsehood of the charge made against Col. Cresap by Logan, as contained in it. He stated without any apparent bias, and as a mere matter of history, that Cresap had nothing whatever to do with the killing of Logan's family, and was not near the place when it occurred; that the act was committed by Col. Greathouse's party, who had no connection with Cresap, and did not act under his directions; and that he, (Mr. Tomlinson,) was not present at the catastrophe, and had no share in it, but was absent in pursuit of some horses that had been turned out to graze.

From an intercourse of several years, I was led to form a very high opinion of Mr. Tomlinson's character, both for truth and intelligence. Time and observation have strengthened that opinion. No one of any sect or party in this community would, during his life time here, have called in question the truth of any statement made by him, touching his own knowledge of any fact.

He was, from the time when the lines of party distinction were drawn, a Democrat of the Jefferson school in politics; hence his sympathies would have led him to sustain rather than to controvert any statement made by Mr. Jefferson on this, or any other subject. For many years he was an active member of that party, and as such, frequently served in the Legislative of the State.

It is true that Mr. Tomlinson was recently connected with a branch of

the Cresap family ; but it is equally true that his wife was a Miss Greathouse, who I believe was a connection of the Col. Greathouse whose party, agreeably to his own statement, killed Logan's family ; but I do not believe that the fact of such connection, whether by marriage or otherwise, would have caused him to swerve one jot from the honest truth, in making any statement of fact.

In saying this, I am actuated by no other motive than a desire to do justice to the dead, by correcting as far as I can, what may be supposed to be a mere error of the living. I, in common with all who knew Mr. Tomlinson, venerated the man for his many excellencies while he lived, and shall be happy, if in any way, I can shield his memory from the aspersions of those who seem disposed to cast nettles on his grave.

I am truly yours, JAMES SMITH.

To T. C. ATKINSON, Esq.

GENERAL WM. IRVINE.

This gentleman succeed Col. Brodhead in the command of this post in March, 1781.

The difficulties of Col. Brodhead with Col. Gibson, seems to have led to a very great relaxation of military discipline here, and probably rendered it necessary to send here an officer of higher rank, and perhaps a more rigid disciplinarian. For this purpose Gen. Irvine, an Irishman by birth, though a Pennsylvanian by adoption, was selected. His grandson, Dr. Wm. A. Irvine of Warren county, has kindly promised us the use of part of his correspondence while in command here. We hope to find much of interest in his letters when they come to hand. In the mean time we give the following letter describing the state of affairs here upon his arrival. We extract it from Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania.

Fort Pitt, March 20th, 1782.

SIR:—I arrived (returned) here the 25th of March ; at that time things were in greater confusion than can well be conceived. The country people were to all appearance in a fit of phrenzy ; about three hundred had just returned from the Moravian towns, where they found about ninety men, women and children, all of whom they put to death, 'tis said after cool deliberation and considering the matter for three days. The whole were collected into their church, and tied when singing hymns. On their return, a party came and attacked a few Delaware Indians who have yet remained with us on a small Island close by this garrison ; killed two who had captain's commissions in our service, and several others, the remainder effected their escape into the fort, except two who ran into the woods and have not since been heard of. There was an officers' guard on the Island at the same time ; but he either did not do his duty, or his men connived at the thing—which, I am not yet able to ascertain. This last outrage was committed the day before I arrived.

Nothing of this nature has been attempted since. A number of wrong-headed men had conceived an opinion that Col. Gibson was a friend to Indians, and that he must be killed also. These transactions, added to the then mutinous disposition of the regular troops, had nearly brought on the loss of the whole country. I am confident, if this post was evacuated, the bounds of Canada would be extended to the Laurel Hill in a few weeks. I have the pleasure, however, to inform your excellency that things now wear a more favorable aspect. The troops are again reduced to obedience; and I have had a meeting, or convention, of the county Lieutenants and several field officers, with whom I have made arrangements for defending their frontier, and who promise to exert themselves in drawing out the militia, agreeable to the law, on my requisitions.

"Civil authority is by no means properly established in this country; which I doubt not, proceeds in some degree from inattention in the executive of Virginia and Pennsylvania not running the boundary-line—which is at present an excuse for neglect of duty of all kinds for at least twenty miles on each side the line. More evils will arise from this than people are aware of. A certain J—— is at the head of this party; he is ambitious, restless, and some say disaffected; most people, however, agree, he is open to corruption. He has been in England since the beginning of the present war. Should these people actually emigrate, they must be entirely cut off, or immediately take protection from the British, which I fear is the real design of some of the party, though I think a great majority have no other views than to acquire lands.

As I apprehended taking cognizance of the matters would come best from the civil departments, I have written to the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania on the subject, which I should not have done till I had first acquainted your excellency thereof, but for this consideration, viz: that the 20th of May is the day appointed for the emigrants to rendezvous; consequently a representation from you would be too late, in case the states should think proper to take measures to prevent them."

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GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE.

An officer in the revolutionary war, was born in Ireland, and educated for the profession of medicine. During the war between France and England, which commenced in 1754, and ended in 1763, he served for a time as a surgeon on board of a British ship of war, and soon after the conclusion of peace, removed to America, and continued the practice of his profession in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

He was a member of the convention which met at Philadelphia, July 15, 1774, and recommended the meeting of a general congress. In January, 1776, he was authorized to raise and command a regiment of the Pennsylvania line, which in a few months afterwards was fully equipped.

In the following June, he was taken prisoner in the unsuccessful attempt made by General Thompson to surprise the van guard of the British army, then stationed at the village of Trois Rivières, in Canada, and was carried to Quebec, where he remained in durance until April, 1778, when he was exchanged. Immediately after his release, he was promoted to the second Pennsylvania brigade, and in 1781, he was intrusted with the defence of the north-western frontier, which was threatened by the British and Indians. The charge was one that required not only courage and firmness, but great prudence and judgment, and was executed by Gen. Irvine in a manner which fully justified the choice of him made by Gen. Washington. After the war, he was elected a member of Congress under the confederation, and he was also a member of the convention which framed the constitution of Pennsylvania. When the whiskey insurrection broke out in that State, in 1794, two sets of commissioners, the one representing the United States, and the other the Commonwealth, were first despatched to the insurgents, in order to induce them to return to their duty, and amongst the latter was Gen. Irvine. This measure, however, proving ineffectual, force was resorted to, and Gen. Irvine was placed at the head of the Pennsylvania militia, and contributed greatly to the successful result of the affair. About this time he removed with his family from Carlisle to Philadelphia, where he became intendant of military stores, and president of the Pennsylvania Society of Cincinnati. He continued to reside in that city, universally respected for his public and private virtues, until the summer of 1804, when a period was put to his life by an inflammatory disorder, in the 63d year of his age.—*Encyclopædia Americana.*

#### PHILADELPHIA.

A friend, some time since, lent us a copy of an old work called "*Geography Rectified*, or a description of the world in all its Kingdoms, Provinces, Countries, Islands, Cities, &c., &c., by Robt. Morden, published in London, in the year 1688; one hundred and fifty-nine years ago.

This country was then almost unknown, but we find the following description of our eastern Emporium, which had a few years before been laid out.

"PHILADELPHIA.—The expectation of those that are concerned in this Province, is at last laid out to the great content of those here, that are any ways interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river, but the Schuylkill being one hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its course north-east towards the fountain of Susquehanna, that tends to the heart of the Province, and both sides our own, it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. But this I will say for the good providence of God, that of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land and air, held by the people of these parts to be very good.

# THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

NOVEMBER, 1847.

NO. 11.

## GEN. BUTLER'S JOURNAL, CONTINUED.

*Monday, Nov. 14th.*

This day the Commissioners wrote a letter to the Magistrates of Limestone, Jefferson, Fayette and Nelson counties, by Capt. Bullock, Jr., requesting their assistance to detect the thieves which three days ago stole Runtandy's and his people's horses. We took great pains to ascertain whether these horses had passed down the Ohio, which Mr. Boggs took the trouble to determine, by going with the Indian to Lochrey's Creek, where the tracks were plain, going in on the north and out on the south side of the Ohio, heading to the settlements.

I find we are infested by scoundrels who not only steal the horses of the Indians under our protection, but sell liquor contrary to orders to the soldiers, and who seem to be more unruly and unprincipled than the savages, and who wish to frustrate the treaty.

*Tuesday, Nov. 15th.*

This day went down the river in company with Gen. Parsons to the cane brake, seven miles below this post; found it very beautiful, cut a great deal and returned in the evening.

After dusk Maj. Finney was informed by Serjeant Wilcocks that some fellows were going off with a canoe, and some of the soldiers with canteens, supposed to buy liquor. This practice seems to be frequent, as the soldiers are found frequently drunk, though they have no visible mode but this to obtain it. The Major had three of them with one soldier confined for further inquiry.

The weather is still fine. Yesterday the two men who had been employed in hauling stone, &c., went home after receiving their pay, the one eighteen and the other thirteen dollars.

*Wednesday, Nov. 16th.*

Rained through the last night and this morning which continued till twelve o'clock, when it cleared up and dispelled all the smoke with which the atmosphere has been crowded for near a month past.

It has been found, on the examination of the men who were confined last night, that McInear has been selling liquor to the soldiers. They were all released with orders on the one side and promises on the other, that no more such conduct be pursued.

This evening Maj. Finney got into his house, on which the Commissioners and officers were invited to a dance and house-warming—every thing very quiet and going on well—the Commissioners had an overhaul of some beef, which was found very good, and fresh pickle added to it; the provisions very good, and in great plenty.

*Thursday, Nov. 17th.*

The Wyandot Chief now expecting the Indian nations to collect, proposed to remove his camp to the banks of the Miami, about three miles North of our post, which we approved of as a proper place for the Indians to encamp at generally. General Parsons and myself, with some of the gentlemen took a walk to the place to view it, and think it a very good position, and they will be neither too near or too far off to attend to the business, or disturb the garrison. On examining the ground in the point under the highlands, find an excellent body of fine land well situated for a town, but rather too far off the river Ohio, which cannot be remedied, as a great body of the low land overflows to a great height on the trees, nearly to 14 feet in most places. I observe the Miami is a very fine, and will be a useful river, as it has a great deal of good water, at almost all seasons; but the bed being broad it is generally shallow, but this may be helped as the bottom is not very, or generally, rocky, but gravelly, and by throwing a curtain of rocks, starting down the river on one or both sides of a shoal, so as to collect the water to a focus, whereby a channel fit to take up boats may be made, this will continue always good with a small annual repair after the spring freshes, and will render the boat navigation of this and all other streams of a similar kind useful at all seasons—as in low water it will be practicable, and in high water easy and certain.

*Friday, Nov. 18th.*

This morning about 9 o'clock came in the Wyandot Indian who went out with Messrs. Elliott and Rinken with a letter dated the 17th inst., informing that 50 Wyandots, 10 Delawares and 10 Shawanese were on their way to the treaty, and that the Big Cat, a chief of the Delawares, had gone to bring on the Miamis and others, who had been stopped by their own fears and the advice of the British emissaries, on their way to the treaty; also that the Council Door, a chief of the Delawares, is gone



to the White River, to bring on the tribes from that quarter, which they expect will attend, they request that some flour and other stores be sent to meet the party, which the Commissioners ordered, and directed Mr. Boggs to call on the storekeeper and Commissioners for the same, and send the Indians back with all possible dispatch, to meet those on their way. This done, Gens. Clarke, Parsons, Major Finney and myself crossed the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Miama, in search of an Indian fort, which Gen. C. informed us of, but after climbing the hill and searching a long time without making any other discovery than a body of very rich but broken land, we returned to the fort, using a sail only on the boat, which run up in a very short time, and with great ease, though the wind was very light.

*Saturday, Nov. 19th.*

This day two boats passed, bound to the falls, no letters, they stopped but a short time and told us that Gen. Scott and several others had put in at Limestone, from whence they would cross the country to Lexington and other settlements to which they are bound, in this fleet I am told is 13 large boats with families, slaves, cattle, horses, &c., one among many proofs of the great emigration from the old to the new world, with which all people seem not only pleased but delighted—I went out with my gun to examine the bottom between the Ohio and Miama more fully than I had done before—I find a great body of the low land which overflows, will make good corn and pasture fields, and is not injured by the floods, which may still be improved by preserving the timber on the rivers and banking, and that there is an excellent piece of ground for a town near the hills, which never is flooded, The hills will not only afford timber and stone for building, but is in most places fit for fields, orchards and gardens, most delightfully situated, the town may be sufficiently near the two rivers, to add beauty to them, and be delighted with the majesty and elegance of their meandering currents. I also find that the land is very fine along the Ohio for about one mile, to the first narrows and to the foot, and many places to the top of the ridges which are all covered with fine ash, walnut, oak, hickory, vines, and other rich timber.

This evening Runtandees' wife came to camp, and told us that the young men and chiefs had opened the kegs of rum sent to the people who are on their way to this place, and that they were very drunk, and had been fighting among themselves; it being late, could send no person out to examine this matter.

*Sunday, Nov. 20th.*

This morning sent Messrs. Boggs and Zane to the Indian camp to see how matters stood, in about two hours they returned with two of the young Indians and one of the small kegs which they had drank half out, praying we would fill it again, as they were afraid to go to the chiefs without what they had been sent for, and they were sorry they had broke trust, we ordered the keg filled up, and sent them off with injunctions to do so no more, which they promised and set out. This morning Gen. Parsons moved to his own tent, and after sunset it began to snow smartly and continued almost all night, this is the first real stroke of the winter we have had. We were this day informed by people from the station, that the inhabitants of the Lexington and other settlements had blazed a road to the Big Bone Lick, agreeable to the proposition of Capt. Johnston, of October 30th approved and recommended by Gen. C. and myself.

*Monday, Nov. 21,*

The appearance of the country is now quite changed, yesterday we had a dusky brown and here and there bunches of green yet unfaded, but now all is white, being covered with a wet snow, which shows us a picture of winter more to be dreaded than pleased with in our situation, being myself 700 miles from my home and no certainty which way I may be able to get there, no peace being yet concluded with the Indians, and an apparent tardiness among them about the matter, however, a few days will determine, and put it in our power to return by land or oblige us to take the route of the Mississippi, which must be our dernier resort. Kerlin and another man come from the station with four horses to draw in the stuff for a Council house—about 11 o'clock the clouds broke and the sun shone out warm, which gives hope of a moderate winter; the troops have got their chimneys and berths up, and begin to enjoy the sweets of their labors, as in bad weather, they can lay by in ease, comfort and plenty, and their fuel is close at hand. No news from any quarter, which causes me to set high value on society, for although there is several gentlemen at this place, yet converse soon runs out for want of the pleasure of variety, which naturally arises from a diverse company of ladies and gentlemen, which is always a fund of pleasure and useful knowledge which fills up the blanks of life.

*Tuesday, Nov. 22d.*

I have been much troubled with excessive pain in my face and jaws for two nights past, which has prevented sleep, my eyes feel debilitated by it and I feel a return of pain—the weather like for snow—the troops going to raise the council-house, got a few rounds on the foundation, nothing of consequence this day, except that General Parsons was requested by the Commissioners to draw up regulations to be observed during the treaty, which was read and approved, with some alterations, which the secretary was directed to make.

*Wednesday, Nov. 23d.*

John Boggs, Esq., the principal messenger to the Indians, was sent to Sappington's station, five miles down the Ohio, with one of the regulations, to be put up for the government of all persons who may attend at the treaty, and to purchase vegetables—the council-house ready for the claboards being put on; still snowing a little and very winter-like—no news to-day.

*Thursday, Nov. 24th.*

This morning part of the boards were put on the council-house roof, and the troops set to clean out the fort, which was done about 12 o'clock; there not being a sufficient quantity of boards to complete the roof, men were sent to make them—our mess-tent in very bad order, only one chimney, that bad, and no floor; another chimney begun; the weather very like to snow; still spitting a little; our wagoners have lost their horses. I am not a little surprized at the uniform neglect of Mr. Montgomery, and a determinate resolution to do no one thing which might make him either useful or agreeable—he was yesterday ordered to go down to the station to put up the proclamation, and to purchase some vegetables; the latter he refused, alledging that he did not know how to market, on which I recollected a private conversation between him and Mr. Campbell, the secretary, the previous evening, in which Mr. Montgomery inveighed against the proclamation, and declared, that if he had a mind to trade at this place, he would not pay the least attention to any regulations we might make; on which Mr. Campbell told him it was in the power of the Commissioners to punish him, as they were authorized to make regulations by Congress, for the government of all who attend; that as this place is not within the jurisdiction of any one State, he would be obliged to, or be forced away; on which he swore he would blow the brains of the Commissioners out and sue their estate for damages, if his property suffered, or was detained, or himself prevented from dealing. In consequence of which conversation I thought him a very unfit person to send, and directed Mr. Boggs to do the duty; *in truth he is* a very imprudent young man, and unfit for any employ in which he has been engaged in the service of the Commissioners.

This day the Commissioners and their officers dined with Mr. Finney; while at dinner Messrs. Elliott and Winham arrived, with the half-King and Crnae of the Wyandotts; the Pipe, White Eyes, and Abraham, of the Delawares, John Harris and ——— of the Shawanese, all of whom expressed great joy at seeing us, and informed us that the Council Door, the Big Cat, and ——— of the Delawares, Berry or Lopchie, and ——— of the Shawnese, and others, were gone to bring in the western tribes, and that they expected a great number to attend the treaty—that the western tribes were on their way, but were turned by the influence of the British emissaries; however, they have no doubt but many will come, notwithstanding every endeavor is made by those persons to

prevent them. The Shawnese tell me that the Shawneeman, called Wawiacammie, or Buffalo, was prompted by one Robert Suphlet, cousin to Mr. M'Kee, the British agent, to come to this post, to take a prisoner, and that Suphlet came half-way between Shawnee towns and this place, to wait till he, Wawiacammie, would return, but instead of performing this business, he come to the Commissioners (having first met Messrs. Elliott and Rinken,) and instead of returning hostilely disposed, was converted to a friend by the difference of treatment he received from what he expected, and Suphlet had to return as he came—the messengers and Indians both agree that Girty and others are in the Shawnee towns using every persuasion in their power to stop the Indians from coming, but from present appearances I expect a great number of them—treated the whole of the Indians with great civility, which made them cheerful and happy.

*Friday, Nov. 25th.*

I found myself very ill through the night, with the pain in my jaws and teeth, lost sleep and had to lay long. I thought it requisite for the commissioners to have a report from the messengers, Messrs. Elliot and Rinken of their progress while out, with their remarks and opinions respecting the attendance of the Shawnese and other western nations which I directed them to make out—also to have a conference with the old chiefs of the Delawares and Wyandotts, in presence of the two young Shawneemen, John Harris and ———; the whole met in my tent; present Generals Clarke, Parsons and myself; my colleagues requested that I would deliver our speech, to which I consented—I informed him in the name of the United States. that we were pleased to see them the first to meet us at our new council-fire; and that they had brought with them their young brothers and grand-children, the Shawnese, that it convinced us of their intention to adhere to the principles of the last treaty, concluded between the United States and their nations. I thanked them for the friendship to our messengers, their care and industry in endeavoring to diffuse the speeches, and to bring in the western tribes to the treaty, which we have found they have neatly done. I then exhorted the Shawnese to go back to their people, and let them know what they have seen, to tell them that there has been four messengers sent, and that they had war and peace to look at, and choose from that; this is the last we shall say to them, and they may do as they think proper, but let us have an answer speedily as possible, but to take care which they choose. The young men spoke very well, and acknowledge they have been imposed on with lies, and that they will return and inform their nation, and desire them to rise up and come. That they believe our intentions are good; the whole ended very amicably, and the council broke up. About dusk one Captain Howel arrived from the falls of Ohio, on his way to Fort Pitt, sent the secretary to request him to dine with us to-morrow. One Col. Potisar who has been sent by order of court to make a road

from Lexington to this post, made a requisition of some provisions to serve him on his way in, to which the Commissioners agreed, and ordered him one hundred gross of flour, fifty pounds of salt beef and three gallons spirits.

Sat up and wrote a continuation to a letter of the 10th inst., to the President of Congress. The weather generally clear at night, and snowy in the morning. Had old Wingenum to sleep in my tent, who I find to be a manly, sensible fellow, who seems to have just ideas of things in general, he seems quite happy to find his nation has land to live on, and pities the Shawnese and other nations who still seem to be under the British influence, and determined to bear not only their rights, but to kiss a rod that must not only whip them to death, but embrace even the smart.

*Saturday, Nov. 26th.*

Copied the continuation of the letter to Congress, received the report in writing and the answers to the messages by Messrs. Rinken & Elliott, with their journals, the answers seem to convince me that these wretches are entirely under the influence of British agents, who will lead them to destruction, and I have reason to think they have no manner of intention of coming to the treaty, which may prevent the more westerly tribes notwithstanding the endeavors of the Wyandotts and Delawares. Capt. Howell and Boggs dined with us, one Mr. ———, their companion, took the ague just as dinner was put on the table. The Commissioners had a suit of good clothes given to the half-King, the Crane, the Pipe, Wingenum, White Eyes, old Abram, and the two Shawnees; in the evening had a long conversation with John Harris and Micanimsica or Mr. Wapan, a Shawnee, in which I was very explicit in telling them the influence they are under, and their real situation, and that they may just do as they please, as to coming to the treaty. That if they do not come they will be the first who will be sorry, and the first to feel the smart of it, they said if I would send word by them they would certainly come; I told him I did not think so, that they had promised Messrs. Lowry and Boggs last year to come and had disappointed both him and us—that they had had four invitations, and I would give no more, which seemed to affect their feelings very much, so we parted.

*Sunday Nov. 27th.*

This morning Captain Howell left this place for Fort Pitt, by him General Clarke and myself wrote to the President of Congress, and one letter of the 10th, and an addition of this date. I wrote to Mrs. Butler, Col. W. Butler, and Capt. O'Hara. The Wyandotts, Delawares, and Shawnese arrived at the encamping place. The half-King come in with a few others to see us, and informed us that the whole would visit us tomorrow; parted in very good humor, being much pleased with his reception and treatment, as are the Delawares also.

*Monday, Nov. 28th.*

I have been very ill this morning with pain in the side of my face and head, which distresses me very much. About 11 o'clock came in a messenger, to inform the Commissioners that the Wyandotts and Delawares were coming in, in firm, and would salute them, on which Major Finney was directed to have twelve men ready to return the salute, with three rounds. The little etiquette of receiving such people being arranged, such as pipes, tobacco, and a dram, as soon as they were seated they were served with a dram round—after some time General Parsons and myself attended to speak to them with the secretary, the commanding officer and other officers also attended; the whole being seated, Gen. Parsons read the following speech to the Wyandotts and Delawares:

"We are glad to see you the first at the council fire of the United States, it is a proof of your good intentions and determination to hold fast that chain of friendship which binds the United States and you together. We are glad to find by the reports of our messengers, that you have given both advice and assistance to bring the other western tribes of Indians to the same way of thinking with yourselves, we hope it will be effectual, and that they will listen to the voice of proffered peace, and consult their future interest; we advise you as brothers to continue your endeavors in the good work. We are pleased to see the Shawnese and expect they will return to their people convinced of the falsehoods which have been propagated amongst them, by persons who are enemies to them and the United States, and that they now see the United States are ready to grant them peace, and have opened their arms to receive them into protection."

This speech being delivered, a small refreshment was ordered, and the Commissioners retired. The Indians went to their encampment to drink it, except two Shawnese and their women, who remained at the council-house. We had the flag of the United States set up over the east door; just as we were in council, one Major Taylor and some families and stock arrived, on their way to ————. I received by this gentleman a letter from Captain Pierce Butler from Lexington.

*Tuesday, Nov. 29th.*

I spent this day chiefly conversing with the Shawnee Indians, men and women, advising them to be as merciful to their fellows, as the United States are disposed to be.

*Wednesday, Nov. 30th.*

This day had a conversation with the half-King and the Crane; two chiefs of the Wyandotts in General Clark's tent, present, Gen. Clarke and myself; General Parsons having walked out, he was not present till the close of the conversation, when he was informed of the whole. The first was about Mr. Zane's horses, who they say was killed by the Mingo-men, we desired them to tell the men who had two of the horses to



give them up, for the benefit of the heirs of Mr. Zane, which they said they would do; we then told them that we had agreed to wait fifteen days for the determinate answer of the Shawnese, and that we advised him to let the young men go to hunting some distance off, for that time, but to leave word where they can be found at the shortest notice; that if we had not an answer affirming the coming in of the Shawnese, &c., we would call them together, and talk to them and the Delawares, and then return home, which he said was right.

In the evening the Shawnee men and women came to my tent, where General Parsons also came; we related to them the message which we sent by them and made John Harris repeat it, that we might be certain he understood us, which he did very satisfactorily. We also told them, as the more westerly tribes were stopped by them, when on their way to meet us, they must send or bring them along, that if they sent us word they were really on their way, within that time, we would wait their arrival, and would also wait the coming of the other nations, even longer if we were certain of their coming. We also informed the Shawnese that we were here to give them peace on proper terms, that we have kept them from being struck hitherto, but if we did not hear from them, being determined to attend, they must blame themselves for future consequences, which we took some pains to explain to them, and seemed to have weight.

During our conversation, General Clarke sent in to us a private letter, from Mr. Croghan of Louisville, which arrived by Captain Howell, on Saturday, the 26th inst., of which I took a copy. What he meant by detaining this letter so long and shewing it at this time, I am at a loss to say, especially as we had heard the matter respecting the conduct of the Indians at St. Vincents, Bear-Grass, and Boon's, long since; in truth though he has always been consulted on every public measure, and none adopted without his concurrence, there has appeared a mysterious something in his conduct, which I cannot comprehend, or am I certain he can comprehend it himself, as I cannot remember a single proposition of his, which has not been either agreed to, or himself convinced of its being improper, but he is very modest, and makes but few.

We made the Shawnese, both men and women, a small present of clothing, and treated them in other respects with ease, in order to clear up their doubts and fears of our intentions of confining them, which had been very industriously reported by the British emissaries we should do, in order to keep them from coming to treat with us, as on their coming depended the coming of the more westerly tribes: this we thought best, as the wiping off of prejudices, is less difficult and expensive, than making war, in the present situation of our public affairs, and state of finances.

This evening came in the Buffalo or Wawiacammie, who left us the 31st of October; he came for a keg of rum which Runtandie paid him

for a horse, and he had hid on the way home to the towns. The Shawnese all propose going off to-morrow in all haste, to tell their people what has been said, and to hurry them to the treaty.

We the Commissioners called on John Harris, and reported to him all we had said to him respecting the Shawnese, and desired that he would be particular in telling their head men, that they had stopped the western tribes when on their way to the treaty, and that it now lay with them to bring them in, which we desired they would not on any account neglect; that we would wait their determination fifteen days, that if they sent us word they were actually determined to come, and on their way we would wait their arrival, and that if the other nations would come, we would wait their coming also; but if we did not hear from them in the fifteen days, we should go away, and they must blame themselves for future consequences. I had several private conversations with them, in which I convinced them I am well acquainted with their past and present situation. I also conversed with their women, and told them if their men did not bring in our prisoners and receive peace, now it is offered; they must blame them for all the distress which must inevitably fall on them, of which they seemed perfectly convinced, and wished much that matters may be settled; we gave to each a suit of clothes and some little presents of silver, which pleased them much. I observed that the Buffalo did not seem so much the man of consequence as he had assumed when here before, but rather ashamed of some reports he had made in the towns. We gave him nothing. From every judgment I can form, am of opinion the Shawnese will come in, and if they take proper measures, (which they promise to do,) the other nations will come in also.

These people have been very careful and sober since, here they have also been very inquisitive on many points, which I have candidly informed them of.

*Thursday, Dec. 1st.*

This morning two Shawnese set off for their towns, with Fanny, the grenadier's daughter in company. I informed the Pipe, and Winganum of the Delawares, that we would wait fifteen days for the answer of the Shawnese, and recommended for their young men and the Wyandots to go out and hunt till we called them in, which they approved of, the Wyandots have been drinking, therefore could say nothing to them. One Sherlock and Doleman having offered some information to the Commissioners some days ago, and were directed to take their time and consider matters fully; were preparing to go to the Shawnee towns with the Indians and again proposed giving in the information which they thought affected the interests of the United States. The Commissioners ordered Mr. Campbell, the Secretary, to qualify them and take their depositions on oath, all of which was done, and is entered on the public books, of which there is a copy among my papers.

About three o'clock arrived one Mr. Jones and Mr. M'Carty, on their way to the falls of the Ohio, with some goods and stores; they informed us of the death of the Hon. Mr. Hardy, a member of Congress from Virginia, a gentleman of great worth and merit; they tell us also that the Legislature of Virginia generally, are for admitting the separation of Kentucky.

*Friday, Dec. 2d.*

Matters being in *dubio* for fifteen days, the Commissioners think they may with propriety visit the falls of the Ohio, and return within that time. They told the Wyandots that their young people may go to hunt for that time. Ordered them some powder, lead, and clothing.

The old men seem all pleased, and think matters are going on well. Directed Mr. Hulin to trim the barge for the voyage; lent Major Pinney — yds, of white half-thick to make overalls for the troops, which he is to replace.

Two men come from Danville to look for their children, whom we advised to go home, and that every care would be taken to get all the prisoners from the Indians, and have them publicly advertised through the country, that their friends may get them easily, and told them they would be clothed, and provisioned, till their friends could obtain them; things being thus situated, ordered provisions to be got ready for the trip to the falls, which was done.

I gave both the Delawares and Wyandots particular directions to try to hunt up the cattle, and if they could not drive them home, to drive them near the river and kill them, and we would send for the meat by boats, which they promised to do.

The Wyandots have killed two of our cattle already, without leave, on their arrival at their camp.

*Saturday, Dec. 3d.*

The weather began yesterday to cloud over, and on the last night rained very hard, which was accompanied with very severe lightning and thunder, one clap of thunder shook the beds, and the very ground seemed agitated by it. The rain still continues. About nine o'clock a boat bound to the falls of Ohio passed, they say they left Capt. O'Harra's boat at Wheeling, that she had stranded about Little Beaver creek, and to lighten her, some other boats which were in the creek, brought part of her loading to Limestone, at which place they put in to cross the country towards Lexington; this in my opinion bids fair for a good situation for a town, it being as near to the heart of the Kentucky settlements, as the falls, which saves the travel of near 250 miles, by water to all the families bound from Fort Pitt, to that country.

To-day the Wyandots came in to know when it will be convenient to let them have the presents which we have told them we intend making

them. We told them the articles would be ready to-morrow; gave them some drink and they went to their camps; weather wet and cold. Having determined, in the recess of business, to pay a visit to the falls of Ohio, directed every thing to be got ready for the voyage.

*Sunday, Dec. 4th.*

This morning being very dark and rainy, and the Wyandots having come in to receive their presents, had the articles carried to the council-house, where every thing was arranged for their men, women and children, separately, they were regularly delivered.

Formal leave taken of the chiefs, who we told not to be uneasy for our absence, as we would be home in a few days, and that should any Indians come in, to inform them so, and apply to Mr. Boggs for provisions, who had orders to supply them, the day having cleared a little, we agreed to set out; had provisions got on board, and went about eight miles.

*Monday, Dec. 5th.*

The weather having cleared, got to be very cold in the night; set out at day light, and pushed on till 12 o'clock, when we put in to dine; saw no game; after dinner passed on till evening; saw one Miller, belonging to one Saunders a hunter, whose party had killed three thousand pounds of buffalo beef; passed them to a point above a small island, about nine miles above the mouth of Kentucky; found it a bad landing on the south side, therefore encamped on the north side. I find the country very fine, several small creeks falling into the river on both sides the Ohio. Though much has already been said on the excellence of this delightful country, yet I find no man can pass without acknowledging the justice of every praise or encomium.

*Tuesday, Dec. 6th.*

This morning being more moderate than yesterday, we set out before day; all very well; pushed on about four miles to a large sand bar, where we found a large boat stranded; just below her found some of the people on the north shore, with two canoes unloading the large boat, which they expected to complete by 10 o'clock; went on about three miles, where we put to shore and killed four fine turkeys, pushed to the mouth of Kentucky; nine o'clock put in below the mouth to breakfast; I examined the bottom, found it extensive and good to the little Kentucky, about one and a quarter miles. The upper and lower sides of the mouth of big Kentucky, are good and advantageous situations for towns. This river is about 140 yards wide, boatable seventy miles and sometimes more. The lands said to be generally very fine and selling fast, and I am of opinion will be good places of business, in a short time. Pushed on to within twelve miles of the eighteen mile Island, above the falls of Ohio, and encamped on a high bank, which we call camp Comfortable, as we had good fine tents, well pitched, on good ground, roasted and boiled our turkeys, and supped very well; the country began here to be more level, the bottoms more extensive, and hills or rises very beautiful.

*Wednesday, Dec. 7th.*

Sailed this morning two hours before day; all very well; the weather moderate, and wind down stream; Pushed on to the middle of the eighteen mile island, and put in on the west shore, where shaved and breakfasted. This is a fine Island; about four miles below this Island, comes in the fourteen mile creek, at which General Clarke's regiment's lands begin. On this creek is a fine salt spring, about two miles up, the view from this down the river is really grand; just below the mouth of fourteen mile creek, is a very valuable island, called Diamond Island; here are fine cane-brakes, both on the island and the main on the south side. Just below this we passed a large boat belonging to trading people; we pushed on to six mile island, which is also very fine; just below this island, the town of Louisville opens to view, and the appearance of the country and river beautiful beyond description. The current of the river very gentle. You come soon in view and hearing of the falls, which has all the majesty and grandeur of one of the most delightful rivers in the world; you are not only pleased by the appearance, but struck with an agreeable awe from the noise of the water rolling over the rocks, which, though somewhat terrible to pass, has nothing terrible in its appearance.

Pushed on to the mouth of Bear-grass creek, which is the beginning of the town land, and which affords a safe and useful harbor for boats, it is about forty yards wide and very useful: passed by this to what is called the lower landing, nearly opposite to an island which in high water divides the river and forms an easy passage for boats, here we put in and landed; just as we were going on shore we were alarmed by the cries of people in great distress, who in a large boat had attempted to run the falls, but being ignorant of the proper channel, had just struck on a rock. We went up to the town which stands on a very grand bank and overlooks the falls, and has in view the new town called Clarksville. We told the people of the distressed situation of the unhappy men mentioned, in hopes some persons acquainted with the falls would have been sent to their assistance, and am sorry I cannot say more of their humanity, than of the carelessness shown on this distressing occasion, for notwithstanding all our anxiety for the poor sufferers, the good people of this town diverted themselves at cards, (a very favorite amusement here) while their ears were assailed with the cries of the unhappy sufferers, which seemed to create no other emotions than some ill-natured reflection on their folly, and thus were these wretched men left to all the dangers and terrors of their distressed state, without one effort to relieve them, or even an expression of pity escaping the humane lips of any one in the place, as I could hear.

*Thursday, Dec. 8th.*

The first thing heard by General Parsons and myself this morning, (for we slept together) was the cries of the poor wretches mentioned above, on which we called on Captain Bullet, an inhabitant of this place, and spoke in terms reflecting on their want of compassion; he went out, and with some little pains got a fellow who was drunk to go with another man to their relief; this brute missed them, and had like to have suffered on the falls. Then one Mr. Davis and some others got two others to go; these succeeded, and struck the logs of drift stuff, to which the poor men had waded to in the night from the boat, in attempting which they lost one of their unhappy companions, who was swept down by the current, the men being discouraged from any attempt to make shore was obliged to take up their dismal and solitary lodging for the night, which was very cold, and their clothes all wet. General Parsons and myself, seeing them coming to shore, went to meet them and heard their story, which was really very piteous as to themselves, but when they spoke of the loss of their companion, it seemed to give them no manner of concern, but excited a laugh when they related this part of it. We passed them and went over on a very fine rocky bottom, which is now quite dry, to an island in the falls of about five acres, from this we passed over from the lower end to the main, to Campbell's land, thence to where he has laid out a new town called Hebron, opposite the lower part of the falls, and Clarksville. Here we crossed over to the latter place, and was very kindly received and treated by Mrs. Dallon and Mrs. and Captain George, who pressed us much to stay for dinner.

I walked about and examined the ground, which I am of opinion overflows at very high floods, therefore I think the most useful and advantageous places for trade, &c., is above the mouth of a small creek, on which General Clarke is building a mill, and at a point above the draught of the falls;\* the one to receive below and the other above the falls, those persons and goods coming up and going down, as a good road may be made between the two places, and the boats taken down empty with ease and safety.

We returned in the afternoon to Louisville, where we found the people engaged in selling and buying lots in the back streets, but not liking the situation, bought none. There are several good log-houses building here, but the extravagance in wages, and laziness of the tradesmen keep back the improvement of the place exceedingly—in truth I see very little doing but card-playing, drinking, and other vices among the common people, and am sorry too many of the better sort are too much engaged in the same manner, a few storekeepers excepted, who seem busy in land and other speculations, in which the veracity or generosity of some

\* Where Jeffersonville now stands. Undoubtedly a very favorable position, but its advance heretofore has not equalled Gen. Butler's expectations.—ED. O. T.



are not very conspicuous, being ever on the watch to take the advantage of the ignorance or innocence of the stranger.

This afternoon the commissioners for drawing the lottery for the lands of General Clarke's regiment, met, and talk of drawing the lottery for the respective lots of land on the north side of the falls, where they have very wisely chosen to locate it, being authorized so to do by an act of the Legislature of the State of Virginia, and which I think preferable in every respect as to situation, to Louisville, and if the owners do not improve the advantages thrown by the generosity of the State in their power, I shall conclude them regardless of their true interest, and void of good sense, as it is a most beautiful and advantageous place.

I find on the lower part of the falls the greatest abundance of swans, geese, ducks, and pigeons very plenty flying over, here are also fine fish but the people generally too indolent to catch them, though in great need.

This evening began to rain very hard and all the appearance of continuing.

*Friday, December 9th.*

This morning has all the appearance of rain, though it cleared tolerably about 10 o'clock, when Gen. P. and myself went to view the North side of the falls. Started from above the mouth of Bear Grass Creek, and landed just above the head of the rocky beach, where I think is the lowest place which boats can land, but above this the shore appears to be good, and rather bold, we examined the land, and find it rather narrow from the banks to the high ground out from the river, and a low marshy piece of ground comes within 200 yards of the bank. This may be drained and thus have the land rendered fit for use and building, and I think there may be good foundations if the bank is a good criterion to judge from as it is a rock and the water which soaks over it great petrifying qualities, the timber chiefly beach, which denote a cold soil. I find the first flat much cut with ravines, which may answer good purpose in case of a large town, by rendering it easy to carry off the filth in these canals. We walked alongside the fall of water and find clearly that the difficulty is very small to pass boats with great safety through, and that the few large stones which are a little dangerous may be removed with very little trouble or expense. We have found many curious petrifications, such as roots of trees, Calamus, the excrescence of the locust tree, &c. We find that a good and short road may be made from Clarkesville to the place described above the falls, where I think should be another village, for the purpose of easing the navigation of the rapid. There is one beautiful spot in the middle of the river which is a hollow in the midst of a kind of rocky island, into which the water tumbles over a beautiful cascade of about eight feet, and forms a pretty basin. This spot appears to best advantage from a point above a large basin between the great rapid and a small one, above the mouth of Clark's creek, and forms a grand and capacious harbor, where boats may lay below, or put

in from above, at pleasure. This and below this to Clarke's creek I think is the most proper spot for a town, which will not only rival, but deprive Louisville of all the advantages it now enjoys from travellers. I am much disappointed in the expectation I had of the politeness of this town, as I have been told there are a number of decent people in and about it, but am sorry to say that the Commissioners, instead of meeting politeness, or the least degree of attention, were avoided by every body, and even their magistrates, after asking a few impertinent questions, withdrew and joined the card and speculating clubs of the lowest classes, and most vulgar people I have seen; and even those who we have been of use and attentive to have forgot it and neglected us.

*Saturday, Dec. 10.*

The morning being very foggy and dark, it hid the heads of those people who could so easily forget good treatment, and served as a veil to their meanness of soul—by giving them an excuse for not seeing us coming away—whilst it saved us the trouble of speaking to people whom we have reason so heartily to despise for their impolite conduct. We left the bank at half past eight o'clock, and pushed on to the six mile island, opposite to the middle of which is a cabin on the southern shore, just below George creek

About twelve miles above this creek comes in Harrod's creek, on the same side, between six mile and Diamond Island; on the north side the land is high, on the other low.

About four miles above Diamond island comes in, on the north side, fourteen mile creek; the current all the way very gentle; came on to within two miles of the eighteen mile island, where we put in and encamped on the south side, here three white hunters passed us on their way to the hunting grounds; the evening still very dark and like for rain. Lay very comfortably and safe.

*Sunday, Dec. 11th.*

Set out at five o'clock in the morning; passed the eighteen mile island just at day light; three miles above it met one Saunders and his hunting party: gave them a dram round. He sent us two small pieces of buffalo beef. Pushed on four miles and put in for breakfast. The morning very dark, and at ten o'clock began to rain. Killed one turkey and one deer. Passed one small creek on the north side, four miles above the eighteen mile island, just above the narrows or high ground on the same side. Every appearance of rainy weather. Put in to breakfast six miles above island creek. Pushed on two miles above camp comfortable, which is fourteen miles above the eighteen mile island. Great variety of weather, and this part of the river due north and south. The land here as common, viz., pretty good. This morning killed one turkey; passed Mr. Saunder's boat, to whom we gave a dram, with all his

people ; in return he gave us three pieces good buffalo beef ; we sent by him a blanket coat, which the men brought one day from the tavern in a mistake ; we directed it to be given to the care of Captain Bullock, to whom we supposed it to belong.

*Monday, Dec. 12th.*

This morning being cloudy, did not sail till 6 o'clock, pushed on two miles ; the wind turning fair hoisted sail and got with great ease to the narrows below the ledge of rocks on the hills in view of the mouth of Indian Kentucky, which comes in on the north side. This creek has good banks both above and below ; the former the highest ; here is a most excellent harbor for vessels in the mouth of this pretty creek, the current of the Ohio, above and below this is moderate ; the day very fine ; the wind soon failed, which obliged us to apply to the oars. Passed little and soon after big Kentucky. The land between the two on the south side is very fine. If I recollect right, this tract of land was surveyed in the year 70 or 71, for R. & W. Butler, and the draft left with D. Espy, Esq., for our use. Pushed on near to the little island, ten miles above big Kentucky, and encamped. Above this island is a small creek on the north side. The lands very good generally.

*Tuesday, Dec. 13th.*

Sailed at five o'clock ; pushed on about ten miles and put in to breakfast. The day very fine ; killed two turkeys ; pushed on till near sunset and encamped about ten miles below the real big bone creek, which comes into the Ohio three miles below the creek called the big bone creek ; passed five creeks this day, three on the south and two on the north sides.

This evening one Castleman and two handsome boats passed ; made inquiry for news, but got none ; the people being no ways intelligent. Lay on a high bank ; the river rising fast ; I went out to view the ground ; found it of the meadowy kind, with very large poplars, and great buffalo roads, leading towards the big bone licks.

Supped on our turkeys and lodged very pleasantly. Having taken care to soften the fatigue of the day, and rigor of the season, with a little good madeira, and for our people good grog.

*Wednesday, Dec. 14th.*

Having refreshed ourselves very well, as above described ; we sailed before day ; pushed on five miles, and met two large boats with families ; hailed them, but no news ; about two miles above these passed a hunting boat, near sunrise ; they had killed several buffaloes, which animal we have found the tracks of very plenty for two days past ; put out here to kill turkeys, got three very fine ones ; the boat pushed to the real big bone creek, and there waited our arrival ; pushed on to the mouth of a large run, where we landed to visit that memorable spot, the big bone lick, and ordered the boat to the mouth of a creek two miles higher up, with orders to cook breakfast again our return. General Parsons not

having seen this place ; we examined all round the licks for hidden bones, but found none but a few left by our party, which brought away a number in November, Returned, breakfasted, and set sail, the wind having sprung up ; sometimes oars or sails, as the wind served to the point above this creek where the wind was fair, and pushed us on very swiftly to above a large sand bar nine miles up without rowing. Encamped on the south side.

*Thursday, Dec. 15th.*

This morning the wind seemed rather squally and unsteady, but the morning very fine.

Set sail at seven o'clock, and went on very well to the island below Locust creek, when the wind failed and it began to rain, which obliged us to take to our oars again, the river being very high, found difficulty in rowing up, though while the wind was fair we sailed with ease and pleasure, having determined by the experiments which we made that sails may be used to great advantage. Pushed up to the mouth of Lochrey's creek, where we met Mr. Joice on his way to the falls, he invited me on board very politely, but the current being very rapid and not wishing to detain him or go over the same labor to regain our place, I excused myself on account of these difficulties, and after asking and answering many questions to each others satisfaction we parted after the usual good wishes in such cases, we then put on for the Miami, where we arrived at 3 o'clock, where we found all well and a long looked for boat of Capt. O'Hara's arrived with much of the store embezzled by one James Elliott's misconduct, viz: wine, spirits, and brandy. By Mr. Zane, in whose care this boat came from Muskingum ; I had letters from Major Doughty, Colonel W. Butler, &c. Gen. Parsons had also a letter from one Platt, at Limestone, informing of the attack made on Capt. Howell's boat by some Indians at the three islands on the third inst., and of his having passed this place in the night, as he could get no assistance from the people at that station.

*Friday, Dec. 16th.*

As we had directed the strictest inquiry to be made after the thieves and horses stolen from this post. Major Finney heard of them and on tracing the accounts found the theft to have been committed by one John Mason the informant Robert Wear, this was given in writing to the Commissioners by Major Finney last evening. We find the Major's industry and care to be the same as heretofore, having cleared the ground of small stuff, under brush and several large trees for 150 paces distance. I find the Wyandots and Delawares have behaved very well in our absence—the young men went to hunt and some are still out. The Half-king, Runtundee, the Crane and several others paid me a visit and expressed their pleasure on my return. Asked the news which I satisfied them and they appear much pleased and seem anxious for the arrival of the Shawnese, which we expect to-day or to-morrow ; they observed

that we had kept the bung of the cask long shut, and that now I was arrived they hoped I would open it a little, that they might feel glad at my return. I told them they must have a little, therefore the Commissioners ordered them a small keg of three gallons, and they went home to enjoy it in all its sweetness.

Mr. Finney observed to me last evening that on our departure the Indian women came all to the council house, and that he was requested to order men to make on a fire, which he refused to do; and after several observations, reflected on the messengers rather severely, which at first induced me to think they had acted improperly, but on report of the messenger, Mr. Daniel Elliott, am of opinion the refusal to order a person to light the fire in the council-house, arose from his want of knowledge of Indian customs, as councils among the Indian women are by no means uncommon.

About twelve o'clock Mr. Montgomery laid his journal before me, which I think to be a good general account of the general occurrences while on the tour of the messengers to invite the Indian nations to treaty and many of the observations, I think well founded as the concurring testimony of indifferent people seem fully to corroborate them, as well as the report of the Indians themselves who profess friendship to the United States.

The weather still cloudy with a small fall of snow, and the river rising very fast. I have not inserted in the preceding part of my journal that Gen. Clark who went in company to the falls did not return with Gen. Parsons and myself, the reason given by him was that the Commissioners for forming a plan for the division of the lands, allotted by the State of Virginia for his regiment, had met, and that he could not attend till this plan was formed, but that he expected to follow in a few days, we therefore left him in order to be on the spot against the time the answer of the Shawnese is to be given of their intention respecting a peace with the United States, which expires this day.

*Saturday, Dec. 17th.*

No account from the Shawnese; boats passing daily to the falls with goods and families, and by the numbers which pass seem as if the old states would depopulate, and the inhabitants be transported to the new. The greatest danger which I perceive is, that these people consider themselves out of the trammels of law, and have too great a propensity to remain in that lawless situation.

*Sunday, Dec. 18th.*

This day had one Robert Weir sent for, and his deposition taken before the secretary, respecting the horses belonging to Runtandie, a chief of the Wyandots, which were stolen from this place by one John Mason. He also mentions that one Joseph Irwin was in company. This being done, Mr. Daniel Elliott and Major Samuel Montgomery, with a party of soldiers, were sent to Limestone with a copy of the circular letter of

the Commissioners to the magistrates and militia officers of the counties of Jefferson, Fayette, Limestone, and ———, requesting their endeavors to apprehend the thief or thieves, and to have them properly restored; we wrote a particular letter to the magistrates of Limestone on the same subject.

All things being ready, the boat sailed in the evening; this has been a fine day. A boat passed which informed us that Captain O'Hara's second boat will be here to-morrow, with provisions, &c.. for this post.

*Monday, Dec. 19th.*

The Indians having expressed a wish to dance before the Commissioners and officers, we directed Mr. Zane to signify our approbation. They came in rather late to play a game of common and dance, as was proposed; they therefore played common and deferred the dance till to-morrow.

This evening the Grenadier's daughter Fanny, and her Brother Morgan with one other Shawanee man and woman, arrived with a message from the Shawanees, in which they tell us they are very much pleased at our treatment of their people; that it is true that they have been covered over by a dark cloud, and that ill winds have blown about, but they are now determined not to give any more attention to idle stories, but would hold fast by the good talk which they received from us; that they have sent two strings of black and white wampum, and some tobacco for the Commissioners to smoke, and to rest assured they will attend at our council fire. (They observe that the tobacco is of their own raising.) They also request us not to alter our minds, but continue disposed as when we parted.

This was delivered in writing by Morgan who waited on me immediately on his arrival. Fanny being unwell and fatigued, asked her few questions. Took Morgan to dine with us which pleased him very much.

*Tuesday, Dec. 20th.*

Early this morning there came in a son of one Suffern, who resides in the Shawanee towns; also, a white man called Thomas, who brings the same account. These also have a message from John Harris to the Commissioners requesting them to be careful and not let the people straggle about from the post, that some Cherokees are out on mischievous intentions, and to warn the people of Limestone to be on their guard against them.

About 1 o'clock two boats bound for the falls, in which some clothing for the troops at this post, brought some letters and news papers to Maj. Finney. These gentlemen mention that more articles were getting ready for this post, spirits, &c., but they could not wait for them.

We wrote to Gen. Clark the account we have had from the Shawanees, and communicated it to the Delawares and Wyandotts, which seemed to



please them very much. The dance of the Wyandotts began and lasted till dark, when they went to their camps very merry.

O'Harras' boat arrived yesterday with provisions, &c., the other boats set off in the evening. Got O'Hara's boats unloaded, and the provisions brought into the fort.

*Wednesday, Dec. 21st.*

This morning a large boat with Mr. Hulin and his hands, and Capt. O'Harra's spare hands, set out for Fort Pitt, by him a letter was wrote by order of the Commissioners, to the Limestone settlement to be on their guard against the Cherokees. I wrote also to Major Doughty, Captain O'Hara, Col. W. Butler, and Mrs. Butler at Carlisle.

Just at dinner the half-king, the Crane, and several young fellows came into the Fort drunk, and wanted more rum. The Commissioners wanted to talk with the head men of the Wyandots and Delawares on the situation of matters, and told them they could get no more rum at this time, that they must get sober in order to be spoken with. They got rather ill-natured, and said if they did not get rum they would go off to-morrow, I told them, if they only stayed on account of rum, they might go as soon as they pleased, but as we had a great deal yet to say to them, we wished them to get sober and hear it, that we could not speak on matters of consequence to men in liquor, nor would we answer or hearken to drunken people. He, the half-king said a great deal more of ill-natured matters than we have known him to say before. We then left him to go to dinner, having previously given him two quarts of rum, he having previously promised to go off with it. Whilst at dinner he came with the Crane, still wanting more rum, which we refused; he then asked to eat, we told him to eat, and they both sat down. Shortly after other drunkards came in and were noisy. Having dined rather disagreeably, General Parsons and myself retired to my tent, to which these drunkards followed us and behaved still worse, and insisted on rum, we as positively refused, which made them very angry, and they went out telling us they would go off to-morrow with all their people, which he attempted to execute by setting a young man to go and get up their horses against morning, and be ready to set out for the towns, then told us the Shawnees were coming and we might do business with them, we then told him he had better reflect and not be too rash, that there remains much to say and do with and to the Delawares and them; this only caused them to be more uneasy, and they set off. In a few minutes the half-king returned with Mr. Zane, to General Parson's tent, where he addressed us as follows:—

“Brothers, I am a little drunk and I feel sorry that you left me in your dinner tent, it hurt me more than the not getting rum. I intend to set off to-morrow with all my people, and I thought it best to tell you before I go.”

We told him we had taken each other by the hand in friendship a year ago, that our object is a general peace, and that the other western

nations are now expected, that if they come we wished them to be present at the good work, and that all should know what may be concluded on, and that it will not look well for him to set off at this time, that we considered him a man of sense and that he knows this way of talking is not proper, it appears like scolding; that what we have to say shall be in public where all shall see and know what is done at this council-fire; and after reasoning with him he got the better of his ill-nature and shook hands and said he felt sorry for what he had said. We then gave them a glass of wine. He said they would settle everything; so parted from this troublesome crew, and he went to camp.

The weather appears rainy, but warm. I am of opinion it will ever be a very difficult matter to manage these people till we have posts in their country, and the trade properly regulated, and the agents of Britain kept from amongst the savages of the west, which may be done on that plan, and by making the forfeiture of goods to trade at any place, but the posts, and that under licence from proper authority. This will not only secure the friendship of the Indians, but render them quite dependent on us for supplies of all kinds, as well as secure the trade and trader, from encroachment, and loss of property, and until this is done there is no security for either.

*Thursday, Dec. 22d,*

A very fine day, several boats passed to-day, among them was Lieut. Chambers, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Campbell of Concochig. Sent Mr. Zane to tell the head men we have something to say to them to-morrow, when he went there the half-king said he was sorry he had said so much to the Commissioners, that he was in liquor and he hoped they would forget it. I observed a restlessness among these people, which I believe to be natural to them when idle or unemployed in war or hunting.

*Friday, Dec. 23d:*

The chiefs attended in the council-house, where the Commissioners met them and after telling the chiefs of their having told us of their leaving two chiefs to bring on the Western nations, &c., which had induced us to wait; we felt surprised to hear no more from them; that the Shawanese have sent us word they will attend, and have sent people to hasten on the western people, &c. We then endeavored to rouse them to send people to hurry these nations who appear so very indeterminate, by telling them they should not tire in assisting in this good work of peace; but should pity the people of their own color, and endeavor to help them to make their peace with Congress, all which they received with apparent pleasure, and in return thanked us for what we had said, and the good advice it contained, with assurance of endeavoring all in their power.

*Saturday, Dec. 24th.*

The Indians came in and received twenty-one and a half pounds of

powder, and lead in proportion; also two blankets, and a few handkerchiefs, which were deficient in the cloathing given out.

About 11 o'clock a hunter's boat passed, on her way to the falls; the hunters inform us they met Messrs. Elliott and Montgomery near Limestone, on Tuesday the 20th, and Huling on Friday, above Licking creek, all well.

About two o'clock General Clarke arrived from the falls of Ohio in seven days; no other news but that the Spaniards have sent a body of troops to reinforce the post at the Natchees, which they seem determined to hold. This day two soldiers went off in a canoe to the station, supposed to get liquor, and did not return this evening, though they were seen below the Miami, endeavoring to come up, but the Major thinks they are deserted.

*Sunday. (Christmas day,) Dec. 25th.*

The wind very high and fine for going up the river, Major Finney in pursuit of the two men, with orders if they are not got at the station, to follow to the falls or to Lexington, which ever they find them to have gone to. I wrote to Captain P. Butler, by a surveyor, requesting him to give the people to know that it is unnecessary to put themselves to the trouble and expense of coming to this place, either for prisoners or to claim horses, until they are informed by the Commissioners in a public manner. This advice is given to prevent the poor people the great expense and fatigue of the journey, in this inclement season.

*Tuesday, Dec. 27th.*

This morning appears most beautiful, and the last night, was uncommonly warm, the wind very high but pleasant. I am told by Gen. C. and others that two winters out of three are as moderate as this. If so, and that the country produced good winter grain, I might consider it the paradise of America.

Just while we were at breakfast, Cpts. Pipe and Winganum, of the Delawares, came in from their camp, and requested leave to speak with the Commissioners, which was granted. He said he had been considering what had been said to them by us on Friday last; he thought it their duty to assist their people, (meaning all the nations of Indians) in concluding a treaty with the United States; that he had looked round for a proper person, that he knew a young man might punctually carry the speech he would send and deliver it; but when it was delivered, no more would be done. That he had, therefore pitched on Capt. Winganum, a Delaware chief, who is old, experienced, and sensible, to go to the nations, and that he was certain this chief would attend to the business, and use every effort to bring them to the treaty, that he pitied much the people of his own color, and thinks it kind in us to pity them, that this chief will either return or send to us in sixteen days with an answer from the nations on the White River and near it, with those in his way thither, with many other promises and declarations of their determinations to hold

fast to the treaty concluded last fall, which he produced. We answered that as they said the necessity for the Western Indians being at peace with the United States, and had offered their services to go to them, we would convince them it is our wish to give them peace on proper terms, and that we will wait for his return sixteen days, and that if the other nations agree to come, that we have come here to give peace, and although we have waited long, we would wait still longer, rather than more blood should be shed, that in case of their coming to treat, he might send us word, and we would not be impatient, but to be punctual in that which he promised positively to do. We then asked him if it would not be adding to his arguments weight for one of our people to go with him, which pleased him much, and said he was glad we thought so well. We told him Mr. Jas. Rankin, one of our messengers, should go along, and that he might take care of him, and return him safe to us; all which he promised, and said they would go to-morrow morning; we then told him every thing should be ready. In the afternoon, Capt. Dale proposed, if agreeable to the Commissioners, he would be one of the party, to which we assented; he therefore got ready, and I sat down to compose a speech, which is in substance—If the Indians of the West choose peace, now is their time—if war, we only wish to know their determination, and that we were as ready as they; that we do not wish to shed blood, but if it be their own choice, they might blame themselves for future consequences, and the great distress a war might bring upon their women and children. The Secretary prepared the speech, and every thing was prepared for giving the necessary charge to Winganum to take care of our Messenger and Officers, but the wind was so high the Messengers could not be brought over.

*Wednesday, Dec. 28th.*

The Delaware Chiefs came in to-day, and the message was read and explained to them, which I found them to fully comprehend; we then gave Winganum charge of Capt. Doyle and Mr. Rankin, one of our messengers, and ordered Winganum some clothing for himself and three Indians; also some to the young man who goes along with the Half-king, Crane, the silent man, and one who talks Delaware, came and told Mr. Zane to inform the commissioners they wished to speak some words to the Delawares in their presence; we therefore attended in the Council-house or mess-tent; he then spoke and told him he was glad to see the Delawares so ready to assist in the work of peace—that the Wyandottes had already done all in their power to get the nations to do right, and are sorry to see them pay so much attention to evil advice. He wanted Winganum to go on, and told him to inform the nations that he wishes they may now harken to this last message of the Commissioners, and the last of his also. He stayed to dinner with us, as did the Delawares; after dinner, we conversed on many matters; he said the British assured him it is not yet peace with America, that they had sent to England for or-

ders, and that they expect orders to fight in the spring. He then asked us to inform him truly if the two nations are really at peace; this we satisfied him fully, but I observed to him that it appears from his observations that in case of war, they the Indians, would again join the British against us, which he said he believed would be the case with the other nations; but for his part of the Wyandots and the Delawares who had concluded a peace with us, they were determined to stand to it fully. Had to give them some liquor, which seems to be the ne plus ultra of all.

*Thursday, Dec. 29th.*

Early this morning, Capt. Doyle and Mr. Rankin set off for the Indian towns, as did the Indians who were to accompany them. Previous to their departure, I told Capt. Doyle and Mr. Rankin, that in case they met the Shawnese on their way, or if they find them determined to come, they can inquire what pains had been taken by them to send our messages to the other nations; that if they are not sent, they had best remain with the Shawnese, and let Winganum go to the White river, and Shawnese, send to the western nations to get their answer, and that as soon as they knew their determination, whether to attend the treaty or not, they can bring on such tribes as intend to come, and the answers of such others as they can get. When these gentlemen were gone, I went to hunt; about 11 o'clock it began to hail, and about 3 turned to rain. I found the Miami river frozen chiefly over and running thick with ice, the rain continued in heavy gusts, and very strong winds all night. Mr. Zane killed one large buffalo, which was brought in. He reports that he saw the boats about 6 miles up last evening.

*Friday, Dec. 30.*

The river begins to rise—the weather still cloudy and windy. About 1 o'clock, a white man named Thomas James, who had been sent to meet Suffren, a *white Shawnee* arrived, and told us he had met Suffren, and that he would be in in a few days; he also mentions that he met Capt. Dole and Mr. Rankin with the Indians early this morning, about 15 miles from this place, that they were going on, that he told them to push to get over the crossing, about 5 miles from there, and they would be then clear of difficulty for the day, and could make a good day's journey.—He also says that Suffren is fully of opinion that the Shawnese will attend the treaty; that they had sent to collect their head men and people generally, and from every observation he could make, they were determined to come in generally.

Cleared up in the evening—proposed a hunt up the river to-morrow.

*Saturday, Dec. 31st.*

Went up the river about six miles; the land very good on the south side. Mr. Zane killed four turkeys, and Adams one. No news to-day, the weather very fair and moderate.

*Sunday, Jan. 1st, 1786.*

This being New Year's day, all the Wyandot men and women came

to pay their compliments to the Commissioners and officers. Had a fire made in the Council House, to which, after they had paid their visit, they retired; we sent them a kettle of toddy, also some cooked meat and bread to refresh on; we then went in and took a taste of the drink; wished them all a good new year, and departed. This they took very kind, and set to heart and hand, men and women, to get drunk. In order to get them soon away, we told them when they were ready to go home, they should have a small keg of milk home with them, which hurried their departure. The cavalcade was curious—men and women, two on a horse, all rode in the same manner, without the least attention to the delicacy of the female sex.

We dined with the officers, who treated us to six bottles of claret; we spent the time very well, and broke up about eight o'clock in the evening. Just at drum-beat, we were alarmed with the fire of a gun on the river from a boat from Limestone, in which was one Samuel Hindman, Robert McNear, and one John Elliott, who says he was taken prisoner by two Shawnemen on the 18th of December, on the head waters of Yellow Creek, on the north side of the Ohio; that they pushed with him as fast as possible to the Shawnee town, but he cannot tell which town it was. We are of opinion, (if he tells truth, which is very doubtful,) it must be the Cherokee village on Paint Creek, a branch of Sciota. His story is somewhat various; he says he was on the head waters of Yellow Creek, with two young men named Myers, hunting; that they had killed 45 deers, and six bears, and moved the skins and meat to the Mingo Bottom, on the Ohio; and were about to move their camp, game being scarce; that he was hunting and caught by two Shawnee lads, who took him with all possible expedition to some one of the towns, that they tied him on his back and laid him in an old house, that in about an hour an old man came and released him, gave him a blanket and lent him a horse; also gave him a token to his sons who were hunting, that he put him on the path to them, and directed him to push as far as possible, that he found them at the place the old man told him, and gave them the token, which was a shell, on which the lads took him to the Ohio at the three islands, the place so generally infested by Indians. that on his arrival at the Ohio, he just at that instant saw a boat going down; that on seeing the boat the Indian lads left him, and he hailed the boat and got a passage to Limestone, from whence he came to this place in six days, with the forementioned men.

Hindman, we find on examination, to be an ill-disposed man, and one of the party who murdered the Moravian Indians. This he confesses himself, and has declared he thinks robbing the Indians of their horses justifiable, and was also one of a party who intended to rescue the horses which had been stolen by Irwin and Mason, after they were delivered by the Magistrate to Messrs. Elliott and Montgomery.



*Monday, Jan. 2d.*

Early this morning, Mr. Elliott and Maj. Montgomery arrived with two of the stolen horses, from Limestone, and others from Col. Boon and Col. Patterson, of Lexington, both of these gentlemen have been active in their endeavors to catch the thief, and get the horses, but we find it is a very difficult matter for them to execute the laws, as the people side too generally with each other, and the better kind of people are obliged to pass by the ill conduct of these fellows for their own peace sake.

We find by a letter from Col. Patterson, that the Legislature of Virginia have passed a vote of the House, for separating themselves from the Kentucky. This will, in my opinion, require the most speedy and effectual measures of Congress to guard against the ill consequences which may arise from this separation, should Congress accept it, and acknowledge them a separate State. One of the evils which we apprehend is, that there is scarce a tenth man in Kentucky who has land with certain title. Thousands are gone to that country expecting to get land on easy terms; in this they are disappointed, and obliged to settle on other persons' lands, on sufferance, and only wait the result of a treaty or no treaty to repass, and cross the Ohio to fix on these lands. This will create a difficulty between the Congress and them, which must be decided by force, which is more likely to end in a declaration of these people either in favor of Britain, or an independence on Congress, than an accommodation of the difficulty; and in either case the old states must be losers, as they must be at all expense in the decision, either by laws or otherwise; and if they should even conquer them, they can only exact allegiance, and confirm them in the property which they will have seized. Of course there will be the loss of the value of the lands from the United States, exclusive of all this expense. I am, therefore, of opinion, the only means now in the power of Congress, is to place a sufficient force in the heart of the Indian country to command and awe them; and next to alter their land ordinance, and take the most speedy method of settling the lands, and putting the purchasers into possession. This will not only sink the public debt, but interest every purchaser in supporting the authority of the United States in and over this country, which if neglected must ultimately end in the loss of both country and inhabitants, and fix them determined enemies to the government of the United States; and the good citizens of course remain unpaid, and loaded with the debt and interest already due, as well as the expense of defending their frontier from the encroachments of these people, who are not only very strong, but rendered desperate by their situation, and may take with them many good citizens, who rather than lose all, will favor them.

*Tuesday, Jan. 3d.*

The weather being fine, and a fair wind on the river, we had the barge made ready with the sail. The Commissioners and Maj. Finney set out about ten o'clock, up the river, to hunt turkeys, had no sport,

find the barge an exceeding good sailer, very steady and fit to carry a large sail. Returned in the evening. No news to-day from any quarter, which causes time to pass very heavily, and in my opinion a negative situation of this kind merits as great a pecuniary reward for bearing it, and being secluded from society, as a very active and serviceable station, the latter being a reward of itself, in the pleasure the person receives from the variety of scene—whilst the former not only loses, but imbibes a kind of stiffness of manner, which unfits him for society, and contracts his sentiments, though previously ever so well acquainted with the world. This observation is easily proven by taking a view of the manners of sea officers and their crews, and comparing them with the manners of officers and corps who reside in the polite, or inhabited country.

*Wednesday, Jan. 4th.*

The waters very high, and still rising. No news. The weather very good, though there has been some rain here, and I think much at a distance, by the general rise of all the waters, and drift of ice and logs.

I yesterday, in company with Gen. Parsons, spoke to Mr. Peebles about the state of the beef, and advised him to have it turned round frequently, that the pickle may be equally over it; also to get some salt, and have some fresh pickle made, and the casks filled. This is the third time I mentioned it to him, in consequence of the state of the beef, which, though in good order for present use, is not sufficiently salt for keeping. This day he went to the station, and he tells me he has got one bushel of salt for the above purpose.

*Thursday, Jan. 5th.*

This day four young Shawnee men came in to inform us that a number of that nation had arrived near the Wyandots camp, in the whole 8 fires, 18 men, beside men, women, and children, total about forty. We gave them some tobacco and provisions, also some clothing. They tell us that the whole nation are on their way, and expect a messenger from them hourly; they tell us we must not think long, that it is difficult to come on with such a number, and hunt for their subsistence. Gave them a little liquor, and they went off to camp pleased. The Pipe came in to inform us that he is going out 4 miles to hunt, and to take his leave for four days. Had a very long and serious conversation with him respecting the lands assigned the Wyandots and Delawares; it ended satisfactorily to us both, as he seemed pleased; and when I explained the intentions of Congress to secure the grants made to them, and to keep our people from enlarging the boundary line. I told him that in the spring early our surveyors would be on the land belonging to Congress, and that it will be well for some of their people to be along with them, to see they do not go too far, in case Congress should direct a line to be made between their and the Indian lands; it will also be right for some of the head men to be along, to satisfy both parties, which he assented to, and said it

is right. I told him any service their young people did for the surveyors they would be paid for. I also told him that Congress had ordered Mr. Hutchins to lay out a track of land for the Moravian Indians, at their old towns, and that they would be sent for to return. The number he says that were basely massacred, were 96—which is the only black spot in the whole of the revolution, and brought on by a set of the basest scoundrels that could disgrace a country.

The Wyandots came in and told us they are sorry the river is so high and running with ice they cannot come in to dance, but they wished us to send over a little drink to their camp, to help them to be merry; which we did, and they went off pleased.

This morning Maj. Finney had a small keg of whiskey staved on the Parade, which was sold to the soldiers yesterday, notwithstanding they have been so often forbid to sell to them or the Indians.

*Friday, Jan. 6th.*

The weather very fine, but colder than any heretofore; the river still rising. In the evening John Wright arrived from Mr. Rankin and Capt. Doyle. They met the Shawnese on their way to this place, about sixty miles off; Winganum, the Old Delaware chief, advised them to turn back, and accompany the Shawnese, and he would proceed on the business of bringing on the other nations. The Shawnese requested some flour, rum, and tobacco, may be sent to meet them, which we ordered to be got ready. We concluded this evening to send two Indians express to Fort Pitt, to hurry on the remaining stores, and directed Messrs. Boggs and Elliott to go to the Wyandot and Delaware camps to get two young men for this purpose. We are in expectation of Deputies from some of the Northern Nations attending.

*Saturday, Jan. 7th.*

The messengers went early to get the two expresses to go to Ft. Pitt. This day appears like for snow. A boat was sent below the Miami, to cross the gentlemen who are with the Indians, and Morgan got in his horses to carry the provisions to the Shawnese. Capt. Doyle had to cross on a raft, and got in about 1 o'clock. He brought a speech from the Shawnese, telling us that they are on their way, and will not turn out of it. Mr. Zane killed a very large bear below the mouth of Miami.—Several Shawnese came in, and could not cross the Miami for the drift ice; therefore had a fire made in the long house, when they were supplied with provisions and liquor, and lodged.

*Sunday, Jan. 8th.*

This morning Morgan took his horses, with six kegs of flour, twelve bags of paint, and some tobacco and salt, to meet the Shawnese. We had dinner ready to send, but that was refused. A hunting boat passed for the falls, by which we wrote to Capt. Easton, the Sheriff, to make inquiry for boats we supposed had passed us with public stores, requesting him, if there, to seize them, &c. Having no account of the arrival of

boats which we have long expected, with the remainder of the public and the Commissioners' private stores, we determined to send an express to the mouth of Muskingum, to Maj. Doughty, to be sent to Ft. Pitt from thence. I therefore engaged White Eyes and the Pipe's son to set out to-morrow morning express for that place; had the writings got ready by the Sec'y. I wrote also a private letter to Col. Butler, Maj. Doughty, and Capt. O'Hara, also to Mrs. B.

The Shawnee people found great difficulty in getting the flour over the Miami, it being part frozen and part drifting with ice, and no possibility of getting either boat or canoe up to the fording place. The Shawnese are collecting fast, but no particular account of any others as yet.

*Monday, Jan. 9th.*

Early this morning Capt. Pipe, and old James, the interpreter, came in, to whom we explained the reason of sending the express, which pleased them much. Every thing being ready, the two Indians mentioned, set out at 11 o'clock, and Pipe gave them very good advice, and set them off in high spirits on their journey, which I think they will perform as speedily as possible. I observe more appearance of candor in the conduct of the Pipe latterly than formerly; he seems to think well of the advice I have given him, to collect the Nations to one town within the country assigned them, and of the assurance given the Nations of the protection of Congress, in case of a stroke from any other Indians. The Wyandots are all impressed with the same opinion; but as their nation is divided, part on the British, and part on the American side of the Lakes; the difficulty of a junction will be so much the greater, and in all probability will, in a short time, be the means of taking the American part off, as they are the least; or at any rate cause a total separation, which must weaken both so much as to cause ruin to both parts.

About 11 o'clock, the two Delaware men set off express to Maj. Doughty, at the mouth of Muskingum. The weather very fine and moderate. Nothing more of consequence.

*Saturday, Jan. 10th.*

The weather still very fine. This day I spent in forming the necessary speeches to the Indians. In the evening, Mr. Rankin and Morgan came from the Shawnese; there was great difficulty in getting the flour and other things to them, the river being part frozen and part driving with ice. Morgan informs me that the Shawnese people are very shy and rather apprehensive, than confident, owing to the speeches and stories of the old friends to America, (the British) who use every method in their power to counteract the measures of the U. S.

*Wednesday, Jan. 11th.*

This day, about 12 o'clock, one Robinson and Smith passed on their way to the falls. The former tells us that the 28th Dec., one Mr. McCullough went from Wheeling to Fort Pitt to bring boats for the transport

of provision to the posts. Snow to-night, which induced the Shawnese to go to hunt. The Half-king came in and dined with us. Every thing seems easy among the Indians. Yesterday the Pipe came in drunk, and wanted two match coats, but I took no notice of him, and he went away.

*Thursday, Jan. 12th.*

I have spent this day in regulating the accounts of last year, and the proceeding, on account of Indian affairs. In the evening, Gen. P——s sent for me to drink tea; he began to talk of some matters respecting Indian affairs, of which he seems very ill informed, and has no manner of personal knowledge, and frequently traps with questions in the most abrupt and impolite manner. After several of these had been asked and answered, I mentioned that I had been engaged in the accounts of the department, and had thought little of the other business. This day he talked something on money matters of the present treaty. I told him I had been on the accounts of the last year. This he said he had nothing to say to, but that he should want some money soon, and that he expected 1000 dollars. I sportingly told him I did not know if so much money could be in my power to give him, as we had made no provision for the Commissioners. He told me he had the resolutions of Congress, which Mr. Lee told him entitled him to the sum of 1000 dollars, and that he would stay till that sum would be due him. I told him I did not conceive the money which the Commissioners are to be accountable for, was particularly intended for their pay, but rather for contingent and absolutely necessary expenses; but if it had been intended for that purpose, he could not expect an equal proportion, having come so lately into the commission; and, particularly, as there was no provision made for that purpose, and as Gen Wolcott had desired that we would make none for him, he not being certain of coming on; but in case he should, that he would provide himself. Gen. P——s said he knew nothing of Gen. Wolcott's affairs, but that he expected his equal dividend of the sum he mentioned; repeating that Mr. Lee had told him it was drawn for that purpose. On which I told him the money, I believed, would be disposed of agreeable to the intentions of Congress, by order of the Commissioners; that I had not appropriated much to my use, and I should only appropriate it as I had authority.

The Shawnese are to move near us to-morrow. This evening one Doleman arrived from the Indians. I find the man called the White Horse, ordered the women of his town, the Pickaway, to turn back, which they did with reluctance.

*Friday, Jan. 13th.*

The last night was the coldest of the winter hitherto; large fields of ice driving in the Ohio. About 2 o'clock Mr. Harris and another gentleman, surveyors, called on us, and informed us that he had been making surveys on the south side, 180,000 acres. That his people had

tracked some Indians in their travel five days ago, which he rather tho't to be enemies than hunters. This we cannot account for, as the body of the Shawnese nation have just arrived, and the whole are expected. These gentlemen dined with us, and I wrote to Capt. P. Butler, by Mr. Harris, who was so polite as to wait.

The Shawnese sent us a speech by Meanimeeca, with others of the Shawnese, requesting us to screw the bung off, the keg very tight, and let none out until they, the chiefs, requested it to be opened, and that they will pay us a visit to-morrow in form; they also request a little more tobacco and flour, which we ordered. I told them we would close the bung, but we knew the old men were tired, therefore we would send just a taste for them, which he took very kind; I therefore sent him a gallon in a jar, with every other article they had required; they then went off very well pleased. We then gave directions for a party of a Serjt. and 12 men to be ready to fire, on the firing of the Shawnese ceasing, with other necessary orders for the formal reception of this proud little nation.

*Saturday, Jan. 14th.*

Every thing being ready for the reception of the Shawnese, we waited till 12 o'clock, when Mianimeeca arrived and told us they were coming on, also that they would fire to salute us; we told them we would return the salute, and that our messengers would go to meet them, and bring them in by the hand, and set them down by the council fire, which seemed very grateful to them. Mr. Elliott, Mr. Rankin, and Maj. Montgomery went to meet them; and Mr. Boggs waited at the Council-house, to direct them where to sit. Shortly after these arrangements they appeared, in number about 150 men and 80 women, in very regular order; the chiefs in front, beating a drum, with young warriors dancing a peculiar dance for such occasions. This is so particular that I shall here describe it: the oldest chief leads, and carries a small drum, on which he beats time and sings; two young warriors, who dance well, carry each the stem of a pipe painted, and decorated with feathers of the bald eagle, and wampum, these are joined in the dance by several other young men, who dance and keep time to the drum; the whole of the party painted and dressed in the most elegant manner, in their way, which is truly fantastic, but elegant, though savage. The Chief who headed this party is called Melonthe. These were followed by the chief warrior Aweecanny, and last the warriors armed; then come the head woman, called Ca-we-chile, in front of all the women and children. When they came near the Council-house, Aweecanny got on a stump, and ordered the whole to halt. They then sung for some time, when he gave a signal, and the song ceased. He then ordered the armed men to make ready, which they did, then to fire, which was performed in the Indian style, which is a running fire; this was repeated three times, on which our troops returned the salute, with three volleys from a platoon, well



performed, the drum beating an American march. We then entered and took our seats; they then arrived, and after dancing a short time at the door, by way of salute, they entered at the west door, the chief on our left, the warriors on our right and round on the east end till they joined the chiefs; the old chief beating the drum, and the young men dancing and waving the feathers over us, whilst the others were seated; this done, the women entered at the east door, and took their seats on the east end, with great form. This over, the chief enquired who were the Commissioners, which the young warrior, John Harris, told them, and pointed us out. After a short song, the chiefs called on Ke-kewepellethe a Wagatommochie man, who immediately rose to address us. His speech was short, but pathetic and sensible. He said that in consequence of our invitation, they had come to our council fire—that they had also brought their women and children—that they had shut their ears against all that advised them not to come, and now stood before us; they hoped, on our part, we would also shut our ears against evil stories, and banish from our memory every evil impression, that they cleared our ears, wiped our eyes, and with the string of wampum removed all sorrow from our hearts; they hoped, therefore, we would be strong, pity their women and children, and go on with the good work of peace, and suffer no evil reports to prevent our carrying it into effect.

This done, we addressed them, as per our speech of this date. All being over, we invited the old men and some of their captains to dine with us, and ordered the rest to remain in the council house till cooked provision was brought them; we also ordered a drink of grog, with pipes and tobacco. After these articles came in, we introduced Capt. Finney and the other officers to them; this done, the chiefs and dancers arose and shook hands with the Commissioners and suit; the old Captain, Aweecanny went at the head of the warriors, and shook hands with the officers.

I find at the commencement of a treaty of peace the Chiefs or Kings shake the hands of those who have to treat with them, but the warriors and women not till the business is concluded; the reason they give is that the heads of the people should be on an easy and familiar footing, but that the warriors and women, who are the strength of the nation, more distant till peace is certain. We then retired to dine, and the provision was taken to the long house, where all were well regaled and pleased on going away. The young fellows wished a little more drink; this the head men disapproved, but thought it better to gratify them for the present, therefore requested two gallons, which was given, and they went away pleased.

*Sunday, Jan. 15th.*

Early this morning, the Shawnese sent in their young people for flour, which they took away. At the same time one Kelly arrived with some

goods, the property of Mr. D. Elliott, in 9 days from Fort Pitt. He has no news of any importance.

About 12 o'clock some of the Wyandotts arrived, and wanted liquor, which the Commissioners politely refused. The old chiefs of the Shawnese, with John Harris, came to the council house; we went and conversed with them, and explained part of the speech which they did not fully comprehend. They told us, in answer to the questions asked, respecting the advice from Detroit, which we were told had stopped the Western Nations from coming to the treaty; that they knew nothing of any advice from there stopping the people of those nations. That an old friendship which had subsisted between their forefathers had brought the same head men of the Pattawatomes, and other nations together, on a branch of the St. Joseph's river to renew the old friendship. That as to advising these nations to come to our treaty, they had done all in their power, which was to send a man named Nequitwittomo to the different gations to inform them of their friends *the Shawnese*, having determpined to come to our treaty, and to advise them to come also; but they feared it would be impossible for them to be here before spring; on which we told them we did not think we would be there to see them. We then asked the reason why they did not attend on the invitation of 1784, to treat at Cayahoga. They answered, that the British had prevented them, by telling them we only wanted to cheat them. That the King had only laid by the hatchet for a short time, and is determined to strike the Americans again, and that this account is given to them to this day; even just before they left the towns, the same kind of speeches came to them, with advice not to come to our treaty. That the Indian Agents, Messrs. McKee and Johnston, send this advice constantly. They also state that the British commander at Detroit had given them a writing with directions to go and kill the Virginians, and lay it on the breast of the dead. This writing was to encourage all such as liked the British Government to come to Detroit, and he would give each of them a plantation, by way of encouraging emigration from our country. This was mentioned by old Melontha, a chief, in the presence of the young man called Mianimicca; he, also, mentions that a chief, as they say, of the Pattawatomes, called Petequeecica, but by the Miamies, Packan, who received the bills from Messrs. Lowry and Boggs, in 1784, directed to his and the Twightwee's nations had never been mentioned to them, but hid the bills, and never spoke of them to any of these nations, which is corroborated by the report of Mr. Rankin, one of our messengers, who made very particular inquiry last fall of this chief's sister and her husband, one Mons. Duboa, who resides at the Miami town, the place of the then residence of this chief also, whose name among that nation (the Miamies,) is *Packan*. This man, we find is a very discontented fellow, and has left the nation and gone to Post St. Vincent, and had the assurance there to receive the speeches from Mr. Clark, to some of the same

nations last summer, which I doubt met the fate of the former ; that the belts left at the Miami towns by Mr. Boggs, and given into the hand of ———, by the Wiandotte chief Runtundoc, after these scoundrels had taken their horses, in the absence of their real chief ———, who was at Detroit. This rascal, instead of sending through the nations to whom they were sent, had drank some, and bought horses with others some, and on the arrival of the real chief, had run off to Kaskaskias, where he yet remains; of course they have never been sent; that on this chief hearing the tenor of it, he sent young men to the Shawnese, to know the truth; that they met Berry and ——— Shawnee men, who were sent by the Shawnese with the last speech from us, by Messrs. Rankin and Elliott, who fully informed them of it.

But this not being satisfactory or completely agreeable to the orders of the Miami chief, they came on to the Shawnee town, where the whole was again repeated; they then set off home contented; but we had no account from that or any of the more northerly nations since—nor do I think there is any prospect, except by Winganum, till the return of Nequatwittomo, which will be too long for us to wait.

The old chief requested three pots, a large kettle, twenty bags of paint, and some tobacco, which was given them. They were kindly treated, and went off well pleased, but some of the young fellows wanted to get more drink, and stayed behind. This they were refused, which put them in an ill humor. Some were impertinent, and went to their camp; others went off, but returned, and lay in the long house.

*Tuesday, Jan. 17th.*

It froze very hard last night, which we fear will prevent the arrival of the boats, which we expect are on their way with supplies, the drift of ice being so much increased. Several of the Shawnese remain, and one sick, after their drink. They remained in the long house till after they had dined, and set off then to camp. I find that many of the young fellows which have grown up through the course of the war, and *trained like young hounds to blood*, have a great attachment to the British; but the chiefs of any repute are and have been averse to the war, but their influence is not of sufficient weight to prevent them from committing mischief, which they regret very much.

*Wednesday, Jan. 18th.*

This morning snow—the ice driving in the Ohio. About 11 o'clock the Pipe came in, and stayed some time. I had a free conversation with him, and explained many things respecting the late treaty, and their situation, which gave him much satisfaction. He thanked me for my advice and candor; observing at the same time that he respected the Commissioners for the punctuality with which all their engagements were fulfilled, and that his heart which had been in pain for many years, now begins to feel ease, and that he hopes to feel great pleasure on the conclusion of the present business.

The Pipe, Half-king, and others, dined with the Commissioners, after which they went home well pleased. I now find that some opinions which I had formed respecting the necessity of having a more general conference and eclaircissement of the treaty held last year with the Wyandots and Delawares were just; for although we had some of the principal chiefs, who, in the name of the Delaware nation, concluded the treaty, these have been very much reflected on by those who did not attend, and by being ignorant of the real state of their situation as to the U. S. right on the country, often charged the chiefs with having broke faith with them, and sold their lands.

This animosity will, in all probability, now be wiped away, and matters so settled that our frontier to the Wabash, will be freed from the distress and horror of an Indian war. Congress have it in their power to survey and sell the lands, and settle some kind of government in this country.

*Thursday, Jan. 19th.*

Early this morning, the Pipe, Half-king, and Delaware men sent by Pacanchichiles and other chiefs, also from Winganum, came to the Council-house. The Pipe came and told me they wished the Commissioners to attend and hear the news these young men brought. He said he would have brought them to our tent, but thought it best they should deliver it in public, which I approved, and sent to the other Commissioners. We went together, and were handsomely addressed, first by the young men. The speaker is a son of old Custalogo; the other, brother to Pacanchichiles. He said he was ordered to tell us that it gave them great pleasure when they met Winganum—that he had chased away their doubts, and they now come on with satisfaction, to tell the Commissioners their pipes are empty—that they want a little corn and tobacco, which they hope we will send them. That they hope to be with us in four days, if the weather is such that they can travel, which is at present very bad, snowing and hailing excessively. He said they felt happy to find so good a road opened, that they find nothing in their way, as they had been told by the emissaries of the British, and they would be happy it was in their power immediately to take us by the hand; but that we must consider this as shaking hands with us till they arrive.—He then paid Pipe a great compliment, telling him the chiefs saw they had been in the dark till they met his message and advice; that now their eyes are opened, that he had given them their usual good sense again, of which they had been long deprived by washing the brains of the head men. They got a little drink, and went home to their camp.

The Shawnese sent word they wished to dance; that if it be fair they will be in to-morrow. We told them we shall be glad to see them dance, but expect they will be very careful of the conduct of their young men whilst about the garrison.

*Friday, Jan. 20th.*

The Delawares, with Pacanchichiles, arrived at the Delaware camp. This morning early, the Pipe, a chief of the Delawares, came in and informed us that the strange chief Pacanchichiles, or Iskittapiecica in Shawnese, with others, were at hand, and would salute us, on which we ordered the usual salute of three platoons to return it.

When they advanced, this piece of ceremony was performed, and our messengers showed them into the Council-house, on which the flag of the U. S. is kept displayed. When they were all seated, the Commissioners were notified, and went to the Council-house with the officers. After being seated, Packanchichiles rose and spoke. His first address was to the Great Spirit, returning thanks for the preservation of his own and Gen. Clark's life through the war, and for putting it once more in their power to see each other, adding that he felt very happy at the prospect which now opened to his view, and thanked God for giving us this great day to meet and declare the pleasure he felt. That now he felt the advantages his nation may experience by the good work his Kings have been transacting with the Commissioners of the United States; that he is determined to support it with all his endeavor, and recommended to Gen. Clark, as a warrior, to assist on our part, with much more of the same purport. Gen. Clark told him he was glad to see him, and advised him to be strong and sincere in his declaration.

The old chief called Tetapaxicca, then spoke much to the same purport to the Commissioners.

We then spoke, and told them we had long waited in expectation of their arrival and the Western nations. That we had been informed that the big Cat and the Council-door had been left for the purpose of bringing either them or their answer; that as the Cat has now arrived, we expect to hear every matter respecting these nations. That we were glad to see them, and welcomed them to this council fire.

The Cat then spoke, and in a very artful manner told us that a deputation of the Twightwees, and other Wabash and Miami Indians, had come to a town of the Mohikans, on the White river, on their way to the treaty—that they were asked where they were going. They answered, to the mouth of Miami, where they were called to attend a treaty with the thirteen fires. That the Mohickans told them to take that tomahawk and settle their business with it; on which a chief of the Mohickans called Hairy Thighs, told them they were fools to receive a hatchet that their grand-fathers, meaning the Delawares, had gone to the council fire of the United States, and that they should also go and hear what the 13 fires had to say to them and the other nations; on which they threw down the hatchet, and proceeded to the Shawnee towns, where they received such advice and accounts from Detroit as put them back.

We then asked the Big Cat who had given the tomahawk to the Mo-

hickans. He answered *the Shawnese*; on which we broke up Council for the day.

*Sunday, Jan. 22d.*

This day produced very little—it seemed spent in great silence and quiet. All parties in suspense of the issue of the present treaty.

*Monday, Jan. 23d.*

Mr. Sappington, who lives at the station below this post, waited on the Commissioners, and gave information, on oath, that one Mr. Craig, a Surveyor, had, on Saturday last, informed him that about 6 days before, at which time he left Lexington, there were several parties collecting and preparing to go to the falls of the Ohio, at which place they are to rendezvous, and cross the Ohio, thence to proceed about 40 miles north of the mouth of the Miami, on the road to the Shawnee towns, in order to attack these people on their return from the treaty, and to take all their horses, &c. I wrote to the magistrates and other gentlemen at the falls of Ohio, by Mr. Sappington, who went express, giving them full information of the above, and requesting their intervention to prevent the evils which must ensue.

*Tuesday, Jan. 24th.*

The Chiefs of the Wyandots and Delawares attended in council; explained to them clearly the treaty with Great Britain; showed them the boundary between their subjects, and the U. S. citizens; also, the treaty of Fort McIntosh with the United States and their nation, clearly delineating the boundary line, which they acknowledged gave them great satisfaction. Had an address from one of their chiefs, expressing their full satisfaction with the treaty. We told them our Surveyors would be out in the spring, that some of their sensible men and young men should attend them, to see that we do not pass the described bounds, and advised them to collect their nations within their own territory; by doing which they would have their people more compact, and the influence of their head men of course greater. All which seemed to give them pleasure; it also cleared the Pipe of the opinion they had formed of his having sold the lands to the U. S.

*Wednesday, Jan. 25th.*

The Commissioners met and settled the plan, for opening the treaty with the Shawnese Indians, on which I was requested to draw up a speech, which was done.

*Thursday, Jan. 26th.*

The speech being prepared, was laid before the Board of Commissioners; some few alterations being made, was agreed to.

The chiefs of the Shawnese were at the council, and the speech read and explained to them.

*Friday, Jan. 27th.*

The Shawnese chiefs requested a private conference. Having met



them, they recapitulated the speech, in order to be fully satisfied that they understood it, which we found they did. On our informing them so, they replied they were fully convinced our observations were just—that they had been led into folly by the British—that they were sensible they had done wrong, but they hoped for pity from the 13 fires, and that they hoped these things would be forgotten.

They then took up the story of the Big Cat, the Delaware chief.—This they declare to be totally false, and stated that the Weachtinos and Miamies had sent people to the town, but that they had not turned back. They say these people were sent by their nation to them to know if a treaty was carrying on, which they informed them fully. These deputies told them that they had no directions to go to it, as they had heard some things in their towns that such an event was to take place, that they would now return and inform their chiefs, and they might act as they thought proper; but that some of the British people had been very busy among them, and advised them to stay at home and not attend the treaty.

*Saturday, Jan. 28th.*

The chiefs and young people and women of the Shawnese were called to public council, all of the chiefs of the Wyandots and Delawares, with Packanchichiles, and chiefs of the last mentioned nations. The Commissioners sent for the Shawnese chiefs, and had a private conference on the nature of the speech, and their intention for framing it in this manner. That by putting their young men in mind of the ills they have done, and danger to which they have exposed their nation, it will have a tendency to induce them to listen to the advice of their chiefs, and give weight to that advice. This done, we went into council, which was very full.

Tetapaxica, a Delaware chief, addressed the Commissioners and the Shawnese, stating the good work which we were upon, and admonished each party to go on with it in temper, and hasten it to a happy conclusion. He then addressed Packanchichiles, and gave a very handsome complimentary account of his conduct on being informed of the terms and principles on which the peace between the U. S. and his nation were founded, and advised the head warriors of the Shawnese to be strong and follow his example. That he had laid down the hatchet, and would never more take it up.

After he had concluded I began the address, and went through it clearly; I also went into an explanation, or rather recapitulation of their breach of all the treaties which they had made with the United States; the mischiefs they have done to our citizens; the distress they had involved their nation in by their conduct, and that they were now left to the mercy of the United States, which they may yet experience if their conduct can convince us of their determination to live in peace

for the future. We then closed, and required their answer, which was promised when they considered what we had said.

*Sunday, Jan. 29th.*

The Shawnese informed us they will give us their answer to-day ; on which the Wyandot and Delaware chiefs were called, the whole collected, and Kekewellethy, a Shawnee Captain, spoke in a very clear and masterly manner, recapitulating the substance of our address, acknowledging the truths which we related, and advising his young men to be attentive, that they might remember it—and hoped we would forget all that was passed ; he told us we should have our flesh and blood, that three of their principle people (warriors) should go to to the towns and collect them every one, and bring them ; that they had three here which they would take back to collect the others, and bring them all together ; he added that he was a warrior, that the warriors had done the mischief, and they should restore as much as possible the prisoners ; that they attended fully to what we had said respecting the conduct of the British to them ; that it is all true, and we have taken pains to prove it to them, and they perfectly believe it ; that they hoped what we have said would not be from our lips only, but from our hearts—that this is their determination, that God sees our actions, and hears our mutual promises, and they hoped whatever may be now done, shall last forever ; that they cover our blood and bury the hatchet, that there shall be no war.

The council being over, the Commissioners met in council, and concluded on the article of treaty, which they requested Gen. Parsons to draw up, to which he agreed.

John Harris then spoke.

Grand-Fathers:—The Delawares, young brothers, the Wyandots are brothers of the 13 fires. Harken to my words: You have heard what our captains and warriors have said. They have buried our hatchet deep, and covered over your blood. They have promised to collect and bring in your flesh and blood, and to deliver them up to you 13 fires. We now request that you will also lay down the hatchet, bury it deep, let no sharp weapon remain in your hands. You told us that our fathers once lived in friendship ; we wish you to recollect that friendship again, and let it be as great between us as it hath been between them of old.

He then produced a large belt and a road belt. These belts I only show you that it may bring the friendship which has been mentioned fresh to your memories. These are belts which our kings have kept by them. They are the belts received from the 13 fires at the beginning of the war ; and although some of our young people have been led astray by the evil advice of the British, and have done you much mischief, our kings never gave their consent or advice for the war, but have sat still as they promised ; they have also kept the road belt, and although the

road has been stopped for some time, we have now wiped it clean, and nothing shall stop it in future, and that they will still hold fast these belts.

*Monday, Jan. 30th.*

The Commissioners met and examined the articles, which being approved, the chiefs of the Shawnese were sent for, and the whole explained fully to them; also the boundary line which we first proposed. This not pleasing, they complaining that we were putting them to live on ponds, and leaving them no land to live or raise corn on. This being found to be the case, on inquiry, we agreed to enlarge the boundary from a branch to the main of the Miami river, and joining on the south-west corner of the lands of the Wyandots and Delawares. This did not seem fully to satisfy, but we would go no further

The whole of the chiefs of the Wyandot, Delaware, and Shawnese nations being collected, the Commissioners went to Council. All being seated, the Commissioners spoke as follows:

Chiefs, &c.,—We have listened attentively to your speech of yesterday, and considered every part thereof. Your professions and declarations to concur with us in completing the work of peace pleases us. We will do every thing which is just, on our part, and the Great Spirit sees our actions; our declarations are from our hearts, and not from our lips only. We are glad to see that your eyes are open to your interest, and that you understand us fully, that you are sensible who led you astray, plunged your nation into error and distress, and left you without a friend, and that you are determined in future to shut your ears against their evil counsellors. You tell us that the evils of the war sprung from the warriors, and not from your kings, and that the warriors must make us all the reparation in their power; that you have appointed three of them to collect and bring our people to this place, and give them up.—Your proposals, so far, please us. It is a mark of your sincerity, and we advise you to be strong, that the thoughts of past injuries may be forgotten; and that what we conclude at this council fire may last forever, and each become great and happy. Nothing will tend to effect this more than a cheerful compliance, on your part, with the articles of treaty which we shall propose, and speedy return of our people. This will dry the tears of sorrow from the eyes of our women, and appease the anger of our men. We are sorry to find one of your proposals such as we cannot comply with. It is that of your taking back the three of our prisoners which you have here. These must be immediately given to us, and the most speedy and effectual measures taken by you to bring in all the others, white and black, to this place, without fail.

Chiefs, &c.,—We have shewn you the situation in which you stand with the United States. This you say you understand clearly, and that you are sensible of the truth and justice of all we have said. It therefore only remains for us to tell you the terms on which the United

States will grant you peace, and receive your nation into friendship and protection. These are the articles of treaty:

1st. Three hostages to remain till all our prisoners, white and black, are delivered, who are in your nation, &c.

2d. The Shawnese acknowledge the United States have the sole and absolute sovereignty of the whole country ceded by the King of Great Britain, &c.

3d. Any Indian who may commit a murder or robbery on a citizen of the U. S. shall be given up to be punished by the laws of the U. S. Any citizen who may commit the like on an Indian, to be punished by the laws of the U. S., &c.

4th. The Shawnese having knowledge of a war being waged by any Indian nation, shall give information thereof, or be considered enemies. The United States the same obligation.

5th. The U. S. grant peace, and receive into protection, &c.

6th. The U. S. grant to the Shawnese lands on the west of the main branch of the Miami, &c., as described.

7th. Any citizen presuming to settle on the lands assigned to the Indians, is out of the protection of the U. S., &c.

The chiefs and people being collected, the Commissioners, Officers, civil and military, the chiefs and warriors of the Shawnese, the chiefs of the Wyandots and Delawares, the business was opened by a head Captain of the Shawnese, Kekewepellethy, he recapitulated the speech and articles of treaty, and explained them to the whole. He then addressed the Commissioners:

Brothers: By what you have said to us yesterday, we expected every thing past would be forgotten; that our proposals for collecting the prisoners were satisfactory, and that we would have been placed on the same footing as before the war. To-day you demand hostages till your prisoners are returned. You next say you will divide the lands. I now tell you it is not the custom of the Shawnese to give hostages, our words are to be believed, when we say a thing we stand to it, we are Shawnese—and as to the lands, God gave us this country, we do not understand measuring out the lands, it is all ours. You say you have goods for our women and children; you may keep your goods, and give them to the other nations, we will have none of them. Brothers, you seem to grow proud, because you have thrown down the King of England; and as we feel sorry for our past faults, you rise in your demands on us. This we think hard. You need not doubt our words; what we have promised we will perform. We told you we had appointed three good men of our nation to go to the towns and collect your flesh and blood; they shall be brought in. We have never given hostages, and we will not comply with this demand. *A black string.*

The Commissioners conferred a short time on this answer, and resolved they would not recede from any of the articles, considering them just and

as liberal as the interests of the U. S. would admit of. Whereupon, I addressed them in this short manner:

Shawness—You have addressed us with great warmth. We think the answer unwise and ungrateful; and in return for just and generous proposals, you have not only given us improper language, but asserted the greatest falsehoods. You say you cannot give hostages for the performances of your promises, as it is contrary to your usages, and that you never break your word. Have you forgotten your breach of treaties in the beginning of the late war with Britain, between the United States and your chiefs, in '75 and '76? Do you think us ignorant of those treaties? Do you think we have forgotten the burning of our towns, the murder and captivity of our people in consequence of your perfidy, or have you forgotten them? Don't you remember when Col. Boquet came to Tuscarawas, that you there gave hostages? Do you forget that you gave hostages to Lord Dunmore? Do you forget that when he had agreed to send people to collect the prisoners, that they had like to have been murdered in your towns? Recollect, and you might know that these are truths. You gave to both of these great men hostages for the performance of your promises; and even under that engagement, you paid so little regard to your faith, which you had pledged, that it was with difficulty our people got from amongst you; and although you had promised to do the business yourselves, you did not even attempt to protect these men who went to assist you. We know these things to be truths, with much more we could relate, equally aggravating. You cannot, therefore, expect we will believe you; I tell you we cannot believe you, or rely on your words; and the burning the houses of our people, and barbarously ravaging our frontier, besides the repeated violations of treaties of the most sacred nature. Are your barbarous murders, and the cruelty shown our prisoners, marks of your fidelity, or proofs of your pacific disposition, or a desire of enjoying the blessings of peace in common with us. I say, they are not. These are the gifts of heaven, and they cannot be enjoyed under such circumstances. You joined the British King against us, and followed his fortunes; we have overcome him, he has cast you off, and given us your country; and Congress, in bounty and mercy, offer you country and peace. We have told you the terms on which you shall have it; these terms we will not alter, they are liberal, they are just, and we will not depart from them; we now tell you, if you have been so unfortunate and unwise as to determine and adhere to what you have said, and to refuse the terms we have offered to give to your nation peace, friendship, and protection, you may depart in peace; you shall have provisions to take you to your towns, and no man shall touch you for eight days after this day; but after that time is expired, be assured that we shall consider ourselves freed from all the ties of protection to you, and you may depend the U. S. will take the most effectual measures to protect their citizens, and to distress your ob-

stinate nation. It rests now with you, the destruction of your women and children, or their future happiness, depends on your present choice. Peace or war is in your power; make your choice like men, and judge for yourselves. We shall only add this: had you judged as it is your interest to do, you would have considered us as your friends, and followed our counsel; but if you choose to follow the opinion which you have expressed, you are guided either by evil counsel or rashness, and are blinded. We plainly tell you that this country belongs to the United States—their blood hath defended it, and will forever protect it. Their proposals are liberal and just; and you instead of acting as you have done, and instead of persisting in your folly, should be thankful for the forgiveness and offers of kindness of the United States, instead of the sentiments which this string imparts, and the manner in which you have delivered it. We shall not receive it or any other from you in any such way. (I then took it up and dashed it on the table.) We therefore leave you to consider of what hath been said, and to determine as you please.

We then left them, and threw down a black and white string. In the afternoon, the Shawnese sent a message requesting we would attend in the Council-house; on which, we went in. Kekewepellethe then arose and spoke as follows:

Brothers, the 13 Fires—We feel sorry that a mistake has caused you to be displeased at us this morning. You must have misunderstood us. We told you yesterday that three of our men were to go off immediately to collect your flesh and blood; we had also appointed persons to remain with you till this is performed; they are here and shall stay with you. Brethren, our people are sensible of the truths you have told them. You have every thing in your power—you are great, and we see you own all the country; we therefore hope, as you have every thing in your power, that you will take pity on our women and children. Brothers, everything shall be as you wish; we came here to do that which is good, and we agree to all you have proposed, and hope, in future, we shall both enjoy peace, and be secure. (A white string.)

The Commissioners then told them they were glad to find they had reconsidered their speech, and rectified the mistake, and that their sensible men had considered the good of their nation, and were likely to act a proper and prudent part, which alone can secure the friendship of the United States, and give their nation peace. (A white string.)

The Half-king of the Wyandots then rose and addressed the Commissioners and Shawnese.

Brothers:—I feel pleased and happy that the disagreeable difference which arose between you is now settled. I hope you will now conclude a peace which shall last forever between the United States and the Shawnese, and that you may both be as brothers. (A string.)

The council then broke up. It was worthy of observation to see the



different degrees of agitation which appeared in the young Indians, at the delivery of Kekewapellathe's speech; they appeared raised and ready for war; on the speech I spoke they appeared rather distressed and chagrined by the contrast of the speeches, and convinced of the futility of their arguments.

(To be concluded in the next number.)

NOTE.—We have no doubt that this account of the speech in reply to Kekewepellethy, the Shawnese, will greatly surprise many of our readers. Gen. Clarke is so commonly regarded as the principal actor in that striking incident, that our publication will by some persons, be viewed as an attempt to do him injustice. We certainly have no bias in the case; we have long admired the daring and enterprising spirit of the conqueror of the Illinois country; and would be loth, indeed, to deprive him of a single laurel. But let us do justice, though the heavens should fall. Clarke had *earned* glory enough, without *filching* one particle from his equally gallant fellow Commissioner, Richard Butler. It would, in fact, be casting a stigma upon the memory of Clarke, to suppose that he had ever given any countenance to the story which assigned to him the decisive reply to the Shawnese chief.

Gen. Clarke died in February, 1817, and the first account of this incident which we have ever seen, was in the *Encyclopædia Americana*, published in 1830. It says, it is true that the "anecdote is related in a work published not very long since, called *Notes of an Old Officer*." It does not say when or where these "Notes" were published; nor does it appear that the "Notes" were written while the transaction was fresh in memory, or even that they were written at all by the officer himself. Indeed there are so many glaring errors in the narrative, that it is incredible that it could have been written or dictated, while the transaction was recent.

We will only notice a few of these inaccuracies. It states that there were *three hundred* Shawnese warriors at the Council on that occasion; while Gen. Butler, in his unpretending narrative, written probably on the night of that day, gives the precise number of men, women, and children, Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnese, and all, at only 418. The narrative styles Clarke the "*Commissary General*;" certainly he held no such office, bore no such title, and could not have been so styled by any intelligent person, of sound memory, who was present at the treaty. He was a fellow Commissioner of Butler and Parsons, and nothing more.

It is also stated in the same article that the treaty was held at *Fort Washington*. This is certainly incorrect, and no person who was present could possibly have made such a mistake, while the transaction was of recent occurrence. The treaty was not held at Fort Washington, (now Cincinnati,) but at the Mouth of the Miami, twenty miles below.

Fort Washington was in fact not laid out until 1789, three years after the treaty.

The account of Gen. Butler is plain, direct, and unpretending; there is no boast about it. It is written just as his journals through the Revolutionary War (all of which we have read,) were written. It states all occurrences briefly, and in a style worthy the gallant soldier, who was called by Lee, a competent judge of military merit, "the renowned second and rival of Morgan at Saratoga," who was the second of Wayne at Stony point, who took an active part in suppressing the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line in 1781, who was present and aided in the siege of Yorktown, and thus had the good fortune to witness the surrender of two British armies, those of Burgoyne and Cornwallis.

Gen. Washington, in a letter to the Marquis de la Fayette, dated 10th January, 1788, has the following paragraph:

"It is with great pleasure I transmit to you by this conveyance, a vocabulary of the Shawnese and Delaware languages. Your *perfect acquaintance* with Gen. Richard Butler, the *same worthy officer* who served under your orders, and who has taken the trouble to compile them, supercedes the necessity of my saying anything in support of their veracity and correctness."

Surely, under all the circumstances, and with such a testimonial in favor of the character of that gallant soldier, it would be blindness to reject his narrative, written at the time of the incident, and accept another account, written we know not when nor by whom.

Knowing, as we do, that General Butler did keep a diary of every day's proceedings, commencing even as early as his hunting and trading expedition to Vincennes, in 1772; we have no doubt that his account of the transactions at the mouth of the Miami were written immediately after their occurrence. What possible inducement, then, could he have for misstating matters, even supposing him capable of misrepresentation? He could not deceive himself, and it would certainly be no gratification, even to his own vanity, to write down a tale of self-laudation, which, if false, he would not dare to make public; and which, indeed, never has been published until now, more than a half a century after his death, and more than sixty years after the occurrences took place.

The author of the article in the Encyclopædia is certainly mistaken in several points in his narrative; but whether those mistakes originated in the "Notes of an Old Officer," or were made by the copyist, we know not. If made by the former, no confidence can be placed in his statement, because he might just as readily call *Butler, Clarke*, as the "*Mouth of the Miami, Fort Washington*;" and the copyist who has made one mistake, may have made another.

To call in question the correctness of Gen. Butler's narrative, is to charge him with deliberate falsehood; while doubting the other state-

ment only supposes that the memory of an "Old Officer" may have failed, or that the author of the article in the *Encyclopædia* may have made more than one mistake.

To enable our readers to judge for themselves, we publish the account in the *Encyclopædia Americana*.

"The following anecdote is related of Clarke, in a work published not very long since, called *Notes of an Old Officer*." "The Indians came into the treaty at *Fort Washington* in the most friendly manner, except the Shawahanees, the most conceited and warlike of the aborigines, the first in at a battle, the last at a treaty. Three hundred of their finest warriors, set off in all their paint and feathers, and filed into the council-house. Their number and demeanor, so unusual at an occasion of this sort, was altogether unexpected and suspicious. The U. S. Stockade mustered 70 men. In the centre of the hall, at a little table, sat the commissary-general Clarke, the indefatigable scourge of these very marauders, Gen. Richard Butler and Mr. Parsons. There was also present a Captain Denny, who, I believe, is still alive, and can attest this story. On the part of the Indians, an old council-sachem and a war-chief took the lead. The latter a tall, raw-boned fellow, with an impudent and villainous look, made a boisterous and threatening speech, which operated effectually on the passions of the Indians, who sent up a prodigious whoop at every pause. He concluded by presenting a black and white wampum, to signify they were prepared for either event, peace or war.— Clarke exhibited the same unaltered and careless countenance he had shown during the whole scene, his head leaning on his left hand, and his elbow resting on the table. He raised his little cane, and pushed the sacred wampum off the table, with very little ceremony. Every Indian, at the same time, started from his seat with one of those sudden, simultaneous, and peculiarly savage sounds, which startle and disconcert the stoutest heart, and can neither be described nor forgotten. At this juncture Clarke rose. The scrutinizing eye cowered at his glance. He stamped his foot on the prostrate and insulted symbol, and ordered them to leave the hall. They did so, apparently involuntarily. They were heard all that night debating in the bushes near the fort. The raw-boned chief was for war, the old sachem for peace. The latter prevailed, and the next morning they came back and sued for peace."

#### DEATH OF GEN. PARSONS.

During the winter of 1845—6, which the editor spent at Harrisburg, in the very interesting and profitable employment of a borer, he had occasion to visit Philadelphia. While there, he fell one day in conversation with Chief Justice Gibson, who once resided at Beaver, on the subject of the *Olden Time*, and in the course of it, that gentleman inquired whether we had ever heard of the death of a high officer, (British, he thought,) by drowning, at the Falls of the Big Beaver, many years ago? We replied we had never heard of it. He was sure such an accident had happened, but he had no recollection of the name of the sufferer at the time: Since then, we had made diligent inquiry, but could not get the slightest information on the subject. One gentleman only recollected

having some thirty years go, heard it stated that a distinguished officer had been drowned at the place before mentioned. Under these circumstances, we had almost abandoned the subject in despair; when, in looking over the papers of Gen. Irvine, we came across one which removed all doubt as to the correctness of Judge Gibson's belief that such an accident had happened. The sufferer, however, was not a British officer, but Gen. Samuel W. Parsons, of Connecticut, a Revolutionary officer, and one of the Commissioners who held the Treaty with the Indians at the mouth of the Miami. It excited in our mind some painful thoughts, that a man who had faithfully served his country during our long struggle for Independence, should miserably perish, and yet that catastrophe be utterly forgotten within a half a century.

*Extract of a letter from Gen. Richard Butler to Gen. Irvine, dated Pittsburgh, Nov. 25th, 1789:*

"I am sorry to inform you that I have every reason to fear our old friend Gen. Parsons is no more. He left this place in company with Capt. Hart, (who is sent to explore the communication by the way of Beaver creek to Cuyahogo and the lake,) on the 5th inst., in order to see the Salt Springs, and from whence he had returned, and was coming down Beaver creek in a canoe. On Tuesday, the 17th inst., he had sent a man with his horses from the place where he had encamped the night before, and directed him to tell Lieut. McDowel, who commanded the Block-house below the Falls of Beaver, that he (Gen. Parsons,) would be there to dinner. A snow had fallen in the night, which retarded the progress of the man with the horses. At one place on the Beaver shore, he saw where a canoe had landed, and a person got out to warm his feet by walking about, as he saw where he had kicked against the trees, and then tracks to the canoe again. The man did not get down till evening, but about noon, the canoe, broken in pieces, came by the Block-house, and some articles known to belong to Gen. Parsons were taken up, and others seen to pass. Lieut. McDowell had diligent search made for the body of the General, but made no discovery. There was one man with a broken leg in the canoe with the General, who was also lost."

Subsequent letters remove all doubts as to the fact of the death of Gen. Parsons, as above stated.



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**NO. 12.**

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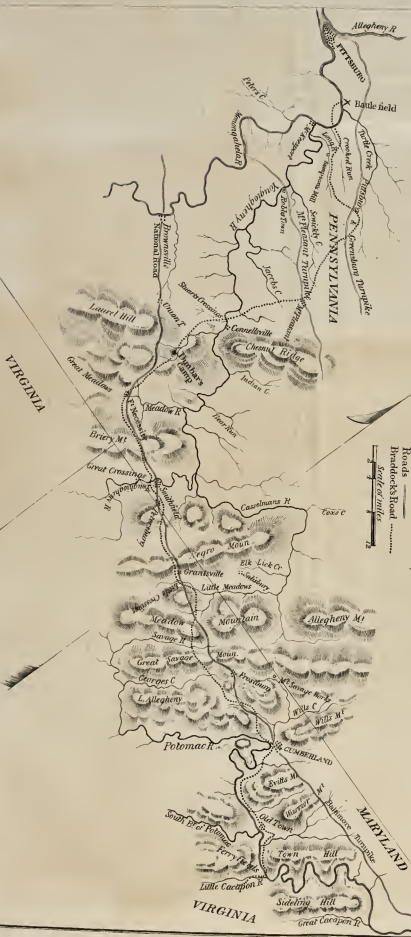
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# THE OLDEN TIME.

VOL. 2.

DECEMBER, 1847.

NO. 12.

GEN. BUTLER'S JOURNAL, CONCLUDED.

*Wednesday, Feb. 1st.*

The Council met about 10 o'clock; a speech was spoken by me as follows:

Chiefs, Warriors, Women and Young People of the Shawnee Nation, hearken attentively to our words. We are now in the presence of God, he sees what we do, and knows our hearts. We are in the presence of men of your own color, with whom we are in friendship. They also see what we transact, and are witnesses to our mutual engagements.—Be strong, look forward, and remember that what we now do is not for ourselves only, but for our children and their children's children. Peace with the United States is of the greatest importance to you; it is of use to us also, and there is no power on this side of the sea and lakes can give you lands, peace and protection. You say you have brought three of our people with you; let them now be produced. (On this they delivered two young men, named Pipes and Fox, and a little boy.) Let us also see the young men who are to remain as hostages for the return of our prisoners. (They then produced, instead of three, which we demanded, six, named Nehinissica, (one whom they value highly,) Mithawano, his brother, Wewessicanpawie, Mannashcommiqua, Mianimssica, Methotho.) This over, I resumed my speech.

Shawnese, &c.—The blood of our relations has been spilled on the ground to no purpose. Let us cover it over with a white cloth, let us remember it only with regret and sorrow, but nevermore with anger. Let the destructive hatchet be buried low in the ground. Let the war-dance be forgotten, and the death-halloo no more be heard in our land. Let the hunter pursue the deer, and your women tend your corn fields in peace. Let gladness fill your houses, and the dance of pleasure be frequent amongst your young people: then will you be happy, then will your nation be strong, then will the parent look with pleasure on the rising youth, and the young find satisfaction in pleasing the parent.

Let us now sign the articles of treaty that peace may be restored to your nation—let them be sacred, let your children grow up with a knowledge of these engagements, and your young men be taught by your example to keep them firmly. Let the advice of the old and sensible of the present race lead the rising generations to forget war, and attend to their hunting, and the engagements of their fathers with the United States.—Shut your ears to all who advise you to the contrary, they are your enemies. Turn all evil counsellors from amongst you, they have already led you astray, and done you much wrong, and it is their intention still to keep you blind. Let none of your people shed human blood, let the persons and property of the U. S. be held sacred—they are your friends, they are your protectors and benefactors; look up to them as your fathers. (Here the Treaty was signed by Aweecanny, Kekewepelathy, Captains Melontha, Musquackhoonaka, Mianimsicca, Wapachcawela, Nihipeewa, kings, Nehinessica, a young chief,—and witnessed by the officers, civil and military, also by many inhabitants.

I then went on thus:

Brothers—This is a road belt, you have told us that you have opened the road on your side, and that no obstacle shall hereafter be thrown into it on your part. We tell you to be strong, and remember this. We tell you that we, also, on our part, remove every obstruction, and open an intercourse between the U. S. citizens and your nation. We desire you to hold it fast by one end, and we will hold the other. We shall take care that no impediment shall be thrown into it; do you the same; then traders and useful people will go among you without fear; your goods will get cheap, and you will be amply supplied with every thing you wish for, it will encourage your hunters, and your people will be happy, as we can supply you cheaper and better than other people, if you only protect our traders, as we are now at peace, and have an intercourse with all the nations of the world.

Brothers: This is the great belt of Peace. This belt we now put into your hands; let your head men, war captains, women, and even your children, take hold of it. (Here Melontha, Aweecannie, Kekewepellathy, and others, took hold of the belt with the Commissioners.)

Let us now look up to God, and implore his aid to strengthen us to hold it fast to keep our engagements, let it never be broken. We now take you by the hand as brothers. We will protect you against your enemies, if you are faithful, and we will treat you as friends. Should any of your people be so unfortunate as to act contrary to these ties of friendship, and do any mischief, we advise you to put them from amongst you, that the innocent may not suffer with the guilty; for, although it is the wish of the U. S. to live in peace with all people, you may depend they will chastise those who do them injury, or profess themselves their enemies. You are now included amongst the friends of the U. S., they will not treat you as the British King has done, nor will they leave you as

his agents did, after misleading you. Whilst they stand as a people, you will stand also, if you adhere to the present treaty. A breach, on your part, must deprive you of these blessings. Take care, therefore, let not this belt slip through your hands. We advise you as friends, and we speak to you the voice of our country; be strong, hold fast by this belt, you are now taken into the friendship and protection of the U. S., if you are not continued in it, the fault must be your own, and your nation must sooner or later feel the misfortune.

These ceremonies being over, all parties shook hands, the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnese, Commissioners, &c., mutually congratulating each other. Some, tobacco, drink, provisions, &c., being ordered, the Commissioners drank with the Nations and retired to dinner, and took with them some of the chiefs. Liquor was given to the Indians and they got drunk.

I forgot to insert Tuesday, Jan. 31st, in its proper place. The treaty was this day shown and explained to the Shawnese a second time; but being too late in the day, was postponed till Wednesday, the 1st of Feb. The chiefs observed that it was not customary for their chiefs to do business in the latter part of the day, that their time is before or at the meridian, and the business of war after the middle of the day.

*Thursday, Feb. 2.*

This day the goods were got ready. Some presents were given to the chiefs of the Delawares and Wyandots. The Shawnese continued drinking all day. Therefore we went on with the arrangements for our journey. Got an account of the Indians in, viz:—Wyandots, 83; Delawares, 47, chiefly men; Shawnese, 108 men, 88 women, 21 lads, 30 girls; 5 infants—60 people near the camp and in occasionally. Total, Wyandots, 83; Delawares, 47; Shawnese, 318; total, 448.

*Friday, Feb. 3d.*

Gave the presents to the Wyandots and Delawares, and directed the Shawnese to attend for their presents. The water rising in both rivers.

*Saturday, Feb. 4th.*

The Shawnese came in early, and received their presents. The day being rainy, a boat was ordered to take them up the stream to their encampment. The business was transacted with great care, and gave the Indians perfect satisfaction.

*(End of Gen. Butler's Journal.)*

## GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE.

This gentleman commanded here from the spring of 1781, till the close of the Revolutionary War. He was a man of education and good sense ; it may, therefore, readily be supposed that his correspondence, during the time he commanded here, would furnish much information as to the condition of this place, and the surrounding country, during that period. Under this impression, it was with great pleasure we received from Mr. Jared Sparks the intelligence that he had arranged all the public correspondence of Gen. Irvine and others with Gen. Washington, and that it was now to be found in the State Department at Washington. We determined, at once, if the *Olden Time* endured, to embrace some opportunity of visiting Washington, for the purpose of gleaning there many matters of interest in relation to this country during the Revolution. Before, however, any such opportunity presented itself, Dr. Wm. A. Irvine, of Warren county, Pa., very politely sent us a box containing many letters from Gen. Irvine to various persons, and from others to him, all of which we have read with very great satisfaction. We would have gleaned largely from this collection, were this publication to be continued, but as the publishers do not feel justified in issuing the work in proper style, and as we have both concluded to stop the publication, we can only make a few selections for this, the last number.

The following letter is one of those which we had selected, as containing some matters of interest.

The account of the condition of affairs here, consequent upon the dispute between Colonels Gibson and Brodhead, and the fact that officers ordered from Fort Pitt to Virginia, could not go for want of clothing, are all matters of interest, as showing some of the difficulties encountered in our struggle for Independence.

The narrative of the destruction of Col. Lochrey's command, consisting of volunteers from this country, of course will possess some interest to many who lost relatives on that occasion ; and the account of the return of Captain Craig from the Falls, after a tedious voyage of forty days, presents a strange contrast to the present modes and facilities of travelling. Mr. Trist, in one of his communications, speaks of forty or forty-five days as sufficient time to send a treaty from the city of Mexico to Washington, and to receive an answer.

The fact that Hutchins, the Engineer, and Gen. Irvine, urged the establishment of a military post near the mouth of Chartier's Creek, and the total or partial abandonment of Fort Pitt, is entirely new to us.—Whether the point recommended was McKee's Rocks, or the hill immediately west of the mouth of the Creek, is not very clear ; although the assertion that there was no commanding ground within three thousand yards, would incline us to select the latter as the point.

It is not a little singular that the General's correspondent had twenty-



seven years before examined the point at the junction of the rivers, as well as McKee's Rocks, and expressed his opinion in favor of the former.

Extract of a letter from Gen. William Irvine to Gen. Washington, dated Fort Pitt, Dec. 1781:

SIR:—At the time Congress directed me to repair to this place, I took for granted your Excellency would have information thereof, through different channels, and knowing how particularly you were at that moment engaged, I did not think proper to give unnecessary trouble. This, I flatter myself, will excuse me with your Excellency, for not writing sooner.

Previous to my arrival, Col. Gibson had received your letter directing him to take the command, which was acquiesced in by Col. Brodhead, and things went on in the usual channel, except the dispute occasioned Col. Gibson's intended expedition against Sandusky being laid aside; and perhaps it also prevented many other necessary arrangements.

The examination of witnesses against Col. Brodhead is still going on, and I am told will continue some weeks. Agreeable to my orders from Congress, to retain no more officers here than sufficient for the men, I have made the following arrangements. Re-formed the remains of the late 8th Pennsylvania Regiment into two Companies, and call them a detachment from the Pennsylvania Line, to be commanded by Lieut Col. Bayard.

Baron Steuben had some time ago directed Col. Gibson to re-form his regiment also into two companies, retaining with him the staff of the regiment, and to send all the supernumerary officers into Virginia. The re-formation was so made, but the officers were so distressed for want of clothing and other necessaries, that they were not able to proceed. However, they are now making exertions, and I hope will soon set out.

I have ordered the supernumerary officers of the Pennsylvania line to repair forthwith to their proper regiments in the line. The whole of the troops (infantry) here are thrown into two companies. I have been trying to economize, but every thing is in so wretched a state that there is very little in my power. I never saw troops cut so truly deplorable a figure. Indeed, when I arrived, no man would believe, from their appearance, that they were soldiers,—nay, it would be difficult to determine whether they were *white men*, and though they do not yet come up to my wishes, they are some better.

As it does not rest with me to decide on the propriety or impropriety of any person's conduct, shall only make a few general observation.—The consumption of public stores, in my opinion, has been enormous, particularly military stores, and I fear the reasons given for it will not be justifiable, viz: that the militia would all fly if they had not powder and lead given them, not only when in service, but to keep at their houses. It is true, the County Lieutenants and others, who are called responsible men, have promised to be accountable. But, I am certain, not an ounce

can ever be again collected. I find that near 2000 lbs. of lead, and 4000 lbs. of powder have been issued to the militia. since the dispute began between Cols. Brodhead and Gibson, chiefly by orders of the former ; besides arms, accoutrements, &c., and not a man called into actual service. The Magazine is nearly exhausted ; there not being as much remaining as was issued since the first of last September.

I presume your Excellency has been informed by the Governor of Virginia, or by Gen. Clarke, of the failure of his expedition. But least this should not be the case, I will relate all the particulars that have come to my knowledge.

Captain Craig,\* with the detachment of artillery, returned here on the 26th inst. He got up with great difficulty, and much fatigue to the men, being forty days on the way, occasioned by the lowness of the water.—He was obliged to throw away his gun-carriages, but brought his pieces and best stores safe. He left Gen. Clarke at the Rapids, and says the General was not able to prosecute his intended plan of operations for want of men ; being able to collect in the whole only about 750 men.—The buffalo meat was all rotten, and he adds the General is apprehensive of a visit from Detroit, and is not without fears the settlement will be obliged to break up, unless reinforcements soon arrive from Virginia. The Indians have been so numerous in that country, that the inhabitants have been obliged to keep close, and the General could not venture out to fight them.

A Colonel Lochry, of Westmoreland county, Pa., with about 100 men in all, composed of volunteers, and a company raised by Pennsylvania, for the defence of that County, started to join General Clarke, who, it is said, ordered him to unite with him (Clarke) at the mouth of the Miami, up which river it was previously designed to proceed ; but the General having changed his plan, left a small party at the Miami with directions to Lochrey to follow him to the mouth of the Falls. Sundry accounts agree that this party, and all of Lochrey's troops to a man were waylaid by the Indians and British, (for it is said they had artillery,) and all killed or taken, not a man escaping, either to join Gen. Clarke, or to return home. When Captain Craig left the General, he would not be persuaded but that Lochry with his party had returned home. These misfortunes throw the people of this country into the greatest consternation, and almost despair, particularly Westmoreland county, Lochry's party being all the best men of their frontier. At present they talk of flying early in the spring to the eastern side of the mountains, and are daily flocking to me to inquire what support they may expect. I think there is too much reason to fear that Gen. Clarke's and Col. Gibson's expeditions failing, will greatly encourage the savages to fall on the country

\*This was the late Major Isaac Craig. For more information see page 344 of this Volume of the Olden Time.

with double fury, and perhaps the British from Detroit to visit this post; which, instead of being in a tolerable state of defence, is, in fact, but a heap of ruins. I need not inform your Excellency that it is at best but a bad situation for defence. I have been viewing the country in this vicinity, and find no place equal for a post to the mouth of Chartier's Creek, about four miles down the river. Capt. Hutchins pointed that place out to me before I left Philadelphia, and says there is no place equal to it any place within forty miles of Fort Pitt. I think it best calculated, on many accounts. First, the ground is such that works may be constructed to contain any number of men, from 50 to 1000. It is by nature almost inaccessible on three sides, and on the fourth no commanding ground within 3000 yards. Secondly, as it would effectually cover the settlement on Chartier's Creek, the necessity for keeping a post at Fort McIntosh would of course cease. In case of making that the main post, Fort Pitt should be demolished, except the north bastion, on which a strong block-house should be erected. A small party in it would as effectually keep up a communication with the settlements on the Monongahela, as the whole garrison now does, for the necessary detachments to McIntosh, Wheeling, &c., so divide the troops that no one place can be held without a large body of troops indeed. I do not like Fort McIntosh being kept a post in the present situation of things. If the enemy from Detroit should undertake to make us a visit, it would be an excellent place for them to take by surprise, from whence they could send out Indians and other partizans, and lay the whole country waste before we could dislodge them.

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LETTER FROM GEN. IRVINE TO GEN. LINCOLN.

FORT PITT, May 2d, 1781.

SIR: I do myself the honor to inclose you Lt. Col. Weibert's report to me of the situation and circumstances of this Post, the ground, houses round it, &c., in which he has not discovered any thing but what I was before well acquainted with. But as the officer who precedes me in command, had great contention respecting his occupying some houses, particularly Maj. Ward's, who brought a civil action against him; several others brought civil suits. This same Ward *claims* what was formerly called the King's Orchard, which lies immediately joining, and encircles the bastions of the Fort. This I have inclosed with a slight fence, and use it as a pasture for the public and officers' horses. This man is teasing me to promise him a certain rent, which I cannot with propriety do.

As to the houses, I have not yet pulled any of them down, but mean in case of any intelligence of the approach of an enemy, to set fire to them. Ward's is an old wooden building, which was formerly a redoubt, but has been carried from the place it formerly stood on, and was built house fashion; it is not worth much, though he sets a high value on it. Ir-

win's house was also a redoubt, but it is now environed by the other houses of the town of Pittsburg. 'Tis certain that if it is meant to occupy this place any length of time, as would appear to be the intention by the Commander-in-Chief, and your orders to me, these houses and several other obstructions should be instantly removed. In case of emergency, I will not hesitate a moment to do it, but these people think it hard to have it done, as long as they are not apprehensive of danger. I assure you, sir, this is a very troublesome command—sufficiently so, without being obliged to quarrel with the inhabitants. I could wish you would take these points into consideration, and instruct me respecting them.

If any troops should be sent to this quarter, or any exertions made, some few tents, at least bell tents, would be necessary. I did not make any demand of this article from the Quarter Master General, as I at that time thought them unnecessary for garrison duty. The few troops here are the most licentious men, and worst behaved I ever saw, owing, I presume, in a great measure, to this not being hitherto kept under any subordination, or tolerable degree of discipline. I will try what effect a few prompt and exemplary punishments will have. Two are now under sentence, and shall be executed to-morrow. They not only disobeyed their officer who commanded at Fort McIntosh, but actually struck him; and it is supposed would have killed him, had he not been rescued by two other soldiers.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

To the Hon. Maj. Gen. Lincoln, Secretary of War.

I believe no person has obtained a legal right for the Orchard; it is part of what is called a Proprietary Manor, the property of Mr. Penn; but when Lord Dunmore took it into his head to extend Virginia to this place, Ward and others might probably have obtained grants from him. As it is now well known to be in the State of Pennsylvania, I suppose his grants are not worth a farthing.

Be this as it may, I have no right to determine anything respecting the claimants or private property, as twenty others claim it as well as Ward.

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LETTER TO WM. MOORE, ESQ.

FORT PITT, May 9th, 1782.

SIR: Since my letter of the third instant, to your Excellency, Mr. Pentecost and Mr. Cannon have been with me; they and every intelligent person whom I have conversed with on the subject, are of opinion that it will be almost impossible even to obtain a just account of the conduct of the militia at Muskingum. No man can give any account except some of the party themselves; if, therefore, an inquiry should appear serious, they are not obliged, nor will they give evidence, for this and other reasons, I am of opinion further inquiry into the matter will not on-

ly be fruitless, but in the end may be attended with disagreeable consequences.

A volunteer expedition is talked of against Sandusky, which, if well conducted, may be of great service to this country; if they behave well on this occasion, it may also in some measure atone for the barbarity they are charged with at Muskingum. They have consulted me, and shall have every countenance in my power, if their numbers, arrangements, &c., promise a prospect of success.

Another kind of expedition is also much talked of, which is to emigrate and set up a new State. This matter is carried so far as to advertise a day of general rendezvous, the 25th inst. A certain Mr. Johnson is said to be at the head of this party. He has a form of constitution written by himself, for the new government. I am well informed he is now on the east side of the mountains, trying to purchase or otherwise provide artillery and stores. A number of people, I really believe, have serious thoughts of this matter, but I am led to think they will not be able, at this time, to put their plan into execution. Should they be so mad as to attempt it, I think they will either be cut to pieces, or they will be obliged to take protection from and join the British. Perhaps some have this in view, though a great majority are, I think, well-meaning people, who have at present no other view than to acquire large tracts of land.

As I thought a knowledge of these intentions might be useful to the Executives of Pennsylvania and Virginia, the emigrants being now subjects of both States, I have written to the Governor of Virginia on the subject also.

Mr. Johnson has been in England since the commencement of the present war. Some people think he is too trifling a being to be worthy of notice. Be this as it may, he has now many followers, and it is, I think, highly probable that men of more influence than he are privately at work. Johnson, it is said, was once in affluent circumstances, is now indigent, and was always open to corruption. I have no personal knowledge of the man, and have this character of him in too general terms to be able to assert it as genuine.

No considerable damage has been done by the savages since my arrival here last; the whole of killed and captured, that I have any account of amount to six souls. I think they must be either preparing for a great stroke, or are apprehensive of a visit from us.

I have the honor to be, &c.

His Excellency, Wm. Moore, Esq., President of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

LETTER TO GEN. WASHINGTON.

FORT PITT, July 11th, 1782.

SIR:—Dr. Knight (a surgeon I sent with Col. Crawford,) returned on the 4th instant to this place; he brings an account of the melancholy fate of poor Crawford. The day after the main body retreated, the Colonel, Doctor, and nine others, were overtaken about thirty miles from the field of action, by a body of Indians, to whom they surrendered, were taken back to Sandusky, where they all, except the Doctor, were put to death; the unfortunate Colonel, in particular, was burned and tortured in every manner they could invent. The Doctor, after being a spectator of this distressing scene, was sent to the Shawnese town under guard of one Indian, where he was told he would share the same fate next day; but fortunately found an opportunity of demolishing the fellow, and making his escape. The Doctor adds that a certain Simon Girty, who was formerly in our service and deserted with McKee, is now said to have a commission in the British service, was present at torturing Col. Crawford; and that he (the Doctor) was informed by an Indian that a British Captain commands at Sandusky, that he believes he was present also, but is not certain; but says he saw a person there who was dressed and appeared like a British officer. He also says the Colonel begged of Girty to shoot him, but he paid no regard to the request. A certain Shlover has also come in yesterday, who was under sentence at the Shawnese town; he says a Mr. Wm. Harrison, son-in-law to Col. Crawford, was quartered and burned. Both he and the Doctor say they were assured by several Indians whom they formerly knew, that not a single soul should in future escape torture, and gave as a reason for this conduct the Moravian affair. A number of people informed me that Col. Crawford ought to be considered as a Continental Officer, and are of opinion retaliation should take place. These, however, are such facts as I can get. Dr. Knight is a man of undoubted veracity.

This account has struck the people of this country with a strange mixture of fear and resentment. Their solicitations for making another excursion are increasing daily, and they are actually beginning to prepare for it.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

To His Excellency General Washington.

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RECEPTION AT FORT PITT OF THE INTELLIGENCE OF  
THE CAPTURE OF CORNWALLIS' ARMY.

FORT PITT, Nov. 6th, 1781.

Parole, General. Countersign, Joy.

General Irvine has the pleasure to congratulate the Troops on the great and glorious news. Lord Cornwallis, with the troops under his command,



surrendered prisoners of war on the 19th of October last, to the allied army of America and France, under the immediate command of his Excellency General Washington. The prisoners amount to upwards of five thousand regular troops, near two thousand Tories, and as many negroes, besides a number of merchants and other followers.

Thirteen pieces of artillery will be fired this day, at 1 o'clock, in the Fort, at which time the Troops will be under arms, with their colors displayed. The Commissaries will issue a gill of liquor extraordinary to the non-commissioned officers and privates on this joyful occasion.

Accurate regimental returns to be made to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock, of the officers and dates of their commissions, together with rolls of the non-commissioned officers, drums and fifes, and privates,—accounting for every man, where he is, how employed, and time so employed.

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### THE MARCH OF GEN. BRADDOCK.

At page 467 of this volume of the *Olden Time*, we stated that we had received from Mr. Atkinson, an engineer employed in the survey of the Pittsburgh and Connellsville Railroad, a very able and interesting article, on the march of Gen. Braddock to the fatal field in the vicinity of this city. We also stated that we had received with the article a map of the country through which that march was made, prepared by Mr. Middleton, an assistant of Mr. Atkinson. These two documents, taken in connection with the letter of Mr. Sparks, to the Editor of the *Olden Time*, cast more light upon the movements and difficulties of the unfortunate army, than all the publications that have ever appeared on the subject,

The march, and especially the defeat, of the army, is a matter of great interest in the annals of our country, not only on account of its injurious influence upon the frontiers of the country, but also on account of its connection with the early history of that truly great man George Washington. In the campaigns of 1754 and 1755, and especially on the day of Braddock's defeat, he gave the first evidences of that firmness, fortitude, and sound judgment which characterized his after-life, and which were so eminently useful in our struggle for independence. All additional information in relation to those early scenes must possess interest to every intelligent American; and we rejoice in the opportunity of placing Mr. Atkinson's valuable communication and the accompanying map before the readers of the *Olden Time*.

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### BRADDOCK'S ROUTE TO THE BATTLE OF THE MONONGAHELA.

The interest with which the routes of celebrated expeditions are regarded, and the confusion which attends them after the lapse of years, is well exemplified in the case of Hannibal, whose march towards Rome,

in order to divert their army from the siege of Capua, was totally lost in the course of a few centuries. The constant blunders of Livy in copying first from one writer, and then from another who made him take a different path, justify a recent English historian who went to Italy to see the ground for himself, in saying that the Punic War was almost as hard in the writing as the fighting.

As the time is coming when the road by which the unfortunate Braddock marched to his disastrous field, will be invested with antiquarian interest, akin to that attending Hannibal's route, or rather the *via sclerata*, by which the Fabian family marched out of Rome. I have thought it time not idly spent to attempt to pursue its scattered traces as far as it is in my power, among more pressing occupations. In this sketch, I do not design to pursue it to its extent, but only to identify it in those parts, where it has been convenient for me to visit it, and in others to shadow out its general direction. Where it is obscure, I hope to have opportunities to examine it at a future day.

Of the well conducted expedition of Col. Bouquet, and its precise path, the publications of Mr. Hutchins, the geographer, who was one of the engineers, leaves us very well informed. It is presumable that similar details would be found of the march of 1755, if it had had a successful termination. The three engineers who were in the field were wounded; and it is probable their papers fell into the hands of the enemy, or were lost in the flight.

General Braddock landed at Alexandria on the 20th of February, 1755. The selection of this port for the debarkation of the troops, was censured at the time, though it is probable it had the approval of Washington. The two Regiments he brought with him were very defective in numbers, having but about 500 men each, and it was expected their ranks would be recruited in America. It is shown by the repeated requests on this point made by the General at Cumberland, that this expectation was vain. After numerous delays, and a conference with the Royal Governors, we find Gen. Braddock *en route* on the 24th of April, when he had reached Fredericktown, in Maryland. Passing thence through Winchester, Va., he reached Fort Cumberland about the 9th of May. Sir John Sinclair, Deputy Quarter Master General, had preceded him to this point about two weeks.\*

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\*Many misstatements are prevalent in the country adjacent to the line of marches especially east of Cumberland, the traditionary name of Braddock's route being often, applied to routes we know he did not pursue. It is probable the ground of the application consists in their having been used by the Quarter Master's men in bringing on those Pennsylvania wagons and pack horses procured by Dr. Franklin, with so much trouble and at so great expense of truth. Sir John Sinclair wore a Hussar's cap, and Franklin made use of the circumstance to terrify the German settlers with the belief that he was a Hussar who would administer to them the tyrannical treatment they had experienced in their own country, if they did not comply with his wishes. It is singu-

The army struck the Little Cacapehon, (though pronounced Cacapon, I have used for the occasion the spelling of Washington, and various old documents,) about six miles above its mouth, and following the stream, encamped on the Virginia side of the Potomac, preparatory to crossing into Maryland. The water is supposed to have been high at the time, as the spot is known as the Ferry-fields, from the army having been ferried over. This was about the 4th or 5th of May.

The army thence pursued the banks of the river, with a slight deviation of route at the mouth of the South Branch, to the village of Old Town, known at that time as the Shawnee Old Town, modern use having dropped the most characteristic part of the name. This place, distant about eight miles from the Ferry-fields, was known at that early day as the residence of Col. Thomas Cresap, an English settler, and the father of the hero of Logan's speech. The road proceeded thence parallel with the river and at the foot of the hills, till it passed the narrows of Will's Mountain, when it struck out a shorter line coincident with the present county road, and lying between the rail road and the mountain, to Fort Cumberland.

From the Little Cacapehon to this point the ground was comparatively easy, and the road had been generally judiciously chosen. Thenceforward the character of the ground was altered, not so much in the general aspect of the country, as that the march was about to abandon the valleys, and now the real difficulties of the expedition may be said to commence.

The fort had been commenced the previous year, after the surrender at the Great Meadows, by Col. Innes, who had with him the two independent companies of New York and South Carolina. It mounted ten four pounders, besides swivels, and was favorably situated to keep the hostile Indians in check.\*

The army now consisted of 1000 regulars, 30 sailors, and 1200 provincials, besides a train of artillery. The provincials were from New York and Virginia; one company from the former colony was commanded by Capt. Gates, afterwards the hero of Saratoga. On the 8th of June, Braddock having, through the interest and exertions of Dr. Franklin, principally, got 150 wagons and 2000 horses from Pennsylvania, was ready to march.

*Scaroodaya*, successor to the Half-King of the Senecas, and *Monacootooha*, whose acquaintance Washington had made on the Ohio, on his

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lar that a small brook and an obscure country road in Berkley County, Va., bear the name of Sir John's Run, and Sir John's Road, supposed to be taken from the name of this officer.

\*The original name of Cumberland was Cucubetuc, and from its favorable position on the Potomac, it was most probably the site of a Shawnee village, like Old-town; moreover, it was marked by an Indian name, a rare occurrence in this vicinity, if any judgment may be drawn from the few that have been preserved.

mission to Le Bœuf, with about 150 Indians, Senecas and Delawares, accompanied him. George Croghan, the Indian Agent of Pennsylvania, and a friendly Indian of great value, called Susquehanna Jack, were also with him.

The first brigade under Sir Peter Halket, led the way on the 8th, and on the 9th the main body followed. Some idea of the difficulties they encountered; may be had when we perceive they spent the third night only five miles from the first. The place of encampment, which is about one third of a mile from the toll-gate on the National Road, is marked by a copious spring bearing Braddock's name.

For reasons not easy to divine, the route across Will's Mountain first adopted for the National Road was selected, instead of the more favorable one through the narrows of Will's Creek, to which the road has been changed within a few years, for the purpose of avoiding that formidable ascent. The traces are very distinct on the east and west slopes, the modern road crossing it frequently. From the western foot, the route continued up Braddock's Run to the forks of the stream, where Clary's tavern now stands, 9 miles from Cumberland, when it turned to the left, in order to reach a point on the ridge favorable to an easy descent into the valley of George's Creek. It is surprising that having reached this high ground, the favorable spur by which the National Road accomplishes the ascent of the Great Savage Mountain, did not strike the attention of the engineers, as the labor requisite to surmount the barrier from the deep valley of George's Creek, must have contributed greatly to those bitter complaints which Braddock made against the Colonial Governments for their failure to assist him more effectively in the transportation department.

Passing then a mile to the south of Frostburg, the road approaches the east foot of Savage Mountain, which it crosses about one mile south of the National road, and thence by very favorable ground through the dense forests of white pine peculiar to this region, it got to the north of the National Road, near the gloomy tract called the *Shades of Death*. This was the 15th of June, when the dense gloom of the summer woods, and the favorable shelter which these enormous pines would give an Indian enemy, must have made a most sensible impression on all minds, of the insecurity of their mode of advance.

This doubtless had its share in causing the council of war held at the Little Meadows\* the next day. To this place, distant only about twenty miles from Cumberland, Sir John Sinclair and Maj. Chapman had been dispatched on the 27th of May, to build a fort; the army having been 7 days in reaching it, it follows as the line of march was upwards of three miles long, the rear was just getting under way when the advance were lighting their evening fires.

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\* This interesting locality lies at the west foot of the Meadow Mountain, which is one

Here it may be well enough to clear up an obscurity which enters into many narratives of these early events, from confusing the names of the *Little Meadows* and *Great Meadows*, *Little Crossings* and *Great Crossings*, which are all distinct localities.

The *Little Meadows* have been described as at the foot of Meadow Mountain; it is well to note that the *Great Meadows* are about 31 miles further west, and near the east foot of Laurel Hill,

By the *Little Crossings* is meant the Ford of Casselman's River, a tributary of the Youghiogheny; and by the *Great Crossings*, the passage of the Youghiogheny itself. The Little Crossing is 2 miles west of the Little Meadows, and the Great Crossing 17 miles further west.

The conclusion of the council was to push on with a picked force of 1200 men; and 12 pieces of cannon, and the line of march, now more compact, was resumed on the 19th. Passing over ground to the south of the Little Crossings, and of the village of Grantsville, which it skirted, the army spent the night of the 21st at the Bear Camp, a locality I have not been able to identify, but suppose it to be about midway to the Great Crossings, which it reached on the 23d. The route thence to the Great Meadows or Fort Necessity, was well chosen, though over a mountainous tract, conforming very nearly to the ground now occupied by the National Road, and keeping on the dividing ridge between the waters flowing into the Youghiogheny on the one hand, and the Cheat River on the other. Having crossed the Youghiogheny, we are now on the classic ground of Washington's early career, where the skirmish with Jumonville, and Fort Necessity, indicate the country laid open for them in the previous year. About one mile west of the Great Meadows, and near the spot now marked as Braddock's Grave, the road struck off more to the north-west, in order to reach a pass through Laurel Hill, that would enable them to strike the Youghiogheny, at a point afterwards known as Stewart's Crossing, and about half a mile below the present town of Connellsville. This part of the route is marked by the farm known as Mount Braddock. This second crossing of the Youghiogheny was ef-

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of the most important of the Allegheny Ridges, in Pennsylvania especially, where it constitutes the dividing ridge between the eastern and western waters. A rude entrenchment, about half a mile north of the Inn on the National Road, kept by Mr. Huddleson, marks the site of this fort. This is most probably the field of a skirmish spoken of in frontier history, between a Mr. Parris, with a scouting party from Fort Cumberland, and the Sieur Donville, commanding some French and Indians, in which the French officer was slain. The tradition is distinctly preserved in the vicinity, with a misapprehension of Washington's participation in it, arising probably from the partial resemblance between the names of Donville and Jumonville. From the positiveness of the information, in regard to the battle ground, conflicting with what we know of Jumonville's death, it seems probable enough that this was the scene of this Indian skirmish; and as such, it possesses a classic interest, valuable in proportion to the scarcity of such places. For a notice of Mon. Donville's death, see vol. I, page 75.

fectcd on the 30th of June. The high grounds intervening between the river and its next tributary, Jacob's Creek, though trivial in comparison with what they had already passed, it may be supposed, presented serious obstacles to the troops, worn out with previous exertions. On the 3d of July a council of war was held at Jacob's Creek, to consider the propriety of bringing forward Col. Dunbar with the reserve, and although urged by Sir John Sinclair with, as one may suppose, his characteristic vehemence, the measure was rejected on sufficient grounds. From the crossing of Jacob's Creek, which was at the point where Welchhanse's Mill now stands, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles below Mount Pleasant, the route stretched off to the north, crossing the Mount Pleasant turnpike near the village of the same name, and thence by a more westerly course, passing the Great Sewickley near Painter's Salt Works, thence south and west of the Post Office of Madison and Jacksonville, it reached the Brush Fork of Turtle Creek. It must strike those who examine the map, that the route for some distance, in the rear and ahead of Mount Pleasant, is out of the proper direction for Fort Duquesne, and accordingly we find on the 7th of July, Gen. Braddock in doubt as to his proper way of proceeding.—The crossing of Brush Creek which he had now reached, appeared to be attended with so much hazard, that parties were sent to reconnoitre, some of whom advanced so far as to kill a French officer within half a mile of Fort Duquesne.

Their examinations induced a great divergence to the left, and availing himself of the valley of Long Run, which he turned into, as is supposed, at Stewartsville, passing by the place now known as Samson's Mill, the army made one of the best marches of the campaign, and halted for the night at a favorable depression between that stream and Crooked Run, and about two miles from the Monongahela. At this spot, about four miles from the battle ground, which is yet well known as Braddock's Spring, he was rejoined by Washington on the morning of the 9th of July.

The approach to the river was now down the valley of Crooked Run to its mouth, where the point of fording is still manifest, from a deep notch in the west bank, though rendered somewhat obscure by the improved navigation of the river. The advance, under Col. Gage, crossed about 8 o'clock, and continued by the foot of the hill bordering the broad river bottom to the second fording, which he had effected nearly as soon as the rear had got through the first.

The second and last fording at the mouth of Turtle Creek, was in full view of the enemy's position, and about one mile distant. By 1 o'clock the whole army had gained the right bank, and was drawn up on the bottom land, near Frazier's house, (spoken of by Washington, as his stopping place, on his mission to Le Bœuf,) and about three fourths of a mile distant from the ambushade.



The advance was now about to march, and while a part of the army was yet standing on the plain, the firing was heard. Not an enemy had yet been seen.

As I have now traced the expedition to the scene of the disaster, I refer those who are interested in the particulars of the battle, to the previous numbers of the *Olden Time*.\*

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### SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR.

Mr. Atkinson, in the foregoing article, speaks of the vehement manner of this gentleman, of which we have a very fair sample in a communication from several gentlemen to Mr. Morris, then Governor of Pennsylvania. Those gentlemen had been appointed on the 12th of March, 1755, to survey and lay out a road "as near as they could to the Ohio, and another to Fort Cumberland."

They set out from Carlisle on the 29th of March, and reached the waters of the Youghiogheny on the 11th of April. On their way home they saw Sir John at Fort Cumberland. The following letter explains the purport of their interview:

FORT CUMBERLAND, April 16th, 1755.

Honored Sir:—In pursuance of your commission, we set out on the road from Carlisle on the 29th of March, and with the greatest industry reached the waters of Youghiogheny on the 11th inst. We stopped at about eighteen miles on this side of the Three Forks, and would have proceeded farther, had we not had certain intelligence of great numbers of French and Indians hunting, and scouting, &c. Our Indians all fled from us, some at Ray's Town, and some on the Allegheny Hills, save one Delaware.

We were very fortunate in finding a good road all the way, and particularly through the Allegheny hills, considering how mountainous that country is. From Parnel's Knob, or McDowell's Mill, to where we stopped, is about sixty-nine miles, and were it not for the interposition of mountains, would not be so far by ten or fifteen miles. The expense of

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\*In reviewing the roads used by the pioneers over the Alleghenies, it is surprising to perceive how correctly the Indians had selected the most favorable passes, and indicates an extensive acquaintance with that rugged region. The Rev. Mr. Jacobs, whose little book in defence of Col. Cresap, against the charge of Mr. Jefferson, is quite a rarity, states as a fact, that an Indian named Nemacolin was employed by the Ohio Company to mark out the best road across the mountains, and that the path shown by him was afterwards widened by the Company, and still further improved by Braddock. Mr. Jacobs having married the widow of Col. Cresap, and having also been his confidential clerk from his boyhood, his statements have an authenticity apart from his respectable character. Nemacolin was a Delaware, and his son lived in the Cresap family many years.

making the road thirty feet wide, and the principal pitches twenty, will make an expense of about eight hundred pounds.

Last Saturday evening we came to the camp, and were kindly received by the officers, but particularly Capt. Rutherford. We waited for Sir John coming to camp from the road towards Winchester, who came this day at three o'clock, but treated us in a very disagreeable manner. He is extremely warm and angry at our province; he would not look at our draughts, nor suffer any representations to be made to him in regard to the province, but stormed like a lion rampant. He said our commission to lay out the road should have issued in January last, upon his first letter; that doing it now is doing nothing; that the troops must march on the first of May; that the want of this road and the provisions promised by Pennsylvania, has retarded the expedition, which may cost them their lives, because of the fresh number of the French, that are suddenly like to be poured into the country. That instead of marching to the Ohio, he would in nine days march his army into Cumberland county to cut the roads, press horses, wagons, &c. That he would not suffer a soldier to handle an axe, but by fire and sword oblige the inhabitants to do it, and take every man that refused to the Ohio, as he had yesterday some of the Virginians. That he would kill all kind of cattle, and carry away the horses, burn houses, &c.; and that if the French defeated them by the delays of this province, that he would with his sword drawn pass through the province, and treat the inhabitants as a parcel of traitors to his master. That he would to-morrow write to England by a man-of-war, shake Mr. Penn's proprietaryship, and represent Pennsylvania as disaffected. That he would not stop to impress our Assembly, that his hands were not tied, as we should find. Ordering us to take these precautions, and instantly publishing them to our Governor and Assembly, telling us he did not value any thing they did or resolved, seeing they were dilatory, retarded the march of the troops, and hung an arse (as he phrased it) on this occasion; and told us to go to the General if we pleased, who would give us ten bad words for one he had given.

At length he allowed us to speak which we did in favor of the province, to the best of our powers. Captain Rutherford and Colonel Ennis assisted us, but all in vain; our delays were unpardonable; he would do our duty himself, and never trust to us, but we should dearly repent of it. To every sentence he solemnly swore, and desired we might believe him to be in earnest.

In these circumstances, sir, and especially as we have not yet run the camp road, we cannot send your honor a draught, but thought best forthwith to send you this express, that your honor might take the most speedy measures in regard to opening the road.

In the meantime, we have taken the liberty to write to the representatives of our county, to know whether the Assembly had made provision for opening the road, and if so, that they would immediately encour-

age people to set about it; and also to send the flour without delay to the mouth of Conegochege, as being the only thing or remedy left to prevent these threatened mischiefs. We acquainted Capt. Rutherford of our design, who approved it much. We expect to be home in six days. Please, sir, to excuse the blunders of this letter, written at one o'clock last night.

We remain, honored sir, your most obedient and humble servants,

GEORGE CROGHAN,  
JAMES BURD,  
JOHN ARMSTRONG,  
WM. BUCHANAN,  
AD. HOOPS.

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### THE WESTERN INSURRECTION.

This affair, which took place in 1794, does not, in chronological order, claim notice in the *Olden Time* at present; but the determination to suspend the publication of that work with the present number, has left us no alternative, but to introduce it now, or to exclude it altogether. This pressure has driven us to select from existing narratives, instead of preparing one ourself, which we might have done, had our periodical continued until that event was reached in regular chronological order. We have, therefore, taken the report of that great man *Alexander Hamilton*, upon the subject, believing it to contain the briefest, most luminous, and impartial account of the origin of an affair which once agitated the country around us.

For the conclusion of the history of the disturbance, we have extracted a portion of the account of Chief Justice Marshall, in his "Life of Washington." The Report and the extract together, will give to our readers a plain, straight-forward history of that lawless outbreak, of which no dispassionate narrative suited for general circulation has yet appeared.

Some other accounts heretofore published are, in fact, excuses or defences, prepared by persons more or less closely implicated in the criminality of the transactions narrated; and, of course, partake more of the character of the advocate than of the historian.

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### OPPOSITION TO EXCISE LAW IN PENNSYLVANIA.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, August 5th, 1794.

SIR: The disagreeable crisis at which matters have lately arrived in some of the western counties of Pennsylvania, with regard to the laws laying duties on spirits distilled within the United States, and on stills, seems to render proper a review of the circumstances which have attended these laws in that scene, from their commencement to the present

time, and of the conduct which has hitherto been observed on the part of the Government, its motives and effect, in order to a better judgment of the measures necessary to be pursued in the existing emergency.

The opposition to those laws in the four most western counties of Pennsylvania, (Allegheny, Washington, Fayette and Westmoreland,) commenced as early as they were known to have been passed. It was continued, with different degrees of violence, in the different counties; and at different periods; but Washington has uniformly distinguished its resistance by a more excessive spirit than has appeared in the other counties, and seems to have been chiefly instrumental in kindling and keeping alive the flame.

The opposition first manifested itself in the milder shape of the circulation of opinions unfavorable to the law, and calculated, by the influence of public disesteem, to discourage the accepting or holding of offices under it, or the complying with it by those who might be disposed; to which was added a show of the discontinuance of the business of distilling.

These expedients were shortly after succeeded by private associations to *forbear* compliance with the law. But it was not long before these mere negative modes of opposition were perceived to be likely to prove ineffectual. And in proportion as this was the case, and as the means of introducing the laws into operation were put into execution, the disposition to resistance became more turbulent, and more inclined to adopt and practise violent expedients; the officers now began to experience marks of contempt and insult; threats against them became more frequent and loud; and, after some time, these threats were ripened into acts of ill-treatment and outrage.

These acts of violence were preceded by certain meetings of malcontent persons, who entered into resolutions calculated at once to confirm, inflame, and systematize the spirit of opposition.

The first of these meetings was held at a place called Redstone (Old Fort) on the 27th of July, 1791, where it was concerted that county committees should be convened in the four counties, at the respective seats of justice therein. On the 23d of August following one of these committees assembled in the county of Washington.

This meeting passed some intemperate resolutions, which were afterwards printed in the Pittsburgh Gazette, containing a strong censure on the law, declaring that any person who had accepted or might accept an office under Congress, in order to carry it into effect, should be considered as inimical to the interests of the country; and recommending to the citizens of Washington county to treat every person who had accepted, or might thereafter accept any such office, with contempt, and absolutely to refuse all kind of communication or intercourse with the officers, and withhold from them all aid, support, or comfort.

Not content with this vindictive proscription of those who might esteem it their duty, in the capacity of officers, to aid in the execution of the

constitutional laws of the land, the meeting proceeded to accumulate topics of crimination of the Government, though foreign to each other; authorizing by this zeal for censure a suspicion that they were actuated not merely by the dislike of a particular law, but by a disposition to render the Government itself unpopular and odious.

This meeting, in further prosecution of their plan, deputed three of their members to meet delegates from the counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, and Allegheny, on the first Tuesday of September following, for the purpose of expressing the sense of the people of those counties in an address to the Legislature of the United States upon the subject of the excise law and *other grievances*.

Another meeting accordingly took place on the 7th of September, 1791, at Pittsburgh, in the county of Allegheny, at which there appeared three persons in character of delegates from the four western counties.

This meeting entered into resolutions more comprehensive in their objects, and not less inflammatory in their tendency than those which had before passed the meeting in Washington. Their resolutions contained severe censures, not only on the law which was the immediate subject of objection, but upon what they termed the exorbitant salaries of officers; the unreasonable interest of the public debt; the want of discrimination between original holders and transferees, and the institution of a national bank. The same unfriendly temper towards the Government of the U. States, which seems to have led out of their way the meeting at Washington, appears to have produced a similar wandering in that at Pittsburgh.

A representation to Congress, and a remonstrance to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, against the law more particularly complained of, were prepared by this meeting, published, together with their other proceedings, in the Pittsburgh Gazette, and afterwards presented to the respective bodies to whom they were addressed.

These meetings, composed of very influential persons, and conducted without moderation or prudence, are justly chargeable with the excesses which have been from time to time committed; serving to give consistency to an opposition which has at length matured to a point that threatens the foundations of the Government and of the Union, unless speedily and effectually subdued.

On the 6th of the same month of September, the opposition broke out in an act of violence upon the person and property of Robert Johnson, collector of the revenue for the counties of Allegheny and Washington.

A party of men, armed and disguised, waylaid him at a place on Pigeon Creek, in Washington county, seized, tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair, and deprived him of his horse, obliging him to travel on foot a considerable distance in that mortifying and painful situation.

The case was brought before the District Court of Pennsylvania, out of

which processes issued against John Robertson, John Hamilton, and Thomas McComb, three of the persons concerned in the outrage.

The serving of these processes was confided by the then marshal, Clement Biddle, to his deputy, Joseph Fox, who, in the month of October, went into Allegheny county for the purpose of serving them.

The appearances and circumstances which Mr. Fox observed himself in the course of his journey, and learned afterwards upon his arrival at Pittsburgh, had the effect of deterring him from the service of the process, and unfortunately led to adopt the injudicious and fruitless expedient of sending them to the parties by a private messenger, under cover.

The deputy's report to the marshal states a number of particulars, evincing a considerable fermentation in the part of the country to which he was sent, and inducing a belief, on his part, that he could not with safety have executed the processes. The marshal, transmitting this report to the district attorney, makes the following observations upon it: "I am sorry to add that he (the deputy) found the people, in general, in the western part of State, and particularly beyond the Allegheny mountains, in such a ferment on account of the act of Congress for laying a duty on distilled spirits, and so much opposed to the execution of said act, from a variety of threats to himself personally, (although he took the utmost precaution to conceal his errand,) that he was not only convinced of the impossibility of serving the process, but that any attempt to effect it would have occasioned the most violent opposition from the greater part of the inhabitants; and declares that, if he had attempted it, he believes he should not have returned alive.

"I spared no expense nor pains to have the process of the court executed, and have not the least doubt that my deputy would have accomplished it, if it could have been done."

The reality of the danger to the deputy was countenanced by the opinion of General Neville, the inspector of the revenue, a man who before had given, and since has given, numerous proofs of a steady and firm temper, and what followed is a further confirmation of it.

The person who had been sent with the processes was seized, whipped, tarred and feathered; and, after having his money and horse taken from him, was blindfolded and tied in the woods, in which condition he remained for five hours.

Very serious reflections naturally occurred upon this occasion. It seemed highly probable, from the issue of the experiment which had been made, that the ordinary course of civil process would be ineffectual for enforcing the execution of the law in the scene in question, and that a perseverance in this course might lead to a serious concussion. The law itself was still in the infancy of its operation, and far from established in other important portions of the Union. Prejudices against it had been industriously disseminated, misrepresentations diffused, misconceptions fostered. The Legislature of the United States had not yet organized



the means by which the Executive could come in aid of the Judiciary, when found incompetent to the execution of the laws. If neither of these impediments to a decisive exertion had existed, it was desirable, especially in a republican government, to avoid what is in such cases the ultimate resort, till all the milder means had been tried without success.

Under the united influence of these considerations, it appeared advisable to forbear urging coercive measures until the law had gone into more extensive operation; till further time for reflection and experience of its operation had served to correct false impressions, and inspire greater moderation; and till the Legislature had had an opportunity, by a revision of the law, to remove, as far as possible, objections, and to reinforce the provisions for securing its execution.

Other incidents occurred, from time to time, which are further proofs of the very improper temper that prevailed among the inhabitants of the refractory counties.

Mr. Johnson was not the only officer who, about the same period, experienced outrage. Mr. Wells, collector of the revenue for Westmoreland and Fayette, was also ill-treated at Greensburg and Uniontown. Nor were the outrages perpetrated confined to the officers; they extended to private citizens, who only dared to show their respect for the laws of their country.

Some time in October, 1791, an unhappy man of the name of Wilson, a stranger in the county, and manifestly disordered in his intellect, imagining himself to be a collector of the revenue, or invested with some trust in relation to it, was so unlucky as to make inquiries concerning distillers who had entered their stills, giving out that he was to travel thro' the United States, to ascertain and report to Congress the number of stills, &c. This man was pursued by a party in disguise; taken out of his bed, carried about five miles back, to a smith-shop, stripped of his clothes, which were afterwards burnt, and having been himself inhumanly burnt in several places with a heated iron, was tarred and feathered, and about daylight dismissed, naked, wounded and otherwise in a very suffering condition. These particulars are communicated in a letter from the inspector of the revenue, of the 17th of November, who declares that he had then himself seen the unfortunate maniac, the abuse of whom, as he expresses it, exceeded description, and was sufficient to make human nature shudder. The affair is the more extraordinary, as persons of weight and consideration in that county are understood to have been actors in it, and as the symptoms of insanity were, during the whole time of inflicting the punishment, apparent; the unhappy sufferer displayed the heroic fortitude of a man who conceived himself to be a martyr to the discharge of some important duty.

Not long after, a person of the name of Roseberry underwent the humiliating punishment of tarring and feathering, with some aggravations,

for having in conversation hazarded the very natural and just, but unpalatable remark, that the inhabitants of that county could not reasonably expect protection from a Government they so strenuously opposed.

The audacity of the perpetrators of these excesses was so great, that an armed banditti ventured to seize and carry off two persons who were witnesses against the rioters in the case of Wilson, in order to prevent their giving testimony of the riot to a court then sitting or about to sit.

Designs of personal violence against the inspector of the revenue himself, to force him to a resignation, were repeatedly attempted to be put in execution by armed parties, but, by different circumstances were frustrated.

In the session of Congress which commenced in October, 1791, the law laying a duty on distilled spirits and stills, came under the revision of Congress, as had been anticipated. By an act passed May 8th, 1792, during that session, material alterations were made in it; among these, the duty was reduced to a rate so moderate, as to have silenced complaint on that head; and a new and very favorable alternative was given to the distiller—that of paying a monthly instead of a yearly rate, according to the capacity of his still, with liberty to take a license for the precise term which he should intend to work it, and to renew that license for a further term or terms.

This amending act, in its progress through the Legislature, engaged the particular attention of members, who themselves were interested in distilleries, and of others who represented parts of the county in which the business of distilling was extensively carried on.

Objections were well considered, and great pains taken to obviate all such as had the semblance of reasonableness.

The effect has, in a great measure, corresponded with the views of the Legislature. Opposition has subsided in several districts where it before prevailed, and it was natural to entertain, and not easy to abandon a hope, that the same thing would by degrees have taken place in the four western counties of this State.

But notwithstanding some flattering appearances at particular junctures, and infinite pains, by various expedients, to produce the desirable issue, the hope entertained has never been realized, and is now at an end, as far as the ordinary means of executing laws are concerned.

The first law had left the number and positions of the officers of inspection, which were to be established in each district for receiving entries of stills, to the discretion of the supervisor. The second, to secure a due accommodation to distillers, provides, peremptorily, that there shall be one in each county.

The idea was immediately embraced that it was a very important point in the scheme of opposition to the law, to prevent the establishment of offices in the respective counties.

For this purpose, the intimidation of well-disposed inhabitants was added to the plan of molesting and obstructing the officers, by force or otherwise, as might be necessary. So effectually was the first point carried, (the certain destruction of property and the peril of life being involved,) that it became almost impracticable to obtain suitable places for offices in some of the counties; and, when obtained, it was found a matter of necessity, in almost every instance, to abandon them.

After much effort, the inspector of revenue succeeded in procuring the house of William Faulkner, a captain in the army, for an office of inspection in the county of Washington. This took place in August, 1792. The office was attended by the inspector of the revenue in person, till prevented by the following incidents:

Captain Faulkner, being in pursuit of some deserters from the troops, was encountered by a number of persons in the same neighborhood where Mr. Johnson had been ill-treated the preceding year, who reproached him with letting his house for an office of inspection, drew a knife upon him, threatened to scalp him, tar and feather him, and reduce his house and property to ashes, if he did not solemnly promise to prevent the further use of his house for an office. Capt. Faulkner was induced to make the promise exacted; and, in consequence of the circumstance, wrote a letter to the inspector, dated the 20th of August, countermanding the permission for using his house; and the day following gave a public notice in the Pittsburgh Gazette that the office of inspector should no longer be kept there.

At the same time another engine of opposition was in operation.— Agreeable to a previous notification, there met at Pittsburgh, on the 21st of August, a number of persons, styling themselves “A meeting of sundry inhabitants of the western counties of Pennsylvania.”

This meeting entered into resolutions not less exceptionable than those of its predecessors. The preamble suggests that a *a tax on spiritous liquors* is unjust in itself, and oppressive upon the poor; that *internal taxes upon consumption* must, in the end, destroy the liberties of every country in which they are introduced; that the law in question, from certain local circumstances, which are specified, would bring immediate distress and ruin upon the western country; and concludes with the sentiment that they think it their duty to persist in remonstrances to Congress, and in every other *legal* measure that may obstruct the *operation* of the law.

The resolutions then proceeded, first, to appoint a committee to prepare and cause to be presented to Congress an address, stating objections to the law, and praying for its repeal; second, to appoint a committee of correspondence for Washington, Fayette, and Allegheny, charged to correspond together, and with such committees as should be appointed for the same purpose in the county of Westmoreland, or with any committee of a similar nature that might be appointed in other parts of the United

States; and also, if found necessary, to call together either general meetings of the people in their respective counties, or conferences of the several committees; and, lastly, to declare that they will in future consider those who hold offices for the collection of the duty as unworthy of their friendship; that they will have no intercourse nor dealing with them, will withdraw from them every assistance, withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow citizens we owe to each other, and will upon all occasions treat them with contempt; earnestly recommending it to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them.

The idea of pursuing *legal* measures to *obstruct* the *operation* of a *law* needs little comment. Legal measures may be pursued to procure the repeal of a law, but to obstruct its operation presents a contradiction in terms. The operation, (or, what is the same thing, the execution) of a law cannot be obstructed after it has been constitutionally enacted, without illegality and crime. The expression quoted is one of those phrases which can only be used to conceal a disorderly and culpable intention under forms that may escape the hold of the law.

Neither was it difficult to perceive that the anathema pronounced against the officers of the revenue placed them in a state of virtual outlawry, and operated as a signal to all those who were bold enough to encounter the guilt, and the danger to violate both their lives and their property.

The foregoing proceedings, as soon as known, were reported by the Secretary of the Treasury to the President. The President, on the 15th of September, 1792, issued a proclamation "earnestly exhorting and admonishing all persons whom it might concern to refrain and desist from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatever, having for object, or tending, to obstruct the operation of the laws aforesaid, inasmuch as all lawful ways and means would be put in execution for bringing to justice the infractors thereof, and securing obedience thereto; and, moreover, charging and requiring all courts, magistrates, and officers, whom it might concern, according to the duties of their several offices, to exert the powers in them respectively vested by law for the purposes aforesaid; thereby, also, enjoining and requiring all persons whomsoever, as they valued the welfare of their country, the just and due authority of Government, and the preservation of the public peace, to be aiding and assisting therein, according to law; and likewise directed that prosecutions might be instituted against the offenders, in the cases in which the laws would support, and the requisite evidence could be obtained.

Pursuant to these instructions, the Attorney General, in co-operation with the Attorney of the district, attended a circuit court, which was holden at Yorktown, in October, 1792, for the purpose of bringing forward prosecutions in the proper cases.

Collateral measures were taken to procure for this purpose the necessary evidence.

The supervisor of the revenue was sent into the opposing survey, to ascertain the real state of that survey, to obtain evidence of the persons who were concerned in the riot in Faulkner's case, and of those who composed the meeting in Pittsburgh, to uphold the confidence and encourage the perseverance of the officers acting under the law; and to induce, if possible, the inhabitants of that part of the survey, which appeared least disinclined to come voluntarily into the law, by arguments addressed to their sense of duty, and exhibiting the eventual dangers and mischiefs of resistance.

The mission of the supervisor had no other fruit than that of obtaining evidence of the persons who composed the meeting at Pittsburgh, and of two who were understood to be concerned in the riot; and the confirmation of the enmity which certain active and designing leaders had industriously infused into a large proportion of the inhabitants, not against the particular laws in question only, but of a more ancient date, against the Government of the United States itself.

The then Attorney General being of opinion that it was at best a doubtful point, whether the proceedings of the meeting at Pittsburgh contained indictable matter, no prosecution was attempted against those who composed it; though, if the ground for proceeding against them had appeared to be firm, it is presumed that the truest policy would have dictated that course.

Indictments were preferred to the circuit court, and found against the two persons understood to have been concerned in the riot, and the usual measures were taken for having them carried into effect.

But it appeared afterwards, from various representations, supported by satisfactory testimony, that there had been some mistake as to the persons accused, justice and policy demanded that the prosecution should be discontinued, which was accordingly done.

This issue of the business unavoidably defeated the attempt to establish examples of the punishment of persons who engaged in a violent resistance of the laws, and left the officers to struggle against the stream of resistance, without the advantage of such examples.

The following plan, afterwards successfully put in execution, was about this time digested, for carrying, if possible, the laws into effect, without the necessity of recurring to force.

1st. To prosecute delinquents in the cases in which it could be clearly done, for non-compliance with the laws. 2d. To intercept the markets for the surplus produce of the distilleries of the non-complying counties, by seizing the spirits in their way to those markets, in places where it could be effected without opposition. 3. By purchases, through agents, for the use of the army, (instead of deriving the supply through contractors, as formerly,) confining them to spirits, in respect to which there had been a compliance with the laws.

The motives for this plan speak for themselves. It aimed, besides

the influence of penalties on delinquents, at making it the general interest of the distillers to comply with the laws, by interrupting the market for a very considerable surplus, and by at the same time confining the benefit of the large demand for public service to those who did their duty to the public; and furnishing, through the means of payment in cash, that medium for paying the duties, the want of which was alleged to be a great difficulty in the way of compliance.

But two circumstances conspired to counteract the success of the plan; one, the necessity, towards incurring the penalties of non-compliance, of there being an office of inspection in each county, which was prevented in some of the counties by means of the intimidation practised for that purpose; another, the non-extension of that law to the territory north-west of the Ohio, into which a large proportion of the surplus before mentioned was sent.

A cure for these defects could only come from the Legislature; accordingly, in the session which began in November, 1792, measures were taken for procuring a further revision of the laws. A bill containing amendments of those and other defects was brought in; but it so happened that this object, by reason of more urgent business, was deferred till the close of the session, and finally went off, through the usual hurry of that period.

The continuance of the embarrassment incident to this state of things naturally tended to diminish much of the efficacy of the plan which had been devised; yet it was resolved, as far as legal provisions would bear out the officers, to pursue it with perseverance. There was ground to entertain hopes of its good effect, and it was certainly the most likely course which could have been adopted towards attaining the object of the laws by means short of force; evincing, unequivocally, the sincere disposition to avoid this painful resort, and the steady moderation, which has characterized the measures of the Government.

In pursuance of this plan, prosecutions were occasionally instituted in the mildest forms; seizures were made, as opportunities occurred, and purchases on public account were carried on.

It may be incidentally remarked, that these purchases were extended to other places, where, though the same disorders did not exist, it appeared advisable to facilitate the payment of the duties by this species of accommodation. Nor was, this plan, notwithstanding the deficiency of legal provision, which impeded its full execution, without corresponding effects.

Symptoms from time to time appeared, which authorized expectation that, with the aid, at another session, of the desired supplementary provisions, it was capable of accomplishing its end, if no extraordinary events occurred.

The opponents of the laws, not insensible of the tendency of that plan, nor of the defects of the laws which interfered with it, did not fail,



from time to time, to pursue analogous modes of counteraction. The effort to frustrate the establishment of officers of inspection in particular, was persisted in, and even increased; means of intimidating officers and others continued to be exerted.

In April, 1793, a party of armed men in disguise, made an attack in the night upon the house of a collector of the revenue, who resided in Fayette county, but he happening to be from home, they contented themselves with breaking open his house, threatening, terrifying, and abusing his family.

Warrants were issued for apprehending some of the rioters upon this occasion by Isaac Mason and John Findley, assistant Judges of Fayette county, which were delivered to the Sheriff of that county, who, it seems, refused to execute them; for which he has been since indicted.

This is at once an example of a disposition to support the laws of the Union, and of an opposite one in the local officers of Pennsylvania within the non-complying scene.

But it is a truth too important not to be noticed, and too injurious not to be lamented, that the prevailing spirit of those officers has been either hostile or lukewarm to the execution of those laws; and that the weight of an unfriendly official influence has been one of the most serious obstacles with which they have had to struggle.

In June following, the inspector of the revenue was burnt in effigy in Allegheny county, at a place and on a day of some public election, with much display, in the presence of, and without interruption from, magistrates and other public officers.

On the night of the 22d of November, another party of men, some of them armed, and all in disguise, went to the house of the same collector of Fayette, which had been visited in April, broke and entered it, and demanded a surrender of the officer's commission and official books; upon his refusal to deliver them up, they presented pistols at him, and swore that if he did not comply they would instantly put him to death. At length a surrender of the commission and books was enforced; but, not content with this, the rioters, before they departed, required of the officer that he should, within two weeks, publish his resignation, on pain of another visit, and the destruction of his house.

Notwithstanding these excesses, the laws appeared, during the latter period of this year, (1793) to be rather gaining ground. Several principal distillers, who had formerly held out, complied; and others discovered a disposition to comply, which was only restrained by the fear of violence.

But these favorable circumstances served to beget alarm among those who were determined, at all events to prevent the quiet establishment of the laws. It soon appeared that they meditated, by fresh and greater excesses, to aim a still more effectual blow at them, to subdue the growing spirit of compliance, and to destroy entirely the organs of the laws within

that part of the country, by compelling all the officers to renounce their offices.

The last proceeding, in the case of the collector of Fayette, was in this spirit. In January of the present year, further violences appear to have been perpetrated. William Richmond, who had given information against some of the rioters, in the affair of Wilson, had his barn burnt, with all the grain and hay which it contained; and the same thing happened to Robert Shawhan, a distiller, who had been among the first to comply with the law, and who had always spoken favorably of it; but in neither of these instances, (which happened in the county of Allegheny) though the presumptions were violent, was any positive proof obtained. The inspector of the revenue, in a letter of the 27th of Feb., writes that he had received information that persons living near the dividing line of Allegheny and Washington, had thrown out threats of tarring and feathering one William Cochran, a complying distiller, and of burning his distillery; and that it had also been given out that in three weeks there would not be a house left standing in Allegheny county of any person who had complied with the laws; in consequence of which, he had been induced to pay a visit to several leading individuals in that quarter, as well to ascertain the truth of the information as to endeavor to avert the attempt to execute such threats.

It appeared afterwards, that, on his return home, he had been pursued by a collection of disorderly persons, threatening, as they went along, vengeance against him. On their way, these men called at the house of James Kiddoe, who had recently complied with the laws, broke into his still-house, fired several balls under his still, and scattered fire over and about the house.

Letters from the inspector in March, announce an increased activity in promoting opposition to the laws; frequent meetings to cement and extend the combinations against them; and, among other means for this purpose, a plan of collecting a force to seize him, compel him to resign his commission, and detain him prisoner, probably as a hostage.

In May and June, new violences were committed. James Kiddoe, the person above mentioned, and William Cochran, another complying distiller, met with repeated injury to their property. Kiddoe had parts of his grist mill at different times carried away, and Cochran suffered more material injuries. His still was destroyed; his saw mill was rendered useless, by the taking away of the saw; and his grist mill so injured as to require to be repaired at considerable expense.

At the last visit a note in writing was left, requiring him to publish what he had suffered in the Pittsburgh Gazette, on pain of another visit, in which he is threatened, in figurative but intelligible terms, with the destruction of his property by fire. Thus adding to the profligacy of doing wanton injuries to a fellow citizen the tyranny of compelling him to be the publisher of his wrongs.

June being the month for receiving annual entries of stills, endeavors were used to open offices in Westmoreland and Washington, where it had been hitherto found impractical: with much pains and difficulty, places were procured for the purpose. That in Westmoreland was repeatedly attacked in the night by armed men, who frequently fired upon it; but, according to a report which has been made to this Department, it was defended with so much courage and perseverance by John Wells, an auxiliary officer, and Philip Ragan, the owner of the house, as to have been maintained during the remainder of the month.

That in Washington, after repeated attempts, was suppressed. The first attempt was confined to pulling down the sign of the office, and threats of future destruction; the second effected the object in the following mode: About twelve persons, armed and painted black, in the night of the 6th of June, broke into the house of John Lynn, where the office was kept, and, after having treacherously seduced him to come down stairs, and put himself in their power, by a promise of safety to himself and house, they seized and tied him, threatened to hang him, took him to a retired spot in the neighboring wood, and there, after cutting off his hair, tarring and feathering him, swore him never again to allow the use of his house for an office, never to disclose their names, and never again to have any sort of agency in aid of excise; having done which, they bound him naked to a tree, and left him in that situation till morning, when he succeeded in extricating himself. Not content with this, the malcontents, some days after, made him another visit, pulled down part of his house, and put him in a situation to be obliged to become an exile from his own home, and to find an asylum elsewhere.

During this time several of the distillers, who had made entries and benefitted by them, refused the payment of the duties; actuated, no doubt, by various motives.

Indications of a plan to proceed against the inspector of the revenue, in the manner which has been before mentioned, continued. In a letter from him of the 10th of July, he observed that the threatened visit had not yet been made, though he had still reason to expect it.

In the session of Congress which began in December, 1793, a bill for making the amendments in the laws, which had been for some time desired, was brought in, and on the 5th of June last became a law.

It is not to be doubted that the different stages of this business were regularly notified to the malcontents, and that a conviction of the tendency of the amendments contemplated to effectuate the execution of the law had matured the resolution to bring matters to a violent crisis.

The increasing energy of the opposition rendered it indispensable to meet the evil with proportional decision. The idea of giving time for the law to extend itself, in scenes where the dissatisfaction with it was the effect, not of an improper spirit, but of causes which were of a nature to yield to reason, reflection and experience, (which had constantly

weighed in the estimate of the measures proper to be pursued,) had had its effect, in an extensive degree. The experiment too had been long enough tried to ascertain that, where resistance continued, the root of the evil lay deep, and required measures of greater efficacy than had been pursued. The laws had undergone repeated revisions of the legislative representatives of the Union, and had virtually received their repeated sanction, without even an attempt, as far as now recollected or can be traced, to effect their repeal, affording an evidence of the general sense of the community in their favor. Complaints began to be loud from complying quarters, against the impropriety and injustice of suffering the laws to remain unexecuted in others.

Under the united influence of these considerations, there was no choice but to try the efficiency of the laws in prosecuting with vigor delinquents and offenders.

Process issued against a number of non-complying distillers in the counties of Fayette and Allegheny; and indictments having been found at a circuit court holden in Philadelphia, in July last, against Robert Smilie and John McCullough, two of the rioters in the attack which, in November preceding, had been made upon the house of a collector of the revenue in Fayette county, processes issued against them also, to bring them to trial, and, if guilty, to punishment.

The marshal of the district went in person to serve these processes. He executed his trust without interruption, though under many discouraging circumstances, in Fayette county; but while he was in the execution of it in Allegheny county, being then accompanied by the inspector of the revenue, to wit, on the 15th of July last, he was beset on the road by a party of from thirty to forty armed men, who, after much previous irregularity of conduct, finally fired upon him, but, as it happened, without injury either to him or to the inspector.

This attempt on the marshal was but the prelude of greater excesses.

About break of day, the 16th of July, in conformity with a plan which seems to have been for some time entertained, and which probably was only accelerated by the coming of the marshal into the survey, an attack by about one hundred persons, armed with guns and other weapons, was made upon the house of the inspector, in the vicinity of Pittsburgh.—The inspector, though alone, vigorously defended himself against the assailants, and obliged them to retreat without accomplishing their purpose.

Apprehending that the business would not terminate here, he made application by letter to the judges, general of militia, and sheriff of the county for protection. A reply to this application, from John Wilkins, Jr., and John Gibson, magistrate and militia officer, informed him that the laws could not be executed, so as to afford him the protection to which he was entitled, owing to the too general combination of the people in that part of Pennsylvania to oppose the revenue law; adding that they would take every step in their power to bring the rioters to justice, and would

be glad to receive information of the individuals concerned in the attack upon his house, that prosecutions might be commenced against them; and expressing their sorrow that should the *posse comitatus* of the county be ordered out in support of the civil authority, very few could be gotten that were not of the party of the rioters.

The day following the insurgents reassembled, with a considerable augmentation of numbers, amounting, as has been computed, to at least five hundred; and on the 17th of July, renewed their attack upon the house of the inspector, who in the interval, had taken the precaution of calling to his aid a small detachment from the garrison of Fort Fayette, which, at the time of the attack, consisted of 11 men, who had been joined by Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, a friend and connexion of the inspector.

There being scarcely a prospect of effectual defence against so large a body as then appeared, and as the inspector had every thing to apprehend for his person, if taken, it was judged advisable that he should withdraw from the house to a place of concealment; Major Kirkpatrick generously agreeing to remain with the eleven men, in the intention, if practicable, to make a capitulation in favor of the property; if not, to defend it as long as possible.

A parley took place under cover of a flag, which was sent by the insurgents to the house to demand that the inspector should come forth, renounce his office, and stipulate never again to accept an office under the same laws. To this it was replied that the inspector had left the house upon their first approach, and that the place to which he had retired was unknown. They then declared that they must have whatever related to his office. They were answered that they might send persons, not exceeding six, to search the house, and take away whatever papers they could find appertaining to the office. But, not satisfied with this, they insisted, unconditionally, that the armed men who were in the house for its defence should march out and ground their arms, which Major Kirkpatrick peremptorily refused; considering it and representing it to them as a proof of a design to destroy the property. This refusal put an end to the parley.

A brisk firing then ensued between the insurgents and those in the house, which, as is said, lasted for near an hour, till the assailants, having set fire to the neighboring and adjacent buildings, eight in number, the intenseness of the heat, and the danger of an immediate communication of the fire to the house, obliged Major Kirkpatrick and his small party to come out and surrender themselves. In the course of the firing one of the insurgents was killed and several wounded, and three of the persons in the house were also wounded. The person killed is understood to have been the leader of the party, of the name of James Macfarlane, then a major in the militia, formerly a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line. The dwelling house, after the surrender, shared the fate of the other buildings, the whole of which were consumed to the ground.

The loss of property to the inspector, upon the occasion, is estimated, and as it is believed, with great moderation, at not less than three thousand pounds.

The marshal, Col. Pressley Neville, and several others, were taken by the insurgents going to the inspector's house. All, except the marshal and Colonel Neville, soon made their escape; but these were carried off some distance from the place where the affray had happened, and detained till one or two o'clock the next morning. In the course of their detention, the marshal in particular suffered very severe and humiliating treatment, and was frequently in imminent danger of his life. Several of the party repeatedly presented their pieces at him with every appearance of a design to assassinate, from which they were with difficulty restrained by the efforts of a few more humane and prudent.

Nor could he obtain safety or liberty, but upon the condition of a promise, guaranteed by Colonel Neville, that he would serve no other process on the west side of the Allegheny mountain. The alternative being immediate death, extorted from the marshal a compliance with this condition, notwithstanding the just sense of official dignity, and the firmness of character which was witnessed by his conduct throughout the trying scenes he had experienced.

The insurgents, on the 18th, sent a deputation of two of their number (one a justice of the peace) to Pittsburgh, to require of the marshal a surrender of the processes in his possession, intimating that his compliance would satisfy the people, and *add to his safety*; and also, to demand of General Neville, in peremptory terms, the resignation of his office; threatening, in case of refusal, to attack the place and take him by force: demands which both these officers did not hesitate to reject, as alike incompatible with their honor and their duty.

As it was well ascertained that no protection was to be expected from the magistrates or inhabitants of Pittsburgh, it became necessary to the safety, both of the inspector and the marshal, to quit that place; and as it was known that all the usual routes to Philadelphia were beset by the insurgents, they concluded to descend the Ohio, and proceed by a circuitous route to the seat of government, which they began to put in execution on the night of the 19th of July.

Information has also been received of a meeting of a considerable number of persons at a place called Mingo Creek Meeting House, in the county of Washington, to consult upon the further measures which it might be advisable to pursue; that, at this meeting, a motion was made to approve and agree to support the proceedings which had taken place, until the excise law was repealed, and an act of oblivion passed. But that, instead of this, it had been agreed that the four western counties of Pennsylvania, and the neighboring counties of Virginia, should be invited to meet in a convention of delegates, on the 14th of the present month, at Parkinson's, on Mingo Creek, in the county of Washington, to take into



consideration the situation of the western country, and concert such measures as should appear suited to the occasion.

It appears, moreover, that on the 25th of July last, the mail of the U. States, on the road from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, was stopped by two armed men, who cut it open, and took out all the letters, except those contained in one packet; these armed men, from all the circumstances which occurred, were manifestly acting on the part of the insurgents.

The declared object of the foregoing proceedings is to obstruct the execution and compel a repeal of the law laying duties on spirits distilled within the United States, and upon stills. There is just cause to believe that this is connected with an indisposition, too general in that quarter, to share in the common burdens of the community, and with a wish, among some persons of influence, to embarrass the Government. It is affirmed by well informed persons to be a fact of notoriety, that the revenue laws of the State itself have always been either resisted or very defectively complied with in the same quarter.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

[For the conclusion of the account of the Western Insurrection, we give the following extract from Chief Justice Marshall's Life of Washington.]

Affidavits attesting this serious state of things were laid before the executive.

The opposition had now progressed to a point which seemed to forbid the continuance of a temporizing system. The efforts at conciliation, which, for more than three years, the government had persisted to make, and the alterations repeatedly introduced into the act for the purpose of rendering it less exceptionable, instead of diminishing the arrogance of those who opposed their will to the sense of the nation, had drawn forth sentiments indicative of designs much deeper than the evasion of a single act. The execution of the laws had at length been resisted by open force, and a determination to persevere in these measures was unequivocally manifested. To the government was presented the alternative of subduing, or of submitting to this resistance.

The act of congress which provided for calling forth the militia "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," required as a pre-requisite to the exercise of this power, "that an associate justice, or the judge of the district, should certify that the laws of the United States were opposed, or their execution obstructed, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals." In the same act it was provided, "that if the militia of the State where such combinations

may happen, shall refuse, or be insufficient to suppress the same," the president may employ the militia of other States.

By the unanimous advice of the cabinet, the evidence which had been transmitted to the president was laid before one of the associate justices, who gave the certificate, which enabled the chief magistrate to employ the militia in aid of the civil power.

The executive being now authorized to adopt such measures as the crisis might require, the subject was again seriously considered in the cabinet, and the governor of Pennsylvania was also consulted respecting it. To avoid military coercion, if obedience to the laws could be produced by other means, was the universal wish; and therefore all concurred in advising the appointment of commissioners from the governments of both the Union and the State, who should warn the deluded insurgents of the impending danger, and should convey a full pardon for past offences upon the condition of future submission. But, respecting ulterior and eventful measures, a difference of opinion prevailed. The fact already mentioned made it the duty of the president, previous to the employment of military force, to issue his proclamation commanding the insurgents to disperse within a limited time. The secretary of state (and the governor of Pennsylvania is understood to have concurred with him) was of opinion, that this conciliatory mission should be unaccompanied by any measure which might wear the appearance of coercion. He was alarmed at the strength of the insurgents, at their connexion with other parts of the country, at the extensiveness of the prevailing discontents with the administration, and at the difficulty and expense of bringing the militia into the field. The governor of Pennsylvania having declared his opinion, that the militia of that state, who could be drawn forth, would be incompetent to enforce obedience, the aid of the neighboring states would consequently be necessary. The secretary of state (Mr. Jefferson) feared that the militia of the neighboring states would refuse to march; and that, should he be mistaken in this, their compliance with the orders of the executive might be not less fatal than their disobedience. The introduction of a foreign militia into Pennsylvania might greatly increase the discontents prevailing in that state. His apprehension of a failure, in the attempt to restore tranquility by coercive means, were extreme, and the tremendous consequences of a failure, strongly depicted. From the highly inflamed state of parties, he anticipated a civil war, which would pervade the whole union, and drench every part of it with the blood of American citizens.

The secretary of the treasury, Mr. Hamilton, the secretary of war, Gen. Knox, and the attorney general, Edmund Randolph, were of opinion that the president was bound by the most high and solemn obligations to employ the force which the legislature had placed at his disposal, for the suppression of a criminal and unprovoked insurrection. The case contemplated by congress had clearly occurred, and the president was

urged by considerations the most awful, to perform the duty imposed on him by the constitution, of providing "that the laws be faithfully executed." The long forbearance of government, and its patient endeavors to recall the deluded people to a sense of their duty and interest by appeals to their reason, had produced only increase of violence, and a more determined opposition. Perseverance in that system could only give a more extensive range to disaffection, and multiply the dangers resulting from it.

Those who were of opinion that the occasion demanded a full trial of the ability of the government to enforce obedience to the laws, were also of opinion that policy and humanity equally dictated the employment of a force which would render resistance desperate. The insurgent country contained sixteen thousand men able to bear arms; and the computation was, that they could bring seven thousand into the field. If the army of the government should amount to twelve thousand men, it would present an imposing force which the insurgents would not venture to meet.

It was impossible that the president could hesitate to embrace the latter of these opinions. That a government intrusted to him should be trampled under foot by a lawless section of the union, which set at defiance the will of the nation as expressed by the constituted authorities, was an abasement, to which neither his judgment or his feelings could ever submit. He resolved, therefore, to issue the proclamation, which, by law, was to precede the employment of force.

This proclamation, which bears date the 7th of August, contained a brief and distinct recapitulation of the measures which had been adopted by the government, as well as of those which had been pursued by the insurgents, and of the preparatory steps which had been taken to authorize the employment of force. The president then added, that, "whereas, it was in his judgment necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to take measures for calling forth the militia, in order to suppress the combinations aforesaid, and to cause the laws to be duly executed, and he had accordingly determined so to do; feeling the deepest regret for the occasion, but withall, the most solemn conviction that the essential interests of the union demanded it; that the very existence of government, and the fundamental principles of social order were involved in the issue; and that the patriotism and firmness of all good citizens were seriously called upon to aid in the suppression of so fatal a spirit."

Therefore, he commanded all persons being insurgents as aforesaid, and all others whom it might concern, on or before the first day of the ensuing month of September, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes.

On the same day, a requisition was made on the governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, for their several quotas of

militia to compose an army of twelve thousand\* men ; who were to be immediately organized and prepared to march at a minute's warning.

While the necessary steps were taking to bring this force into the field, a last essay was made to render its employment unnecessary. The attorney general, who was a citizen of Pennsylvania, judge Yates of the superior court, and Mr. Ross, a senator representing that state, who was particularly popular in the western country, were deputed by the government to be the bearers of a general amnesty for past offences, on the sole condition of future obedience to the laws.

It having been deemed advisable that the executive of the state in which the insurrection had taken place should act in concert with that of the United States, a proclamation was also issued by governor Mifflin, and commissioners were appointed by him to unite with those of the general government.

Meanwhile the insurgents omitted nothing which might enlarge the circle of disaffection. Attempts were made to embark the adjacent counties of Virginia in their cause, and their violence was extended to Morgantown, at which place an inspector resided, who saved himself by flight, and protected his property by advertising on his own door that he had resigned his office. They also made similar excursions into the contiguous counties of Pennsylvania lying east of the Allegheny mountains, where numbers were ready to join them.† These deluded men, giving too much faith to the publications of democratic societies, and to the furious sentiments of general hostility to the administration, and particularly to the internal taxes, with which the papers in the opposition abounded, seem to have entertained the opinion, that the great body of the people were ready to take up arms against their government, and that the resistance commenced by them would spread throughout the union, and might terminate in a revolution.

The convention at Parkinson's Ferry had appointed a committee of safety consisting of sixty members, who chose fifteen of the body to confer with the commissioners of the United States, and of the state of Pennsylvania. This committee of conference was not empowered to conclude on any thing. They could only receive and report the propositions which might be made to them.

*Men of property and intelligence, who had contributed to kindle the flame under the common error of being able to regulate its heat, now trembled at the extent of the conflagration.* It had passed the limits assigned to it, and was no longer subject to their control.

The committee of conference expressed themselves unanimously in favor of accepting the terms offered by the government ; and, in the committee of safety, they exerted themselves to obtain a decision to the same effect.

\* This requisition was afterwards augmented to fifteen thousand.

† In the vicinity of Carlisle the cause of the insurgents was openly espoused at popular meetings.

In that committee, the question whether they would submit peaceably to the execution of the law, retaining expressly the privilege of using all constitutional means to effect its repeal, was debated with great zeal.—The less violent party carried it by a small majority; but, not thinking themselves authorized to decide for their constituents on so momentous a question, they afterwards resolved that it should be referred to the people.

This reference resulting in demonstrating that, though many were disposed to demean themselves peaceably, yet a vast mass of opposition remained determined to obstruct the re-establishment of the civil authority.

From some causes, among which was disaffection to the particular service, the prospect of bringing into the field the quota of troops required from Pennsylvania, was at first unpromising. But the assembly, which had been summoned by the governor to meet on the first of September, expressed in strong terms its abhorrence of this daring attempt to resist the laws, and to subvert the government of the country; and a degree of ardour and unanimity was displayed by the people of other states, which exceeded the hopes of the most sanguine friends of the administration. Some feeble attempts were indeed made to produce a disobedience to the requisition of the president, by declaring that the people would never be made the instruments of the secretary of the treasury to shed the blood of their fellow citizens; that the representatives of the people ought to be assembled before a civil war was commenced; and by avowing the extravagant opinion that the president could not lawfully call forth the militia of any other state, until actual experiment had ascertained the insufficiency of that of Pennsylvania. But these ill-intentioned and insidious suggestions were silenced by the general sense of the nation, which loudly and strongly proclaimed that the government and laws must be supported. The officers displayed an unexampled activity, and intelligence from every quarter gave full assurance that with respect to both numbers and time, the requisitions of the executive would be punctually observed.

By his personal exertions the governor of Pennsylvania compensated for the defects of the militia law in that state. From some inadvertence, as was said, on the part of the brigade inspectors, the militia could not be drafted, and consequently the quota of Pennsylvania could be completed only by volunteers. The governor, who was endowed with a high degree of popular elocution, made a circuit through the lower counties of the state, and publicly addressed the militia, at different places where he had caused them to be assembled, on the crisis in the affairs of their country. So successful were these animating exhortations, that Pennsylvania was not behind her sister states in furnishing the quota required from her.

On the 25th of September, the president issued a second proclamation, describing in terms of great energy the obstinate and perverse spirit with which the lenient propositions of the government had been received, and

declaring his fixed determination, in obedience to the high and irresistible duty consigned to him by the constitution, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," to reduce the refractory to obedience.

The troops of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were directed to rendezvous at Bedford, and those of Maryland and Virginia at Cumberland, on the Potomac.\* The command of the expedition had been conferred on governor Lee, of Virginia, and the governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania commanded, under him, the militia of their respective states.

The president, in person, visited each division of the army; but being confident that the force employed must look down all resistance, he left the secretary of the treasury to accompany it, and returned himself to Philadelphia, at which place the approaching session of Congress rendered his presence indispensably necessary.

From Cumberland and Bedford the army marched in two divisions into the country of the insurgents. As had been foreseen, the greatness of the force prevented the effusion of blood. The disaffected did not venture to assemble in arms. Several of the leaders who had refused to give assurances of future submission to the laws were seized, and some of them detained for legal prosecution. A Mr. Bradford, who, in the latter stages of the insurrection, had manifested a peculiar degree of violence, and had openly advocated the appeal to arms, made his escape into the territories of Spain.

But although no direct and open opposition was made, the spirit of insurrection was by no means subdued. A sour and malignant temper displayed itself, which indicated but too plainly that the disposition to resist had only sunk under the pressure of the great military force brought into the country, but would rise again, should that force be suddenly removed. It was, therefore, thought advisable to station for the winter, a detachment, to be commanded by major general Morgan, in the centre of the disaffected country.

Thus, without shedding a drop of blood,† did the prudent vigor of the executive terminate an insurrection which, at once time, threatened to shake the government of the United States to its foundation.

The following letters containing the first intelligence of the attack of General Neville's house, and the replies of General Knox and Alexander Hamilton may possess some interest in connection with the foregoing report:

PITTSBURGH, 18th July, 1794.

About day-break in the morning of the 10th instant, a number of armed men attacked General Neville's house, he himself only defending it; he,

\*The spirit of disaffection was rapidly spreading, and had it not been checked by this vigorous exertion of the powers of the government, it would be difficult to say what might have been its extent. Even while the militia were assembling, it broke out in more than one county in Pennsylvania, and showed itself in a part of Maryland.

†Two persons who were convicted of treason received a pardon.



however, dispersed the party, having wounded six or seven, one of whom, it is said, mortally. And yesterday, a large number of men, it is said amounting to seven hundred, assembled and attacked his house, defended only by himself, Maj. Kirkpatrick, and ten soldiers. During the attack, General Neville seeing it impossible to defend the house against such numbers, took an opportunity of escaping, and concealing himself in a thicket, expecting that Maj. Kirkpatrick might make terms for saving the buildings; but nothing but unconditional submission would be accepted of. Major Kirkpatrick, therefore, continued to defend the house till one of his men was killed, and four others badly wounded, having killed two, and wounded several of the insurgents. As soon as the Major surrendered, the enemy set fire to the house, which is reduced to ashes, with all the property it contained; not a single article saved, only the clothing which the family had on when they escaped during the attack. Previous to burning the house, they had set fire to the barns, stables, kitchen, and granary, &c., which were also consumed to ashes with their contents, amongst which were several valuable horses, and a large quantity of grain. Major Lenox, Colonel Neville, and myself, and two others, in attempting to get into the house with a supply of ammunition, were made prisoners, disarmed and confined, till the action was over, and then carried several miles to their rendezvous. They treated Major Lenox with the utmost indignity, and all of us with insult. During the night I was happy enough to make my escape, and to find General Neville, and to escort him to my house, where he now is, he having to begin the world anew.

I am, sir, your humble and obedient servant,

ISAAC CRAIG.

Hon. Maj. Gen. Knox, Sec. of War, Philadelphia.

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WAR DEPARTMENT, July 25th, 1794.

SIR: I have received your letter of the 18th instant, which has been submitted to the President of the United States.

The information contained therein has a very important and unhappy aspect. It seems as if mankind were destined to be the sport of the cunning and ambitious, and that happiness is too often sacrificed to misrepresentation, and the gratification of the black passions.

This information is too recently received to form any conjecture in the present moment of the probable consequences; but no doubt can exist, that those measures which are right and just will be adopted and executed.

I wrote you by the last post that a supply of medicines would be forwarded.

I am, sir, with great esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

H. KNOX,

Secretary of War.

Major Isaac Craig.

FORT FAYETTE, 3d August, 1792.

SIR: On the 1st instant a numerous body of armed men assembled on Braddock's Field, about nine miles from this place, and continued there till yesterday morning; their numbers increasing, it is asserted, to four thousand five hundred, being joined by a number of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, commenced their march about nine o'clock, and it was confidently reported with a design of attacking the Fort; but some of their leaders being informed that every possible means had been adopted for its defence, they prudently concluded to postpone the attack to some more favorable opportunity, and sent a flag to inform the commandant that they intended to march peaceably past the Fort into Pittsburgh, and then cross the Monongahela, and return home. Major Butler intimated to the flag that their peaceable intentions would be evinced by their passing the Fort at a proper distance; they, therefore, took another road into town, (having, as they asserted, accomplished the object of their assembling, viz: forming a union with the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, banishing some gentlemen inimical to their cause, and proscribing several others, who are also obliged to leave this country in a few days.) When there, committed several excesses, crossed the river, burned a barn and a large quantity of grain in stacks, the property of Major Kirkpatrick, whom they have banished. Colonel Neville and General Gibson are under proscription, and to leave Pittsburgh immediately. I am told that I am allowed till the 12th of this month to settle my affairs at Pittsburgh, and then to disappear.\*

On the 14th instant, another general meeting is to take place, the result of which God only knows.

Every possible pains has been taken, and is now pursued, to protect the property, and support the honor of the arms of the United States.— I feel particularly happy that Major Butler† commands at this crisis.

The bearer, Edward O'Hara, leaves this on foot, to prevent a suspicion of conveying intelligence; be pleased to direct means for his returning on horse-back. The arms and ammunition is all safely come to hand in good time.

I am, sir, your obedient and humble servant,

ISAAC CRAIG.

Hon. Maj. Gen. H. Knox, Secretary of War.

\*It is proper to state that Major Craig did not leave Pittsburgh, nor abandon his duties as Deputy Quarter Master General, though he was compelled to take refuge in Fort Fayette occasionally. His presence here was all-important to Gen. Wayne's army, which was advancing from Fort Washington towards the Maumee, at the very time the insurrection was progressing here. All the supplies for the army, arms, ammunition, provisions, and medical stores, were sent from this place, and under his direction, there being no other person to attend to them.

†This was Thomas Butler, a brother of Gen. Richard Butler, and the father of the late Judge Butler, of Louisiana. He was severely wounded on the day his brother was killed.

PHILADELPHIA, August 13, 1794.

SIR: In consequence of an arrangement of the Secretary of War, who is absent, your letter of the 2d instant has been communicated to me.

It is satisfactory to receive exact intelligence of the movements of the insurgents.

Your care of the interest confided to you, is, in every event, depended upon, according to circumstances. The keeping the arms and stores out of the hands of the insurgents is a matter of great importance. It is hoped that you will personally in the worst issue of things find safety in the Fort.

The friends of Government may depend that it will not be wanting to its duty and interest upon this occasion. And can there be any doubt of the sufficiency of its means?

With much respect, I am

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Isaac Craig, Esq., D. Q. M. G., Pittsburgh.

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 23th, 1764.

SIR: Your letter of the 17th instant, to the Secretary of War, has been received and duly attended to.

The suggestions requesting additional measures of defence have been considered, but the danger of the means falling into the hands of the insurgents appears at present an objection.

It is hoped that every thing at Pittsburgh, or which shall come there, not necessary for the post itself, has been forwarded down the river, and will continue to be so as long and as fast as it can be done with safety.

The friends of Government at Pittsburgh, ought to rally their confidence, and if necessary to manifest it by acts. They cannot surely doubt the power of the United States to uphold the authority of the laws, and they may be assured that the necessity of doing it towards preserving the very existence of Government so directly attacked, will dictate and produce a most vigorous and persevering effort; in which the known good sense and love of order of the body of the people, and all the information hitherto received of their sentiments and feelings with regard to the present emergency, authorize a full expectation of their hearty co-operation.

With esteem, I am sir, your most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

For the Secretary of War.

Isaac Craig, Esq., D. Q. M. G.

PITTSBURGH, 26th September, 1794.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 19th instant is received, and gives a very pleasing account of the martial spirit that pervades the United States, and Philadelphia in particular; and we have only to lament that present exertions have been so long delayed.

The leaders of the insurrection are now endeavoring by a new finesse to lull Government by a representation that the country is in a state of peace and submission to the laws, and that the interference of an armed force is altogether an unnecessary expense, and therefore they request that the army may not proceed any further. I hope this representation may be treated with that degree of contempt it so justly merits; for, notwithstanding a few have taken the benefit of the amnesty offered by the Commissioners, yet several of them immediately after openly declared that no excise men shall exist in this country. This, you may be assured, is the general disposition of the people; indeed, it is evident from what we daily hear and see, that the weight of the executive armament must be sensibly felt in this country before any law of the United States can be enforced.

General Wayne has been attacked near Rouch de Bout, and had defeated the Indians, and killed upwards of 100 of them. Capt. Campbell, of Dragoons, and Lieut. Toler, of Infantry, and about twenty non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 70 wounded.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

Gen. Neville, Philadelphia.

ISAAC CRAIG.

#### VALEDICTORY.

The present number completes the second volume of the *Olden Time*, and with it the publication of the work closes. It is with mingled feelings of gratification and regret we make this announcement. We regret this event, because we have had some pleasant days editing the work, and in collecting and selecting materials for it; and because we believe our scheme for accumulating information in relation to the early history of the country around us, was the best substitute which could be devised for a spirited and energetic Historical Society. Various attempts to establish such a society had been made before the editor thought of this periodical. These attempts all proved failures, and now the *Olden Time* follows in the rear of its predecessors. But we also rejoice that our task is ended. Had the publication met with the favor which we believe its plan and object merited, we could have pursued our undertaking with spirit and pleasure; but when we found that the patronage fell short of what would justify the publishers in issuing it in a handsome dress, we tired of our labor, and now rejoice that the second volume is finished, and our task ended.

We offer no conjecture as to the cause of the failure of proper patronage to the *Olden Time*; whether it was owing to the defect of talent and judgment in the editor, to a deficiency of energy in the publishers, or to a want of curiosity or zeal in the pursuit of our early history. Sufficient for the editor is the fact that there is not such favor shown the *Olden Time* as would justify the publishers in issuing it promptly, and in a becoming style.

